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First Series	*1844*
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Third Series	*1921*

Page.
Small Pox Epidemic 613
The Late Dr. Spooner 614
Dr. Abdulla Suhrawardy 615
Bengali Ballads 616
Prof. C. V. Raman 619
Indian Chemical Society 621
Cambridge University 623
Deans of Faculties 625
French Universities 625
Jubilee Research Prize 626
Bireswar Mitter Prize 626
University Examinations 626
Dates of Examinations, 1925 626

List of Contributors and their articles.

PAGE.

Albers, A. Christina:
Harischandra (*A Dramatic Poem*) 326

Banerjee, Brajendranath:
Glimpses into the Court of Sardhana 253

Barua, B. M., M.A., D.Lit., Lecturer, Calcutta University:
Buddha of History 77
Message from Barhut Votive Labels 244

Basil-Edwardes, S., M.B.O.U., R.A.O.U., Delhi:
Ornithology in India 47

Beveridge, H.:
A Beautiful Persian Tetrastich 270

Bandyopadhyaya, Narayanchandra, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University:
Evolution of Types of States in Ancient India 29, 376

Boulger, Demetrius, C.:
The House of Holkar 515

Chakravarti, Tripurari, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University:
The Chinese Tangle: Its Solution 170
Parliamentary Privilege 279

Chatterji, Mohini Mohan, M.A., B.L.:
The Revolutionary Spirit in Bengal 15
"She is gone" (*Poem*) 271
Life's Dream (*Poem*) 278
Love and Liberty (*Poem*) 559

Chatterjee, Nalinimohan, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University:
The Ship-wreck of Life (*Poem*) 272

Page.

Chatterjee, Rai Bahadur L. M., M.A., Dacca University:

The Next Step in National Education in Bengal ... 561

Chettur, Sankara Krishna:

The Glow-worm *(Poem)* 259
On the Night of the Full Moon *(Poem)* 548

Cousins, James H., D.Lit.:

The Five Fingers of Education 1

Das, Harihar, B.Lit.:

The Early Indian Visitors to England 135

Das, Taraknath, Ph.D.:

The Columbia University *(Correspondence)* ... 195

David, J. A.:

To Account Rendered *(A Short Story)* 549

Gard, Wayne, A. B.:

Philip De Brito *(Poem)* 566

Ghosh, Rai Bahadur G. C., C.I.E., Kavyaratna, Darsanasastri:

The Pantheistic Aspect of Christianity 117

Ghosh, Prafullachandra, M.A., B.Sc., Lecturer, Calcutta University:

The Average Income of India 4 3

Ghosh, Kshitischandra, M.Sc.:

The Heritage of Modern Religions 315

Ghosh, S. C., Calcutta University:

Railway Finance and Railway Organisation ... 582

Ghoshal, U. N., M.A., Ph.D., Professor, Presidency College, Calcutta:

Slavery in Ancient India 400

Goodwin, Gwendoline, England:

Desert Night *(Poem)* ... ...

Grierson, Sir George A., K.C.I.E.:

The Buddhist Analogue of a Bengali Story *(Supplement)* 269

Joshi, P.B., M.A., Professor, Government College, Ajmere:

Akbar and Ranthambhore 88

Khuda Bukhsh, S., M.A., B.C.L., Bar-at-Law, Lecturer, Calcutta University:

Mohamed 150
Muslim Conquests 414
The Omayyads 534

Levi, Sylvain, D. Litt:

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee 599

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Page

Majumdar, Girija Prasanna, B.A., M.Sc., Presidency College, Calcutta :
Medicinal Science in Ancient India ... 360
Newgie, Bepin Behari, M.A., Solicitor, Calcutta :
The Hindu Idea of Four Dimensionality (*Dik-Kala*) 489
Rau, B. Ramchandra, M.A., L.T., Lecturer, Calcutta University :
Some Currency Lessons of the War, II, III, IV 104, 299, 474
Sen, Surendranath, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, Calcutta University :
Hinduism and Muhammadan Heretics during the Pathan Period 58
Sen, K. C., Deputy Magistrate (Rtd.), Madaripur :
A Rationalistic View of Poesy 42
Sen, Ajitkumar, M. A., Lecturer, Dacca University :
Is Hindu Politics Theological 505
Sharma, Sri Ram, M.A., Professor, D. A. V. College, Lahore :
The System of Government in Marwar... ... 260
Shavier, C. A. :
Fatigue and its Prevention 273
Solomon, E. H. :
Sati (*Poem*) 252
Somerville, Augustus :
Two Song Poems 76
Strickland Anderson, Lily :
Music in Malaya 65
Denial (*Poem*) 87
The Quest (*Poem*) 134
Barter (*Poem*) 314
Darjeeling : An Impression 382
My Prayer (*Poem*) 473
Compensation (*Poem*) 560
Strickland Teresa :
A Beggar at Love's Gate 53
Let us Turn Aside to Illissus (*Poem*) 579
Taraporewala, I. J. S., B.A., Ph.D., Professor, Calcutta University :
The Main Currents in Gujrati Literature 138, 370
Ward, Professor Harry F., New York :
The Future of the Intellectual Class 227

Index of Articles.

Page.
Account Rendered, To (*A Short Story*) 549
Akbar and Ranthambhore 88
Analogue of a Bengali Story, The Buddhist ... 269
Barhut Votive Labels, Message from 244
Barter (*Poem*) 314
Bengal, The Revolutionary Spirit in 15
Buddha of History 77
Compensation (*Poem*) 560
Conquests, Muslim 414
Convocation, The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor's Speech, The 459
Currency Lessons of the War, Some, II, III, IV, 104, 299, 474
Darjeeling: An Impression 382
Denial (*Poem*) 87
Dream, Life's 278
Education, The Five Fingers of 1
Fatigue and its Prevention 273
Four Dimensionality, The Hindu Idea of 489
Full-Moon, On the Night of the (*Poem*) 548
Glow-Worm, The (*Poem*) 259
Gone, She is (*Poem*) 271
Harish Chandra (*A Dramatic Poem*) 326
Hinduism and Muhammadan Heretics during the Pathan Period 58
Holkar, The House of 515
Illissus, Let us Turn Aside to (*Poem*) 579
India, Evolution of Types of States in Ancient 29, 376
Income of India, The Average 433
Karchā by Govinda Das, The 567
Life, The Ship-Wreck of 272
Love and Liberty (*Poem*) 559
Love's Gate, A Beggar at 53
Marwar, The System of Government in 260
Mohamed 150
Mookerjee, Sir Asutosh 599
Music in Malaya 65
National Education in Bengal, The Next Step in ... 561
Night, Desert (*Poem*) 184
Omayyads, The 534
Ornithology in India 47
Ourselves 196, 452, 609

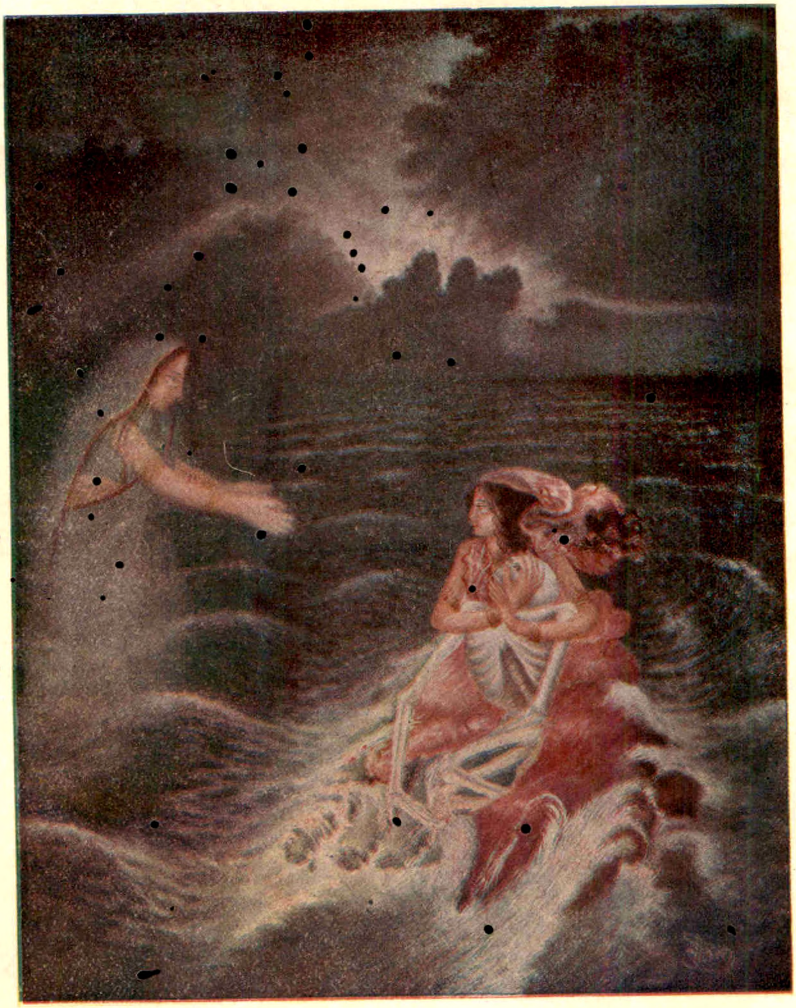
	Page.
Parliamentary Privilege	279
Philip De Brito (*Poem*)	566
Poems, Two Song	76
Poesy, A Rationalistic View of	42
Prayer, My (*Poem*)	473
Quest, The (*Poem*)	134
Railway Finance and Railway Organisation	582
Religious, The Heritage of Modern	315
Reviews	189, 447, 605
Sardhana, Glimpses into the Court of	253
Sati (*Poem*)	252
Science in Ancient India, Medicinal	360
Slavery in Ancient India	400
Tangle: Its Solution: The Chinese	170
Tetrastich, A Beautiful Persian	270
Theological, Is Hindu Politics	505
University, The Columbia (*Correspondence*)	195
Visitors to England, The Early Indian	135

List of Illustrations.

Behula on the Raft (*in colours*)	1
Annie Besant, D.L.,—*First Kamala Lecturer* ...	227
Prince Dara Seiko learning Calligraphy (*in colours*) ...	459

Pictorial Section.

Udaipur—I, II	185, 443
Darjeeling	603



BEHULA ON THE RAFT.

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JANUARY, 1925

THE FIVE FINGERS OF EDUCATION

It is often said that if we had education all the troubles of the world would cease. If that be true, it is a curious paradox that the most poorly educated nation in the world, namely India, is speaking generally, the embodiment of peace and the most highly educated countries of the world are utilising their scientific knowledge in the development of new means for the future destruction of one another. There is something apparently wrong with the statement that education is the means to the attainment of everything that is good. Indeed, for some time past, the wise ones of the world have been engaged in the useful work of realising that what we call education has been a failure—just because it was not education.

I remember once reading that the ex-Kaiser of Germany had said that the aim of education in Germany was to produce the perfect German citizen. I suppose that specification for education, if it be true, will work all round the compass, and we should have French education for the manufacture of the perfect French citizen, Italian education for the production of the perfect Italian citizen, and so on. And supposing we took a perfect German citizen and a perfect French citizen and a perfect Italian citizen and a perfect Russian citizen, and put all these perfect citizens, according to the perfection of their own limited national ideas, all night into a room under lock and key, I think that when we opened the door in the morning we should find, not the perfect citizens, but their fragments on the floor. For, the whole essence of what was in the mind of the Kaiser was the creation of an entity whose attention was devoted to his own self-interest and the interests of his own country, not in association with other countries, but in antagonism to them. That "ideal" of education found its natural fulfilment in the great war. It is that accursed thought of antagonism that has brought the world to the condition that it is in. Instead of fitting oneself to be a server of others, as ought to be the true aim of education, pupils have in the past regarded themselves as being educated as beasts of prey rather than as co-operative parts of the one great Divine Being. And so, without knowing really what the highest educational ideals are, the western world has been forced to feel that there is something inadequate in educational theory and method and they have been trying to discover ways and means to rectify matters.

And one important discovery is being made, that the chief flaw in the educational systems of the west in the past is that the value of education has been seen more from the point of view of the system than from the point of view of education. The educational system has thought of itself as a system constructed mainly for the benefit of officials and teachers, for the machinery of education, rather than for students. I know the system of teaching that I got. I was a fairly good student, I think I may say so; but at the same time I suffered from the system, for I was frequently punished by strokes of the cane for doing an offence which I had not done. That was due to an entirely topsy-turvy construction of education. It was taking education as pushing something into assumed empty heads, whereas true education is to bring out, to draw forth, that which is potential in every child. Now, happily, people are beginning to realise that the whole system of so-called education has to be changed, and made to centre itself round that which is the essential nucleus of the system, the immortal entity whose powers must have free course from latency into potency, from potency into fulfilment, taking the place of us elders as time goes by, in the world of affairs.

As a result of this realisation, there has been a remarkable extension recently of enquiry into educational theory and practice of study with regard to educational psychology, psycho-analysis, the testing of students in various ways to see what their reactions are to stimuli. All this, with its practical application in new educational methods like the Montessori system and others, is good up to a point. But there is a tendency in humanity to take a particular thing at one moment and become enormously enthusiastic over it and use it merely to break something else. The history of religions is not a history of regular successive advances; it is a history of successive revelations on high levels, coming down into proselytism and formality; and, similarly, in education, while we lecture on pedagogics, and utilise psycho-analysis and all the rest of it, there is the danger that that which we regard as new now (a beneficent revolution in education), may later come to be considered as ineffective as that which it was pressing to take the place of. If pedagogics or the science of teaching is a matter to be found in books only, and is not vitally associated with the student, it is likely to become as bad as the old false methods. I have seen that kind of thing in my own experience. A young man who was a good teacher, who had a very nice influence with his students, sat for a diploma in education for which I myself was also working. I saw that young man put under a test by an examining professor who himself had never taught a class in a school. I saw him put to confusion by the questions of the professor, who knew all about pedagogics and nothing about teaching a child. What is needed is the vitalising of all thought on the subject of teaching. The aim of education is not to make the student conform to something which is supposed to be better for him than something else; on the contrary, everything should conform to the needs of the student.

What do we mean by the "student"? At present, the student that comes into school is a kind of monster—all head and nothing else. It is only recently that there has been any emphatic realisation in the minds of pedagogues that students have bodies as well as brains. In the whole course of my education in the "national" system in Ireland forty years ago I never heard of such an idea as that I had a body and that I should educate that body. On the contrary, I was a delicate creature and made still more delicate by the false system of education that conceived that it was only my brain that had to be trained; according to old fashioned notions of how brains ought to be trained and made into an instrument of competition with my fellow creatures.

But we are going to change all that. We are going to change it by insisting that the educational system of the future must bring to school *the whole student*. What do we mean by *the whole student*?

First of all, we must look at the student as a nominally separate human entity demanding certain rudimentary requirements; (2) then as a unit in a community; (3) as a unit in a nation; (4) as a unit of humanity; and (5) lastly, we must consider the student not only as a unit manifested on the physical plane of life but also as a unit in a universe that contains both the visible and the invisible, a unit which has deeper and higher needs than being turned by education into a wage-earning machine. These are what we may call the "five fingers of education", the open hand of demand for educational reform.

First, then, as to the student as an entity, nominally separate, but not really so. A being that has come through the mysterious gift of birth into this life ought to have a claim on the community in which that entity comes, for full expansion.

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Expansion goes on; we cannot prevent it. But what the direction and quality of that expansion will be, depends on the influences playing upon this new, expansive, propulsive life that has arrived. That life has its two aspects—the outer and the inner. Consequently, the ideal system of education would first recognise the body of that new entity that comes to school, and make full provision, from the lowliest village school upwards, for the gradual sensible training of the physical body of the student. Such training would include not merely a mechanical training in exercises with dumb-bells and parallel bars, but definite knowledge (necessarily rudimentary at the beginning) of the working of the body with all its marvellous machinery; and with that knowledge imparted to children (boys and girls alike) from their youngest years, you would have growing up a race of young people who would reverence the miracle of expression that God has given them; and in that knowledge, frank, open and pure, you would have the means of wiping out the horrible strain of perverted creative impulse that soils the minds of thousands of young men in India, as elsewhere. I have myself applied physical culture to a youth who was blessed, or cursed as the case may be, with an extraordinary amount of animal energy. I knew from signs and from confession that that young boy had gone wrong in one department of his nature. I gave him advice and a specification of physical culture; but chiefly I made him trumpeter to a troop of Boy Scouts; and the superfluous energy in his nature found an aesthetic outlet which gave him great joy and saved him from moral disaster.

In addition to physical culture for the mastery and the outer development of the physical body as the expression of the inner self, we must give the appropriate soil for both outer and inner growth. Do you give ice and snow to plants to make them grow? That may be the proper environment for certain types of plants; but I have observed in nature that the greatest growth is where you have the finest sunshine and sufficient moisture together with good earth. Give your students, in your future educational system, the warmth of affection. It is not, as a rule, given now. Now, the professor goes on to the platform and gives his lesson and goes away. There is little or none of that intimate touch of comradeship and love which are so necessary for the growth of the student. Give your students love and liberty as well as lessons. They should never be forbidden legitimate liberty. The separate impulses and separate desires of these blossoming entities, their separate temperamental expression and their separate ideals—these things should be studied and watched over by the teacher and treated with great reverence.

You say, that is a scheme of education which would produce self-conceited, self-willed egotists. It is. We are all self-willed. But the expression of your will is never an expression that is evil unless it is thwarted. You will find that everything that is wrong in the child has arisen because of obstruction that has been put in the way of the expression of the genius of the child. I have known boys do things that were not right, according to my knowledge. I have not gone and simply said "You should not do that." I have taken them aside and explained the pros and cons of the matter and said, "The responsibility is now with you to act accordingly." Some time ago, I had to be exceedingly strict and stern with a young man of the level of a graduate who disclosed an extraordinary hidden streak of self-centredness that I had not realised in him before; and I refused certain things to him, and gently but firmly explained my refusal. He was very angry: he sat down and wept; but it was the weeping of self-will frustrated, and frustrated in a way that made it impossible for him to be merely angry. When he went away without the usual salutation of friendship I was not sure that I had not lost his friendship for ever. Three days afterwards he returned, and said he had come back to thank me for what I had done to him. He had realised his errors and profited accordingly. I am only indicating from my own personal experience (not merely theory) that when teachers do find self-willed students, if they get them young enough they can direct them with love and knowledge into beneficial channels; if they get them too old, the teacher may have to adopt surgical measures to help them to cure themselves; but it must always be done in love and reverence, and entirely with the idea of helping the student to realise the best that is within himself, not punitively.

I admit that the method is a training of egotists; but I must say that in my experience of training hundreds of egotists in that way I have not found one who has proved that the system was wrong in my long experience in Indian education. Give the divine thing in the student its chance and it will not betray you.

But one of the assistants in modifying this egotism that you will have in your true educational system will be 'the second finger'—the local environment of the child. The harmonious adjustment of the student to his and her environment is the great work of true education. One part of education is to educe, to set free, that which is in the individual. But you cannot have in this relative universe an absolute freedom; the impulse which is pressing outwards from the centre of the student's life must come up against the same impulse in others pressing outwards also and asserting its equal claim to recognition. One of the duties, therefore, of the real teacher is to take groups of students and give them opportunities of adjustment to others. For instance, in the production of a model in clay or other materials, it is well to appoint one student to take charge of a particular feature of it to-day and another to take charge of this particular feature of it to-morrow. In this way if we shift responsibility and vary work each will ultimately learn the whole process and have an interest in it. Similarly, with other branches of their study.

I regard instructive play in the early stages of education as of more importance than formal instruction in what we call in English the three R's. You may ask, "What are you going to do about reading, writing and arithmetic"? My answer is that in co-operative play-lessons there arises a natural necessity for calculation and children far more readily learn arithmetic through necessity based on interest than through formal instruction. Similarly with spelling—the names of different pieces in some particular instructive game, what it is called, what it means, what its history is, and so on. Games of an associated kind enable the students to make swift adjustment, and at the same time to preserve both their individuality and their corporate relationship. Teaching children to play a game, that is to say, to accept certain rules as binding in honour on every member in that game, and to carry out those rules, no matter what may be their own desires, is a splendid discipline for children.

But, in addition to this adjustment to their fellows, you have to help to adjust them to local circumstances, local needs, and the things that are required in their homes will naturally bulk largely in their education in their early years. Local features in nature, local festivals, which are geography and history in small scale, should be drawn upon. And of course, all such education will be in their mother tongue, for the vernacular is the only possible basis of true education.

That, you say, might lead to narrowness, provincial narrowness; children taught to reverence their village and regard it as the universe, its culture as the greatest that they can think of. That is true, and a system of education that ended there would not be of any considerable service. To local education we must add national education; that is to say, we must disclose to our students the fact that they belong to a larger entity than the village or community; an entity which is so unified by certain geographical, linguistic, cultural, historical and temperamental circumstances that it may be termed a national entity. These circumstances will form the curriculum. The geographical factor is sometimes predominant as in Ireland. The trouble in Ireland today arises from its having its head cut off, so to speak; Ulster has been cut off from the rest of the body, and both are suffering intensely. That entity must achieve its full national entity as a geographical unit. Sometimes the entity, national entity is embraced within a particular culture, and within such cultural areas you have sub-areas like the linguistic areas in the entity of India. This larger entity provides us with something larger than the local entity and consequently gives to the mind of the children something through which the imagination can press against boundaries and beyond itself. This is the safeguard against local egotism. The whole urge within the child-mind is to extension and expansion of consciousness ; to add areas to its knowledge, height to its understanding and aspirations, and breadth to its thinking and attitude to others. We can give them opportunity for the satisfaction and this impulse bringing love of country into education. The emotional side of the child-nature can find in impersonal love of country a means for its expansion beyond personal narrowness. Every system of education should make provision for the expression of patriotism in its reading books and in days of special observance. When you have established that attitude of love for the country, you will have generated reverence for one another even though, they may disagree over details in the activities of the patriotic life. When, in addition to the patriotic movement in India that had been stimulated and carried on by Mrs. Besant there came the non-co-operation movement, the college at Madanapalle, of which I was Principal, did not break up, for the simple reason that we had our parliament in which we discussed freely the pros and cons of all these things and were not carried away by waves of unfamiliar emotion. Those who work for great impersonal ideas can naturally afford to be respectful to those with whom they differ ; but where the patriotic idea has not been idealised and is new, there is the risk of extremes of expression and of young men in moments of natural intensity on doing things for which they will be sorry afterwards. This can be prevented by patriotic idealism in education.

But that might lead to national narrowness and pride. National pride of a true kind is a very good thing to have. There can be no real cosmopolitanism, in my opinion, until every national entity has been fully disclosed and offered to the world. There is a curious cosmopolitanism, which is not really cosmopolitanism, but simply a kind of indeterminate indifferentism to the great varieties through which God is expressing himself in the nations of the world. Generally, that false cosmopolitanism is found in the lower ranks of commercial exploitation between the various nations of the world. How are we going to correct the dangers of narrowness in a very pronounced nationalism? By letting students know that humanity is humanity, wherever it may be. It is imperative that we give our students opportunities to understand other peoples. The aim of education in its international aspect is to bring people together in friendship, not in mutual exploitation or domination of one by the other, to bring people together who have no ulterior interest in one another except that of human comradeship. My heart burns for the revelation of the true India to other countries and for the bringing of the true revelation of those other countries to India, not with any ideas of national self-interest, but in mutual human interest; not using education as a mere appendage to proselytism, but for the perfect exchange of the highest cultural expressions of all the various, nominally separate but essentially united, groups of the human family. The teaching of history, therefore, while it should begin like charity at home, must not remain there but must spread out to give some knowledge of the history of the human struggle towards enlightenment and happiness. Kipling once asked, "What do they know of England who only England know?" I ask, "What do you know of India who only India know?" I know that one of the profoundest influences in the West is India, and I know that one of the profoundest influences in Japan is India. Everywhere the message that India has to give to the world her great spiritual idealism, is operating beyond her

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borders and making her the head of a spiritual empire that, I believe, will one day embrace the whole of Humanity—not in any credal sense, or separate cultural sense, but in the mutual understanding of the great central truth that India has given to the world, that God is one, that Man is one, and that God and Man are one.

Then, we have got to regard the student not only as an individual, as a unit in a local community surrounded by a national community, as part of the great humanity residing on the surface of the world, but we have to help the student to the realisation of the fact, that he is a unit in a vast system of worlds some comparatively near us, some incalculately distant. Our educational systems must open their doors to the consideration not only of the *infra* worlds, that is to say, the world of chemistry and the wonderful world of the minute, but also, of that vast universe around us with which astronomy deals, the study of which makes us feel the proper perspective of our little mud ball and corrects the little egotism of humanity that might arise and say: "Here we are, the topmost crown of creation" when we do not know what is happening with our next-door neighbour, the moon, which is only 240 thousand miles away. We must help to expand the imagination of our students so that they may feel themselves as parts of that vast and wondrous body of God in whose vein flow these worlds, our Earth being one amongst them.

Further, we have to recognise that there are powers within the student and aspects of his and her totality of which we have not yet taken cognizance. It is a very noticeable sign of the times that in the curriculum of Trinity College, Dublin, room was made some years ago for the wonderful book called "Human Personality and its Survival after Death" by the late F. W. Myers. Too long have we left the matter of life after death to the theologians, and not seen that it is not simply a matter of belief according to a scripture or a teacher. These may be true, but they do not make the truth. The question is, whether the superphysical life of humanity is a fact, or whether it is not. Therefore, that vast other side of us, the perpendicular aspect which rises above the physical and mental,—must become part and parcel of our normal education. Hence the researches of such an organisation as the Society for Psychical Research should not be kept out of the schools. On the contrary, children should be taught from their youngest days that there is now ground for believing not only that we are bigger people than our physical bodies indicate, not only there is the possibility of communication from mind to mind without visible or audible means, but that when this consciousness that has come into existence through the gates of birth unfolds itself into expression it is not an unfoldment of futility, not a joke at our expense by some potter that punishes the clay, as old Omar Khayyam has it; but that this consciousness unfolds itself as part of a great cycle, and will go on no matter about the change called "death." Death is only a separation to us because we have long denied the possibility of knowledge of what is beyond death. We have atrophied the faculties that our ancestors possessed of knowing something of the invisible worlds. But there are people now who can declare (as I can declare) that they know of my own knowledge, as sane, wide-awake human beings, that people, who theoretically died years ago, are no more dead than we are to-day. I know this as no hallucination of dreams or the turning down of lights; I know it through many processes of experience and knowledge that are as scientific and real as any other kind of experience and knowledge can be. All this is now set out in books by writers of eminence in science and literature. Twenty years ago Robert Blatchford boasted that he had smashed religion and its superstitions by rationalist logic. His wife died. His theories turned hollow, and he tackled the problem, as he should have thirty years ago, not as a discussion but as a matter of fact. Now he is a rabid spiritualist seeking to undo the stupidities of his years of intellectual darkness. Truth is coming to the world not as systems of mentality but as actual vital contact with the great Divine Life that is both within us and without us, and those things ought to be disclosed to students.

There is another element in this larger aspect of education with which I shall conclude; and that is, that there must be in the ideal system of education of the future full provision for the expression of the religious life of students. On the intellectual side they must be given full opportunities not only to study their own religion but to understand other religions. It must be as much an interest of their education to know how other people express the worship of God as to know how they eat and dress and conduct themselves. This comparative method ought to be a feature of education from beginning to end; the effort to see sympathetically the unities that draw people together, as well as the diversities which at present separate people because their fundamental unity is not seen. But with this credal and comparative study there must also be provided some joint, general, non-credal method of aspiring towards the Highest for the mutual helping of one another. In my college at Madanapalle we had ten minutes at the beginning of each day's work which we called our 'daily dedication.' After two minutes of silence, a prayer was said by a student belonging to each of the religions represented in the school and college. Then all joined together in saying Rabindranath Tagore's prayer translated into English in *Gitanjali.*—

> Life of my life, I shall ever try to keep my body pure, knowing that thy living touch is upon all my limbs.
>
> I shall ever try to keep all untruths out from my thoughts, knowing that thou art that truth which has kindled the light of reason in my mind.
>
> I shall ever try to drive all evils away from my heart, and keep my love in flower, knowing that thou hast thy seat in the inmost shrine of my heart.
>
> And it shall be my endeavour to reveal thee in my actions, knowing it is thy power gives me strength to act.

The effect of this beautiful dedication of body, mind, heart and action, with its iterated emphasis of the Cosmic Personality as a living reality, was, and still is, most purifying and uplifting, and gave each day the dignifying touch of the Infinite. Many a student has told me how blessed he was by this daily ten minutes of aspiration, and how he has been helped round the dangerous corners of developing manhood. Knowing this, and much more, I cannot but feel strongly the deprivation under which both the students and the system of education suffer either in the imposition of one form of religion on the children of many venerable traditions or in the so-called religious neutrality in Indian education. There should be credal neutrality, a positive neutrality that provides for all varieties of the religious life. But a negative neutrality that shuts out from education not only the forms of religion but also its living spirit is not neutral but antagonistic to religion. Physical starvation brings irritation, morbidity and disease. Spiritual starvation in education is at the root of the world's malady.[1]

JAMES H. COUSINS

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[1] Lecture delivered at the Theosophical Society Hall. From the shorthand notes taken by Mr. Haridas Chatterjee). Shorthand Reporter, High Court; Calcutta.

THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT IN BENGAL

The maintenance of law and order is the foundation of civilisation, the starting point of progress. In the animated world at all stages of associated life, human or animal, obedience to law in the form of associative instincts, reverence for religious and tribal customs or reasoned submission to established law and polity, is enforced under sanction. Among bees and ants, as among human beings, the rule of associated conduct is zealously preserved and its violation punished with death or expulsion. Whether kingship was established by direct Divine Intervention or evolved under pressure of Natural Selection the desire for the preservation of law and order is one of the greatest needs and deepest motives ruling associated existence. Anarchism, Kroptkin's poetical rhapsody notwithstanding, is the inverted social instinct, a *corruptio optimi*, the parasite whose unchecked growth kills the entire social organism. But, like other disease-germs, it is capable, its life history ascertained, of providing preventive or curative remedies.

Bengal's revolutionary spirit is not obviously and exclusively attributable to low personal motives. By its spread and strength it forms an aspect of Bengali life to be studied in connection with the whole. This, like other complicated movements, will not yield up its secret unless the people's religion and history be questioned with patient persistence. The immediate causes can be registered by official investigators but the root-cause will remain unrevealed, if its reflection is unobserved in religion, the mirror of the soul, or its action in history, the safest index to character.

That morality in the form of observance of customs preceded the recognition of universal ethics is independent of all theories concerning the origin of conscience. Ages passed before woman stealing from outside the tribe was put on the same level of guilt as from within it. Even now international morality is like a poor relation, a hanger-on of national ethics. History justifies the conclusion that a centralised rule of some kind can alone supply the conditions necessary for the growth of ethics as the universal rule of conduct.

Hindu civilisation is mainly Aryan. But ancient Aryan kingdoms were interspersed among alien settlements, in different stages of culture. They were unprotected by natural frontiers and never probably larger than two or three modern Districts. The occasional over-lords were mere takers of tribute, uncertain and unsettled. Naturally, in such conditions, the polity of caste was not only a protective against destructive, depopulating wars but the highest possible social synthesis, the most extensive federation. The Brahman or Kshatriya of Mithila and of Gujrat had only the bond of caste in common. It is not surprising that in the age under consideration the whole duty of man consisted in obedience to *desāchār* (literally, customs of the country) enforced by the king as Municipal law and caste-rules believed, as resting on revealed, supernatural authority. Religion concerned with man and his Maker, formed a distinct department of interested activity, confined to individuals and their voluntary associations. Godly men, with their disciples, occasionally descended upon royal Durbars, especially in seasons of public trouble. Instances are rarely found of Kings like Janaka of Mithila and Asvapati of Panchala, wise in the way of the spirit.

Caste and small states, without natural boundaries, are happily wedded. They grow and decline, hand in hand. Prior to Mussulman conquest empires were established or attempted only by caste-less or low-caste sovereigns. Chandra Gupta was a royal bastard. Asoka and Harsa, Buddhists and the house of Kanishka, non-Aryan. Samudra Gupta, the Hindu revivalist was not of the kingly caste. He was the last emperor who attempted to quicken the spirit of segregation, inseparable from the polity of Brahmans and still the greatest obstacle in the way of regimentation of the people. Any way in India, speaking generally, was evolved a system of human duties, uninterested in the Supreme Being and a system of spiritual exercises, detached from human duties.

Conditions began to change during the empire of the Moguls. From after the reign of Akbar mono-theistic sects or *panths* arose with ethics, more or less disentangled from mere customs, but with the break up of that empire their standard of values inclined towards that generally prevalent. A curious result of this interaction between Islam and Brahmanism is still in operation. Dara Sukoh's Persian translation of Upanishadic texts fell into the hands of a wandering Frenchman, Anquetil Duperron. His French rendering received enthusiastic hospitality from Schopenhauer. The Upanishadic warning against the study of the doctrine without leading the life, enforced by the story of Indra and Virochana, was fulfilled to the letter. The same instruction made the good disciple godly and the bad a devil. Another text speaks of curse and blessing flowing, according to the hearer's disposition, from the same words of the prophet. In India existences are synthesized in terms of Being, in Germany of Will. God, to the Brahman, rests eternally in the plenitude of His own perfection; to the German He seems to be perpetually willing to power and over-power. The Brahman looks upon the result as justifying the scriptural prohibition of its study by the morally unqualified. These considerations acquire significance when one remembers that the philosophy preached by the Bengali prophets of Revolution is the bastard born of the rape of Indian idealism by German egoism.

Broadly speaking, the Hindu conscience recognises no authority but of caste and custom to which, by a mental illusion, is ascribed an origin co-eval with creation. It is irresponsive to king-made laws, which, it is prudent to obey and clever to evade. The change wrought by English education will be noticed later.

The foregoing thumb-nail sketch applies generally to the whole country. But Bengal presents certain well-marked peculiarities. On a map of India a line can be drawn, north and south, dividing the land of the wheat-eaters from the country of the eaters of rice. Two important tracts to the west of this line rice seems to have wrested from wheat—Kashmir and Konkan. On the North-West the Bengali Aryan is divided from his kinsmen by food, on other sides by ethnic alienism. Bengal, in fact, is insular and not continental relatively to the rest of India. The individuality, promised by such environment, is in fact realised in Bengal's history. Bengal continued Buddhist long after Hindostan proper. When the Brahman immigrants from Kanauj revised the caste system in Bengal the result was very characteristic. Those who submitted to Brahman supremacy and carried on practically the Shastric occupations of Vaishyas became *Navasāka* sudras to whom Brahmans may minister without caste-degradation. The rest continued to be priestless castes or with degraded Brahmans as priests. These found refuge later in some form of Vaishnavism. The learned Buddhist teachers of the period prior to the immigration, to whom Tibetans owe their alphabet and whose translations of the scriptures, then current in Bengal, are now known in Tibetan as Tangyur, formed a new caste, unknown outside Bengal, the Vaidya or medical caste. The sacraments of animal food and strong drink find place in Bengali Hinduism and in combination with the rejection of monasticism distinguish it from the forms prevalent in the rest of Northern India. The inclusion of European dishes in the dietary of English educated Bengalis had originally a religious complexion. Comparative theology along with what is wrongly called ecclectic religion was born in Bengal. Bahaism, which counted the late Canon Cheyne as one of its adherents, is but a recent offshoot of this larger movement. Bengal has its own system of law and logic. But what immediately concerns the present subject is the influence of Western Education.

Before the Government system of Public Instruction was established the Bengali Ram Mohun Roy achieved eminence by his knowledge of Western languages and culture. In this he was alone. His social and religious work received appreciative encouragement from successive Governors General, notably the Marquis of Hastings and Lord William Bentinck. He offered up thanks "to the supreme Disposer of the events of this universe for having placed it (*i.e.*, his country) under the government of the English." Among the first fruits of Western education, at any rate, in Bengal, was loyalty to the British connection. In a subsequent generation Keshub Chunder Sen, whom Lord Lawrence befriended in private life, made that loyalty expressly a part of religion. Ram Mohun Roy was not always in agreement with the Government of the day but he never appealed except to the conscience and intelligence of the Rulers. At Keshub's instance the Civil Marriages Act was passed for the benefit of casteless Brahmos. But beyond that no member of his Church has, so far as known, taken any part in political agitation. The claim of the reformers on the Rulers will be obvious when one remembers that in the early part of its history Government had to suppress cults of murder, suicide, torture and robbery. In any case, it is clear that whatever moral adherence, founded on reasoned conviction, that British Rule has secured is due, mainly, if not wholly, to Higher Education. Madras was longer in contact with the West but the commingling has yielded the richest harvest in Bengal. Eagerly the Bengali took advantage of the new culture and followed the flag to the ends of the old Presidency of Bengal. It is noteworthy that Bengal gave the first Indian judge to the Lahore Chief Court and the second to the Allahabad High Court. Without aid from Government Bengalis rose to high offices in the states of Kashmir and Jaypore. Bengal's loyalty was tested by the fiery ordeal of the Mutiny which left one Bengali a Talukdar in Oudh and another in possession of a Jaigir near Allahabad.

Among the causes which drove the *bhadraloka* Bengali to English education in order to earn his livelihood must be reckoned the resumption of rent-free lands under the Regulations of 1819 and 1825. The distress occasioned was acutely felt by Brahman families, especially in the Districts of Murshidabad, Hughli and Burdwan. They were sent townward in search of employment through the gate of English education. Brahmans led the way and Kāyasthas followed their *gurus* (spiritual guides) and *guru's* relatives. Most of these town immigrants were the grandfathers of good middle class families of the present day. Education, regarded exclusively as the means of which employment is the end, has furnished problems still clamant for solution. The reconstitution of the Presidency of Bengal and the progress of education in the other provinces have necessarily restricted the Bengali's sphere of employment under Government. The separation of Behar and Orissa and the transfer of the capital are not without their influence. The necessity for education in England has accentuated the situation. The expenses are heavy, the prizes few and the blanks many. Failures necessarily lead to discontent. So long as the education is not completely separated from the employment question or the latter is not seriously taken up by educational authorities any measure adding to the cost of education must cause trouble. The present change of orientation concerning technical and vocational education is a hopeful sign.

There are other forces moving in the same direction. Low castes, principally engaged in agriculture, are rapidly improving their economic position. Their surplus income is large enough to stimulate social ambition. The *Pod* desires to be a degraded Kshatriya, the *Aghuri* Ugra Kshatriya, the

CRCU 124

Sundi, Bārindra Sāhā. Remembering the revision of the caste-system in Bengal by Brahmans after the downfall of Buddhism, one discovers here something very like social revolution. To take a typical case. In a village, within twenty miles of Calcutta, the head of the *punchayet* is a pensioned Brahman clerk, whose income will not exceed Rs. 30 a month. Most of his neighbours are *Kaivartas,* cultivating the betel vine. From this source is derived a yearly income of Rs. 1,000 for each bigha cultivated. The rent per bigha, if ancestral holding, direct under the Zamindar, is Rs. 4 yearly—otherwise the rent is higher but not exceeding yearly Rs. 10. The younger generation of cultivators have mostly passed out of the local vernacular or Middle School and have but scant reverence for Brahmanhood. The ascendency of the priestly caste has ceased to exist almost in every way. Priests are mere hangers-on of their parishioners or what corresponds to them in the Hindu system of Bengal. From such conditions flow two streams of consequences. On the one hand, ascetism and other forms of Hindu religious externalism have been revived and two or three divine incarnations are believed to have appeared within the present generation. On the other hand, British Rule is charged with destroying the religion of reverence for Caste, Brahman and Cow.

But why is the Government held responsible for the inevitable consequences of altered conditions, not directly designed by it? Perhaps a Puranic story will furnish the answer. A Brahman's child died untimely. He carried the body to the King's durbar and accused him of violating the law. The king is responsible for every trouble of his law-abiding subject.

It is true that Revolutionists are not all Brahmans or subject to economic distress. But emotions, deep and strong, once generated, spread like epidemics, producing collective hysteria. The germs find fruitful culture beds in generous youthful natures, unhardened by the cares of the world.

Gs 3951

Political agitation has contributed its quota. The origins of politics in Bengal have been referred to. In the Forties the Landholders Association was founded in Calcutta and is now represented by the British Indian. The policy followed was to affect Government action by services as interpreters between the people and their rulers. In the Seventies commenced what may be called popular politics which Sir William Hunter called "Her Majesty's Permanent Opposition." Certain acts of Government to be immediately noticed stimulated the opposition. The influence of Germany under Bismark initiated a reaction in the political thought of the world. It was mainly responsible for the growth of an Imperialism which neglected social reform. It gave us Kipling for Tennyson in literature. Efficiency, deified in the German Empire, migrated nearer-home. Efficiency by itself is not good government any more than money is wealth. Efficiency is the means of which good government is the end. In this, as in other respects, there is a tendency in the human mind to confound the means with the end. Theoretical efficiency can never be the substitute for a government under which the people can make contented and orderly progress. Efficiency may be bought too dear, if the price for it is to be collective human happiness. Most experienced administrators must feel that if the people are with you a little efficiency will go a long way as small means in a harmonious household. Political agitation as opposition to Government arose after the Franco-German war. It was felt that the Arms Act, then enacted, gave a status to the West Indian Negro superior to that of an Indian Advocate General. It gave to the Britisher a license unknown in his own country. Every white foreigner was taken for an Englishman, allowing every facility to foreign intrigue. It created a privileged order of nobility, embracing the Britisher and the Cape Kafir. Nobody will deny the necessity for controlling unlicensed possession of arms but it seems worth while to point to the effect of the exemptions, now abolished.

This and the Ilbert Act may be said to have promoted agitation more than any other measure. In a country like India, where the existence of classes above the law meets with outward acceptance and secret attack, the creation of any privileged caste is not exactly the most efficient means for the maintenance of law and order. The law derives its moral authority from its blindness to exceptions. This law is higher than the aggregate of all legislative enactments as the living body is greater than the sum of its members. Political agitation, condemned with contempt and attributed to "Microscopic Minorities" and yet leading to concessions, deprived of the bloom of spontaneity, can have but one result. The pervasive effect of the present Reforms and amended Arms Act and Criminal Procedure Code concerning Racial Distinctions is a question of time and requires to be carefully watched.

The inconspicuousness into which Bengali politicians have fallen after the present Reforms is not without its significance. Roughly speaking Mahomedan Rule lasted for five centuries in Bengal. Some of the noted Moslem rulers were born Brahmans. Kālāpāhār and Murshed Kuli Khan do not exhaust the list. A fellow Brahman of the former adopted Islam, married the Moslem King's daughter, succeeded him and ruled Bengal from Gaur, the modern Rajmahal. By an irony of fate his dethroned widow had to seek refuge with her Hindu step-son, the Raja of Satar, in the District of Rajsahi. Even Serajud Dowla can be charged with the possession of a streak of Brahman blood in his veins. The prevalent belief in his cruel tyranny is scarcely affected by later historical research. A little over half a century ago it was no unusual spectacle for a village rustic to confront a wrong-doer with the exclamation "it is no longer Nawab Serajud Dowla's rule. It is the rule of the Company. I shall be even with you." British Rule was established in Bengal with the acquiescence, if not the active support, of the

Bengalis, of whose worldly prosperity it became the harbinger. In the early days of British Rule Bengalis, more especially Hindu Bengalis, rose to power, wealth and eminence in the Public Services and Army Commissariat. Lord Cornwallis's Permanent Settlement of Land Revenue in Bengal secured for British Rule the cheerful adherence of the land-owning interest and through that interest the loyalty of the agriculturist classes, forming even now the largest bulk of Bengal's population. Bengal's mental attitude towards British Rule is clearly distinguishable from that of the Punjab and Bombay which had to be conquered, in the strictest sense of the word. Aimless hatred or opposition to British Rule is but an exotic growth in Bengal. Opposition as such has a different value among those whose memory of their racial sovereignty is alive. When such an aimless opposition becomes the basis of political agitation Bengal is by natural necessity out of its element while Bombay and the Punjab are in theirs.

Justice demands reference to a topic not free from unpleasantness—the uncivil behaviour of Europeans towards the people of the country, in flat contradiction to the formal declaration and general attitude of Government. Happily this is practically a thing of the past. When the true origins of the anarchical movement of 1905-6 are ascertained the kick, administered by an officer in the Army to an Indian monk in Kashmir, will be found to be not an unimportant factor in the generation of that regrettable movement whose ghost, as recent events show, is still unlaid.

The Police furnishes a perpetual axe for the agitator to grind. Police rule is feared as the rule of the most irresponsible part of the Government. From before the establishment of British Rule the Police are considered the natural enemies of the people. The sceptic may be referred to the well-known Sanskrit drama, *Sakuntala*, and the poems of Bharat Chandra, composed five years before the battle of Plassey, for instances in point. The saying is well-known in every part of Bengal:—"He smiles while speaking, he cannot be a policeman." The unsmiling tyranny of the ancient Policeman is still attributed to his present day successor. But the belief is not quite clear that all wrongs by the Police done would be righted on reaching the ears of the Zilla Hakim, the District Magistrate. This belief is waning now owing partly to the agitation for the separation of the judicial and executive functions, the news of which reaches village homes through the vernacular press and partly to the activities of a particular class of agitators. It is believed that the Government is not strong enough to control the Police. The creation of the C. I. D. has not tended to weaken the belief. Purity of judicial administration is the strongest support of law and order or, perhaps, it can be better expressed as order through law. People look to the High Court as the palladium of their liberties. The civil judges of the country possess the undivided confidence of the people. The reputation of the youngest Munsiff has never been breathed upon by calumny.

That religious fanaticism plays some part in generating the Revolutionary Spirit is obvious. Political convicts have confessed to teaching the *Bhagavad Gita* and manufacturing bombs. Religious revivals produce tendencies towards reversion to the past. What wonder is there that some *bhadraloks* are reverting to dacoity, the ancestral occupation of many of them? Another feature of this spirit deserves attention. East Bengal claims a disproportionately large share of political suspects compared with her Western sister. Before Lord Curzon's partition British Rule had not tightened its grip on the eastern districts. Communications with the capital were difficult and the administrators were not the best specimens of the Civil Service. Dacoity on land and piracy on river, riots for possession of Chur lands were all in the day's work. Mymensing, it has been said, until quite recently, had achieved special notoriety for outrages on women. Those, inconvenienced by the Partition, were not all poor and unknown. The higher castes, Brahmans, Vaidyas and Kāyasthas, of East Bengal are followers of the Virāchār form of Tantric Hinduism which enjoins the eating of meat and the drinking of spirits as religious sacraments. They are heroic practitioners of religion, seeking entrance into heaven by the fervour of their individual devotions. Owing to unusual subinfeudation of land there are in East Bengal a much greater number of *bhadralokas*, dependent on fixed money incomes, derived from land. High prices have hit these classes most severely. It is not improbable that in East Bengal some forces are at work, elsewhere unknown.

On educated men the duty is cast of spreading religious and secular enlightenment. This duty is, probably, not performed as well and as extensively as it should be. That educated men have not fulfilled their duty of bearing the torch of enlightenment to the full extent of reasonable expectation is in some measure attributable to the prevalent system of education. The confusion of higher education with prospects of higher employment has already been touched upon. That our system of education has not purified itself of the old ideal which sought to produce great individuals while maintaining a very low average is obvious. The duty of education to generate a certain attitude of mind towards life as a whole does not seem to have received recognition. Hope, as distinguished from desires and expectations, when shared, is the true bond of union which nothing can sever. Common hope is the mother of love and love is insistent on expression in benficent action. This is the underlying principle of all religions apart from theology. Systems of religion are the concerns of individuals and communities but what has been called the principle of religion is the concern of the human race. The visible and outward symbol of the inward condition, produced by honest acceptance of this principle, is usually called ethics, the only rule of conduct which is applicable to man as man. Disregard of this principle in modern civilised life has led to the segregation of human interest into religious, social, economical and political, with numberless subdivisions, each at war with the other in the absence of what has been called the principle of religion. Disregard of this principle leads to the formation of nationalities, irrespective of geographical and other external conditions, such as climate, food and other peculiarities of environment. Language has no great influence as a bond of nationhood. As witness Switzerland and the United States. World-wide empires, on the other hand, have a compulsive influence, favouring the acceptance of ethics as the rule of conduct in preference to tribal or national morality.

Perfect toleration or neutrality in religion is the only wise policy for Government to pursue. In the presence of the religious principle toleration has the effect of separating in thought that principle from the local and temporary accidents which, where their true nature is unrecognised, leads to religious conflicts and other forms of mutual misunderstanding, the prolific mother of hurtful discords. Any departure from it would be disastrous. And yet, Government cannot be indifferent to the performance of the duty which the educated owe to their less fortunate countrymen. Stamping out bad literature is good but stimulating the growth of good literature is better. Prevention of the spread of criminal ideas even in the garb of religion can scarcely be a substitute for the dissemination of the religion of amity and service. No religion should be favoured but none allowed to violate the enlightened conscience by cruelty, oppression or crime. Government, as such, has no religion but surely it cannot banish the religious principle from its life. The people must feel that Governmental action is instinct with justice, mercy and benevolence. The name of religion may be excluded as the name of God is kept out of the constitution of the United States for fear of contention, hatred and oppression. The question is simple enough. Will it be amiss if the successors of Hastings, Bentinck and Lawrence were to follow their examples on suitable occasions?

It is by no means clear that Police efficiency will suffer if they show as much zeal in proving the innocence of the innocent as the guilt of the guilty. The times seem favourable. Public regard for the whole Force shows signs of improvement owing to the faithfulness unto death of some of its members. It is widely felt that voluntary citizen police may be organised for co-operation with the regular Force, in such manner as to ally all suspicion of a mutual jealousy. For a powerful element in the unpopularity of the Police the people themselves seem to be responsible. Love, acquisitiveness and fear are the threefold motive of action. In existing conditions, with a vast preponderance of illiteracy, it would not be unreasonable to expect that the last effectually out weighs the other two. Except perhaps in the small enlightened classes the fear of evil spirits, ghosts, witchcraft, charms and omens play the most prominent part as incentives to action. Those in charge of labour gangs will bear witness that anything like full measure of work cannot be obtained from them except under the pressure of fear. Speaking generally, women live in such a perpetual state of fear as to be deprived of the power of self-protection, even to the extent possessed by animals. Is it to be wondered, then, that the Police in search of necessary information cannot obtain it, except under the pressure of fear? Love cannot be reasonably expected until fear is cast out for men cannot love what they fear.

It must be made perfectly clear that the observations set forth above are in no way critical. They attempt to analyse the situation in a spirit of detachment.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

EVOLUTION OF TYPES OF STATES IN ANCIENT INDIA

General Progress of Monarchy.

As we have shown elsewhere, the tendency of Indian politics was in the direction of recognition of monarchy as the most favoured form of government. The king, subject to the laws, was to wield the rod of authority. He was to coerce wrong-doers into subjection, preserve life and property, make people follow the duties of their castes or their respective social groups and to further the cause of material progress.

The necessity of such a ruler was felt but the consolidation of his power was not the work of a single day. In earlier days, all powerful military chiefs of the clan or the tribe laid claim to the headship of the tribe, but popular choice determined the selection of the ruler. Gradually, selection came to be limited to a particular family and religion and ritual came in to give moral sanction to the authority of the elected monarch.

Hereditary succession or primogeniture was not universally accepted. In some states, they became the guiding principle in matters of succession but in others, the members of the royal family, had vested rights to hereditary royal dignity.

Monarchy, however, gained ground every day and hereditary succession and primogeniture came to be favoured until it became universally accepted. This tendency is discernible from the Vedic period downwards. By the time of the thinkers of the Arthaśāstra and the Rājadharma-parva of the Mahābhārata, Indian opinion seems to have recognised hereditary monarchy as the most favoured form of government.

Monarchy, however, was not the only form of government which existed. From time immemorial, non-monarchical states existed and so continued to exist down to the middle of the classical Hindu period. Their existence has been a fact and has been proved beyond doubt not only by literary evidence, but by the surer testimony of intelligent foreign visitors, and sometimes attested to by remains and monuments of the past which have come down to us. Systematic history or records have we none; they have been swept away with the tide of reaction which did away with the old non-monarchical political discipline, and strengthened the cause of monarchy, which commended itself more on account of its stability and also as a bulwark against the excesses of popular opinion. But if history is silent, tradition has not been so. In its own characteristic way it has preserved details or characteristics which give important clues to the modern student who desires to peep into the past and to have a glimpse of political life in those days.

In the absence of a true historical literature, most of these traditions have found place in the religious literature of the people, and only occasionally do we find the safer testimony of the foreign visitors or of archæological records. Of the first class, we have the evidence of the Brāhmaṇas, the Mahābhārata chapters, the Buddhist and Jain canonical literatures and the commentaries, attached to them. From these we know something of those regions where popular will still reigned supreme, in spite of the rising power of monarchies,—and where the people still retained the right of determining or moulding their own political destinies.

(*a*) In some cases these non-monarchical states may either be regarded as survivals from the pre-Vedic form of government in which the different clan leaders or the elders of the various sections presided. (*b*) In some other cases they arose with the advance of the Aryan settlers, under adventurous leaders and they established oligarchic federations. In the Vedic literature references to confederations are not few.

From the evidence at our disposal, we find that some of these states of the former type retained their existence for a long time, and being isolated from the great plain of the Hindustan they never came to be influenced by these forces which moulded the type of government in the plain and preferably in the Madhyadeśa. In this latter region political forces operated in favour of giving prominence to a particular royal family, and subject to the popular choice, princes of this family were elected to the headship of the country, reigned together jointly. Such indeed was the constitution of the Kuru country where all the members of the royal family enjoyed some pre-eminence while the real ruler was chosen either by the people or was nominated by the princes themselves. Gradually, the checks on royalty passed away and in course of time the king or the members of the royal family became absolute rulers. Such a movement in favour of monarchy is indeed discernible, when we go through the history of political development in Northern India. From the elective monarch of the Vedic communities to the establishment of the Mauryyas we have a continuous working of this principle towards the evolution of pure monarchy.

But while this movement was going on in the Madhyadeśa and later on in the whole of North India, communities preserved not only their individuality but also their long-cherished social and political institutions. In some cases this retention of the old constitution was entire, in others it was modified and this led to the origin of peculiar new constitutions. In some cases there arose a peculiar type of monarchy with more than one ruler each acting as a check on the other. In some the monarch's power was kept in check by a powerful aristocracy while in others chiefs entered into an oligarchic federation the affairs of the whole community being entrusted to an assembly of chiefs and elders who decided every thing after a consultation among themselves. This type of state was an important one, and as we shall see later on was dominated by a ruling class or caste.

Occasionally where communities enjoyed a secluded existence and when they were small, the spirit of tribal democracy reigned supreme.

All these various types of non-monarchical states existed in India and it is peculiar to note

(1) that most of the states were on the fringe of Aryan settlement or in a secluded locality not easily accessible to the influence of the forces operating in the vast plain region—where all the complexities of later political and social development had unrestricted play;

(2) that in most of these states the ruling authority was monopolised by the members of a particular tribe or caste, who dominated over a local population, whose position was not unlike the slaves of Greek city states;

(3) that many of them existed for a long time, though most of them succumbed to the inroads of monarchical ambition.

These states were again known by the various names of Saṅghas, Gaṇas, or in some cases, Nigamas and Janapadas. It is very difficult to interpret the meaning of these words. They all underwent modifications in later times and we have a confusion even among later though still ancient writers. But from what we can discern Saṅghas were mostly political unions or federations in which different local units retained a certain amount of autonomy, while Gaṇas, which derived their name to the influence of the Gaṇa or Jana were truly democratic. Nigamas and Janapadas of this type, from what we know, were mostly democratic. As a rule they were small in size and there the whole people met together to discuss the affairs of the state.

Monarchical Constitutions in General.

Monarchical constitutions were characterised by the fact that in all of them the executive power was theoretically supreme. But in all the various types there were limitations to the irresponsible exercise of the royal authority owing to the fact that the king was subject to the fundamental laws, which as laid down in the Śāstras—or as embodied in the local customs could not be touched. And there existed a strong public opinion which roused itself whenever irresponsibility on the part of the kings threatened the liberty or the prosperity of their subjects. This public opinion expressed through the leaders was strong enough to have its weight felt. The Brahmins during the earlier period, often stood as the champions of the moral order, in opposition to the king; the various leaders of guilds and castes too, enjoyed high social privileges, enabling them to have some weight attached to their opinion; custom too had a sanction and veneration and none dared to violate it with impunity. The king's ministers were under a moral liability to advise righteously and oppose wrong. Lastly, tyranny defeated its own ends and a tyrant was sure to be deposed, by the people, in whom there resided the moral right of revolution.

Various Types of Monarchy and their Evolution.

Monarchical constitutions, however, were not of the same type. They differed owing to peculiarities in the constitution of the executive power. Monarchy had become almost universal in the Vedic period but in that age the executive power remained undefined, in matters of its continuance (succession) and its exercise.

From the evidence of the Atharva-vedic hymns, the Brāhmaṇas, and the Mahābhārata we find that in these early days, two principles were recognized in the choice of the executive head of the state, *e. g.*,

(1) The king was elected from a particular family.

(2) Popular acceptance was the final word in the choice of monarchs.

The king was selected or was elected by the Rāja-krits or as the Rājasūya evidence shows, by the Ratnins (the chief officers and magnates of the realm) and after having gone through the religious rites, he was accepted by the common people, whose representatives of different castes including the Śūdras signified their acceptance and approval by sprinkling water on the king.

Such a selection made him the sole ruler, and consolidated his sovereignty. Some accounts, however, show that there existed a state of transition, in which the relatives or brothers of the king were not without voice or authority, but exercised important functions. In the Kuru constitution we find (if we are to believe in the Mahābhārata account) a state of transition. Pāṇḍu became king owing to the blindness of the elder brother, but when he abdicated he handed over power to Dhṛtarāṣtra and to Vidura. Again in the history of the next generation, the brothers of Judhisṭhira continued to exercise important political functions. The king thus, in those days, was but pre-eminent among equals.

To remove difficulties in succession, the practice arose, of associating the prince nearest in succession, with the government of the ruling king. He became Juvarāja or the Heir-apparent. His selection was a primitive method of ensuring peaceful succession to the throne, and of averting wars of succession. Such a practice of regulating the succession at the time of inaugurating a new sovereign, is not unknown in our own days, when the establishment of popular assemblies, have lessened the chances of a war of succession.

Gradually, in most states the choice was limited to the eldest prince, as we know from the evidence of the Rāmāyana and the Great Epic. As a rule, however, the eldest became king, but in abnormal cases, when this eldest was proved to be worthless, the right of selecting the heir devolved on the ruling prince. This is proved by the evidence of the Arthaśāstra, and also by the practice subsisting among the Gupta kings. Samudra-gupta was chosen by his father in preference to his other sons, and was associated in the government, during his father's time.

Abnormal Types of Monarchy.

There were, however, other monarchies where the royal authority was vested in the members of the royal family, which ruled as a corporation. According to the evidence of the Cāṇakya-kathā, and some other accounts, the Nanda state was ruled on this principle. When and how this came, it is difficult to determine, but the fact remains, that the nine Nandas reigned conjointly. One of them was elected by lot to rule and at the end of each year, the ruler was selected by lot from among the remaining brothers.

Kauṭilya seems to refer to these states, when he speaks of the Kula-Saṅghas or the Saṅghadharmi Rājakulas. Perhaps the remembrance of the Nandas had not died out and he referred to the Kula-Saṅghas with approval. According to him the Kula-Saṅghas were formidable, (Kulasya vā bhabedrājyam. kula-saṅgho hi durjayaḥ). Elsewhere he speaks of the weakness of the Saṅghadharmi Rājakulas, which were liable to be broken up owing to disputes arising out of dice-play (Saṅghānām.........Saṅghādharminām rājakulānām Dyūtanimitto bhedaḥ.)

In addition to these Kula-Saṅghas or states governed by members of the royal family ruling jointly (as a corporate body) there were other monarchical states, where the powers of the ruling princes, were subject to various constitutional checks.

Thus from the Greek historians we learn that there were states which had a constitution similar to that of Sparta. Diodorus speaks (Mc.Crindle's Invasion of India by Alexander the Great, p. 296) of a "city of great note" with a political constitution drawn on the same lines as the Spartan; for in this community the command in war was vested in two hereditary kings of two different houses while a council of elders ruled the country with paramount authority."

The Greek evidence in this connection must be regarded as trustworthy since such a constitution simply reminded them of the old Spartan constitution. The evidence of Jaina texts gives confirmation to the existence of such states. Thus in the Ācārāṅga Sūtra, Jaina monks and nuns are forbidden by their great teacher, not to sojourn, or pass through states with two kings (Do-rāyāni) or those ruled by Gaṇas (Gaṇarāyāni).

The existence of states with two kings is further proved by the evidence of the Arthaśāstra. In that book Kauṭilya speaks of Dvai-rājyas, and enters into a discussion as to the relative merits or demerits of the Dvairājyas and the Vai-rājyas. In regard to the former, Kauṭilya cites the opinion of his predecessors who looked upon these with disfavour, since the mutual jealousies of the two rulers and of their parties contributed to the ruin of public interests. Kauṭilya on the contrary, seems to look upon these with approbation. (Dvairājyam anyonyapakṣa-dveṣānurāgābhyām paraspara-saṅgharṣena vā vinaśyati...........neti Kauṭilyaḥ pitāputrayoḥ bhrātroḥ dvairājyam tulyayogakṣemam atyāvāgraham vardhayati,—Book VIII. ch. 2; reading taken from the foot note of the 2nd Edition.)

History of Non-monarchical States.

(1)

After discussing the various types of monarchical constitutions, we pass on to a consideration of non-monarchical states, which were characterised by the lack of hereditary anointed rulers. In these states the sovereign authority was not vested in the executive but remained with the people or at least the ruling element. The non-monarchical states existed from early times, though we have but little details about them in the Vedic literature. At one time such states covered a large part of India, but gradually they decayed. Unfortunately for us, we have very little of a history of these states, until we come to a very late period, when monarchy had already gained ground, and these states were regarded as exceptions to the general rule.

Various scholars have tried to prove the mention of these non-monarchical states in the Ṛg-veda or in the Artharva-veda. But the evidence is so scanty that we cannot form any definite opinion. But, perhaps, the earliest reference to these is furnished by a passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII, 14) which mentions that among the Uttara-Kurus and the Uttara-Madras the whole community was consecrated to rulership. (Ye ke ca pareṇa himavantam Janapadā Uttara-kurava Uttara-Madrā iti vairājyāyaiva te'bhiṣichyante (Ait. Br. VIII, 14).

The first to notice the substitution of the word Janapadāḥ in place of the word rājānaḥ as in the three preceding lines, was the late Dr. Martin Haug, whose translation of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa appeared in 1863. In a footnote to page 518 of his translation he remarked that "two meanings could be given to the word vairājya, *e.g.*, (1) without king (2) a very distinguished king, but in this passage, we must take the first meaning, since here are the Jānapadāḥ, *i.e.*, the people, in opposition to the king mentioned as abhiṣikta, whilst in all other passages, we find instead of them the Rājānaḥ or kings."

The subject of non-monarchical states was not taken up earnestly, by scholars, till quite recently, when Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, drew the attention of scholars not only to this passage, but having collected a vast mass of evidence, proved the existence of republics in India—beyond any dispute.[1] His celebrated articles appeared in the *Modern Review*, and have gained for him the admiration of all scholars.

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[1] K. P. Jayaswal "Introduction to Hindu Polity"—*Modern Review*—1913.

Next to the evidence of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, we have the evidence of the Sūtras of Pāṇini. In these we find references to various types of corporations or political bodies, known as Pūgas, Vrātas—Śreṇis, Saṅghas, Āyudhajīvī Saṅghas and Gaṇas.[1] Details are lacking, but from what we can gather about these, they were corporations of various character. The Saṅgha especially or the Āyudhajīvī Saṅgha had a military and political character. The Śreṇi was the corporation of commercial people or artisans and in that sense the word is used not only in the Buddhist literature, but also in the Smṛtis. In the case of the Pūga, it is difficult to find out its original meaning, but probably it meant a commercial or industrial corporation. In the case of the Saṅgha or Gaṇa no explanation comes from very early writers, but from later evidence, it is clear that these words were applied generally to denote great political and religious organisations, though there is hardly any means of finding out the technical distinction between the two. The difficulty is enhanced by the use of the word Saṅgha in the commercial sense.

In addition to these above, some sūtras throw light on the political condition of the day. The sūtras mention rāṣtras and janapadas. These janapadas seem to have been founded by the settlement of kṣatriyas in different localities and were called after their names used in the plural. Probably these tribesmen were the rulers in these regions and they claimed the allegiance of the local population. From these it would appear that the early janapadas, were ruled by an aristocracy of the ruling tribe.[2]

After Pāṇini who wrote in the 7th century B.C. we have a mass of evidence from the early literature of the Buddhists which testifies to the existence of powerful republican states at the time of the rise of Buddhism. Mr. Rhys Davids (see Buddhist India, p. 22) has drawn up a long list of the clans, whose names are constantly referred to by the early Buddhist authors at the time of the Buddha. These are—

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[1] See Pāṇini III. 3.42; V. 3. 112......117, etc., IV. 3.91.

[2] See Pāṇini IV. 3.95 & 100.

The Sākiyas of Kapilavastu; the Bhaggas of Sumsumāra hills; the Bullis of Allakappa; the Kālāmas of Kesaputta, the Koliyas of Rāmagāma; the Mallas of Kusinārā; the Mallas of Pāva; the Moriyas of Pippalivana; the Vajjians who conspired the Videhas of Mithilā; and the Licchavis of Vesāli.

Of these ten tribes we know something about the inner political condition of the Licchavis and of the Vajjians. About the Sākiyas we know but little, and upon the basis of these, scholars have formed different views—as to their constitution and method of government. According to Mr. Rhys Davids, the administrative and judicial business of the (B. I. P. 19) clan of the Sākyas were discussed in the Assembly in which all men were present. At the head of the tribe or clan there was an elected chief, bearing the title of Rājā "which must have meant something like the Roman Consul or the Greek Archon." (For Rhys David's views see 'Buddhist India,' p. 19).

All the clans seemed to have had such a constitution, but of these the Licchavis were the most important. They too had no kings, and were republican but as to the extent of the sovereignty of the people, there must remain certain doubts. These people like the other republican clans, were distinguished by their valour and independence and as it is well known to all students of history, they played an important part in the early history of Buddhism and Jainism. Zealous in the cause of the reformed religions, they did much for these two faiths. Unfortunately, however, the VIth century, if it witnessed the great religious and spiritual revival, saw also other great changes. The rise of the great religious movements synchronised with the growth of absolute monarchy in that quarter. Buddhism, in spite of its democratic teachings in religion, failed to stem the tide of a reaction to the contrary in politics. The power of Magadha grew, the fortress of Pātaliputra was established and the political importance of the clans was broken. Hardly had the Buddha closed his eyes when his kinsmen, the Sākyas, were exterminated. The Lichchavis alone survived but their political importance was gone.

The non-monarchical states thus lost their political importance in that quarter, but they retained their existence elsewhere. For the history of these we are indebted to the foreigners who invaded India in the IVth. century B.C. In that age the indepedence-loving Greeks had fallen under the yoke of Macedon. The genius of Alexander led them out on a march for world-conquest. Having swept away western Asia and felled the mighty Persian Empire, they penetrated into the Punjab. They recorded what they found and did there; and from their accounts we know the history of the many non-monarchical states which then flourished there. According to their accounts, of which fragments only have survived, nearly the whole of this border region was occupied by tribes and clans who had republican forms of government. Of these we may mention the Subarcae, the Molloi, the Oxydrakai, the Xathroi, Andraestai and various other tribes. Of the first Curtius says that they had a "constitution which was democratic and not regal." They had an army of 60,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry. The Sambastai, too, had, according to Diodorus, a democratic constitution. The Molloi were described as "independent Indians" while Oxydrakai were described as "most attached to freedom." The Molloi (Mālavas) and the Oxydrakai (Kṣudrakas), as we shall see, are found mentioned in our Indian literature, while the Kathaioi have been identified with the Āraṭṭās. The Nyssians, according to Arrian, were ruled by a president and an aristocracy while the Gedrosii were a free people with a council for discussing the affairs of state.

The existence of such states is also confirmed by the evidence of the Epic Mahābhārata, which not only mentions, the varius Gaṇas, but gives us an account of their form of government. Moreover, it gives us something of the Yādava confederacy which had a constitution like that of the Licchavis. Kauṭilya, too, speaks of Vairājyas and mentions the various Saṅghas which continued to exist in his time. In regard to the Vairājyas he describes them as being dependent on the will of the people (prakṛticittagrāhi).[1] As regards the Saṅghas he divides them into Rajasabdopajīvī and Vārtta-śastropajīvī. Of the former class, there existed in his days the Kṣatriya Śrenis of Kāmvoja and Surāṣtra while of the other category there were the Licchavis, the Mallakas, the Madrakas, the Kukuras, the Kurus and the Pāñcālas.

(*To be continued.*)

NARAYANACHANDRA BANDYOPADHAYA

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[1] I am indebted to Mr. Hāritakṛṣṇa Dev for drawing my attention to this passage in the second edition of the Arthaśāstra text.

A RATIONALISTIC VIEW OF POESY

V

REASON

Desperate attempts have been made to prove that the poetry of the Puranas emerged out of the philosophy of the Vedanta by a natural process of biological conception, embryonic development and easy delivery in good health as if idealism and idolatry were related as mother and child, ratiocination and imagination as man and wife, and syllogism and witticism as brother and sister. Saktaism looks like a monster to the Vaisnav and Vaisnavism as a morally deformed damsel in the eye of the Sakta. Yet each of the two sects traces its origin from the Vedanta, the Sakta from pure monistic, and the Vaisnav from the dualo-monistic interpretation of it. The fact that Vaisnavism and Saktaism are older than Ramanuja and Sankara, the expounders of the two types of interpretation, does not disconcert the believer of either sect in any way. He argues that the Vedanta contains the essence of revealed knowledge, and the doctrines of his own creed have emerged out of it, and that the Puranas of his own sect only supply illustrations in practical life of those doctrines. In the Vedas God revealed Himself through the translucent screen that divides phenomena from noumena. In the Puranas He raised that screen and visibly and tangibly revealed Himself by personally mixing in the world of phenomena. This is the meaning of incarnation, without which God would be lacking in omnipotence. He can be vulgar as well as refined. The intellectual refinements of the Vedas, it is supposed, were vulgarised in the Puranas for the benefit of the ignorant masses. The truth is that the screen between phenomena and noumena was not raised, but was fixed more securely while God magically appeared on this side of it as superman with human faiths and foibles, mingled with human excellences and human glories. Idolatry does not help the realization of God as God, as the supreme, absolute power, creative as well as regulative, but transfigures Him into man in order to make Him visible,—to make Him cognizable by the senses. Idolatry rests upon the implicit admission of the inability of the human intellect to realize God independently of the intermediation of the senses. It drags God from the realm of reality into the realm of appearance, from the noumenal to the phenomenal region. It makes the absolute relative, the infinite finite, the eternal shortlived, for the convenience of the human understanding. It is a pragmatic or humanistic device for transforming untruth into truth, for changing the doubtful into the certain, the debatable into the indisputable. Monistic idolatry is an absurdity, and pragmatists are necessarily pluralists. It is thus that we find both Saktaism and Vaisnavism claimed by the same mind: Vaisnavism is concerned with one aspect of the divine power, while Saktaism is concerned with another. Love and Hate are not contradictory, but complementary; and so are construction and destruction, self-sacrifice and self-assertion; attachment and detachment; peace and war; *adirasha* and *rudrarasha*. Vaisnavism represents eth one aspect of life and Saktaism the other.

There were many fragmentary incarnations, but in Krisna God revealed the whole of divine life, the life of Love and the life of Hate. Krisna devoted his childhood and youth to love and constructive work, and his prime to hate and destructive work. In the revivalistic movements of the present day this synthetic view of religion and divine life is becoming conspicuous, though naturally greater emphasis is laid on the life of love and peace than on the life of hate and war, chiefly because the life of war in India has been effectually crushed out by the dread of foreign arms. Chaitanya preached universal love and equality in spite of the established social order, regulated and maintained by caste separation and inequality, It is curious he was devoted to Krisna, and fought dialectic battles with *pundits* of the *Sakta* sect, though Krisna is acknowledged to have been the originator of the caste system with its pretentious inequalities both in the eye of man and that of God. Mahatma Gandhi at the present day is following in the footsteps of Chaitanya, his Indian master, and in those of Tolstoi his European prototype. Krisna said he was ready to save individuals, of exceptional devotional merit, of the lower castes of Vaisya and Sudra ; Chaitanya taught that God made no distinction between the high caste and the low, in responding to knocks at the gates of heaven. The realities of social life thus lost their distinctive cash value, and the caste system lost its grip, when a new movement of a philosophic nature came to rehabilitate it by showing that the tenets of Saktaism and Vaisnavism are both traceable to the Vedas and imply no antagonism. Thus Saktas began to worship Krisna, and Vaisnavas reciprocated by introducing the worship of Sakti, though each party retained its distinctive character and name by the order of precedence allowed to Krisna and Sakti respectively. The mixture was a mechanical blending, not a chemical composition. Even the revivalist propagandists retain this ungodly psychology in their soul.

It would appear that the Puranas had psychologically originated out of the disgust of the intellectualism of absolutism, and reared up on its roof a pragmatic system which would enable people to enjoy life both in war and in peace with full freedom secured for the emotions, whose flow, it is said, had been drying up in the desert of monism. The Puranas are not a wholly new structure built on the old mansion, but with the broken bricks and decomposed rubbish of the old philosophy mixed with sundried materials of worldly life. The attempt to correlate the Puranas, in the plural, with the Vedanta as cause and effect, as mother and child is the work of desperate intellectual ambition intoxicated imagination and emotion. In short, the diffusion of the Puranas represents the triumph of poetry over philosophy, of pragmatism over absolutism, of the emotions over reason, of fancied beauty over eternal truth, of plebeian vulgarity of social relations over the patrician sublimity of human thought.

It was when the pernicious imperfections of idolatry were visibly laid bare by the demoralisation and desecration of the life of love and by the failure of the fancied grandeur of the life of hate that the advocates of the Puranas began to search for evidence to prove that they were built upon the Vedas, that they followed as corollaries from the doctrines of the Vedas, that they illustrated the pristine principles of the Vedas, and were inseparable. From the latter, verses and chapters were interpolated into the Puranas for this purpose. Poetry has played a great part in the life of humanity, but nowhere has it shown such vastness of scheme, such cleverness of execution, such widespread propagandism, and such ruinous results as in the conception of the Puranas. The rise of pragmatism with its corollary of pluralism, in the western world may one day prove to be an event in history similar to what has happened in India.

What has been said above of the union of poetry and philosophy in the religion of the Hindus is more or less visible in all other religions. Either poetry tries to corrupt the creations of philosophy, or philosophy tries to rationalize or weed out the unrealities of the creations of poetry. Thus no religion stands still for any length of time. Poetry always tries to pull God closer to man, and philosophy helps to push man closer to God. The one desecrates God, and the other ennobles man. The pull and push are sometimes successful, and sometimes end in rupture. The obstreperous obtrusiveness of poetry makes a noise for sometime, but the realities of life soon reassert themselves, and violently command poetry to keep quiet. Philosophy ever presses forward, turning the realities of the past into the unrealities of the present, and creating new realities for man; poetry is ever trying to resuscitate the realities of the past, and to obtrude them on the present as if they were realities still, or newly discovered realities. This is what Strickland Anderson has in an unconscious compartment of her mind when she eulogises Rabindranath's love of middle-age mythology and primitive animism. Poetry has all but exhausted her creative power; philosophy is exhibiting it with increasing amplitude with the progress of time. To try to unite two such conflicting psychological factors in the domain of religion seems to be the height of folly. Whenever such union has taken place it has been through the weakness of philosophy, which has uniformly behaved like a henpecked husband, while the union lasted in peace; but peace has seldom endured for any length of time. Impatient of female termagancy and corruption philosophy soon resumes its proper privilege and power, and claims divorce from the illegitimate connection.

(*Concluded.*)

K. C. SEN

ORNITHOLOGY IN INDIA

III

Maxwell-Lefroy's conclusions, based on Mason's work on the food of birds in India, are given below :—

"(1) In agricultural tracts the birds play an indispensable part in the protection of crops from insects.

(2) The following have an injurious action :—

Rose-ringed Paroquets and other Paroquets.
The Cranes
The Herons.
The House-Sparrow.
The Common Indian Green Barbet.
The Bee-Eaters.

(3) The following deserve protection, being markedly beneficial :—

The Indian Roller.
The Ortolan [The Rufous Short-toed Lark (*Calandrella brachydactyla dukhunensis*) is probably meant].
Crows (?)
The King-Crow.
Mynas.
The Hoopoe.
The Spotted Owlet.
Kites.
The Black Partridge.
The Cattle-Egret.

(4) Legislation to protect birds or to prohibit export of plumage needs to discriminate between beneficial and other birds.

(5) Tree-planting on roadsides is probably the most important direct way of encouraging beneficial birds, especially if preference is given to wild fig trees and other trees, affording food and shelter to the birds feeding both on fruits and on insects."

There is another large and important section of birds in India which is beneficial to man; but the value of these birds to mankind is of quite a different nature to that of birds which are considered beneficial from an economic point of view. I refer to those birds which are beneficial to us from the sanitary aspect—to the scavengers.

In this category the Vultures stand first, assisted by Crows and Kites. Besides Vultures, Kites and Crows, there are perhaps other birds in some parts of India which can be ranked as scavengers; but in Simla, at any rate, a bird which plays some part in scavenging is the Steppe Eagle (*Aquila nipalensis nipalensis*). This Eagle is a visitor to Simla in the cold season, and during the time it remains in Simla it may always be seen near municipal incinerators, in company with Vultures and Crows. Another bird which used to be an important scavenger in certain parts of the country is the Adjutant Stork (*Leptoptilus dubius*). Many years ago Calcutta used to swarm with Adjutants. They were regarded as valuable scavengers, and, I understand, a fine was imposed on anyone who killed an Adjutant. Blanford says: "In Calcutta throughout the hot season and the rains Adjutants swarm, and formerly, before the sanitary arrangements of the city were improved, numbers haunted the river ghats in the day time and perched on Government House and other conspicuous buildings at night." Adjutants were undoubtedly very common years ago, but none are to be seen in Calcutta now. As far back as 1905, when Mr. Frank Finn was in the Indian Museum, the Adjutants seemed to have abandoned the city. This is probably due to the improved sanitary arrangements and the increased population and expansion of Calcutta.

It is an indisputable fact that Vultures are useful scavengers. In large towns and cities a great deal of garbage must accumulate, and it is essential that in such places where the population is large, the town or city should be as free from garbage as possible. It is the Vultures that help considerably in disposing of much foul matter. A few years back, all the refuse of Calcutta used to be dumped down at a place called Dhappa, which, of course, was the stronghold of the Vultures.

Writing of Bombay, EHA says: "Of all the unsalaried public servants who have identified themselves with this city and devoted their energies to its welfare, no other can take a place beside the vulture." Not only is the Vulture of use in cities; out in the fields the bird is just as useful. It is a common sight to find a crowd of Vultures round the carcase of a horse or cow lying in the country. Far removed from human habitation and the amenities of a city life, the poor villager's dead horse or cow cannot be disposed of by municipal authorities—the Vultures do the work. In a hot, tropical climate disease would be rife if the carcases of dead animals and other offensive matter were allowed to decompose all round us. The commonest vultures which take part in disposing of carcases are the White-backed Vulture (*Pseudogyps bengalensis*), the Indian Long-billed Vulture (*Gyps indicus indicus*), and the Black or Pondicherry Vulture, also known as the King Vulture (*Torgos calvus*).

Although these Vultures are of use in devouring carcases, we have in India a genus of Scavenger Vultures, a name which is somewhat misleading, as it implies that other Vultures are not scavengers. The fact of the matter is that Scavenger Vultures scavenge in a different way to their other vulturine relatives. There are two species in India, but the common bird is the Smaller White Scavenger Vulture (*Neophron percnopterus ginginianus*). This species is found in most parts of India, except in the extreme North-West and in Lower Bengal. It is not a Calcutta bird for instance, but it is common enough at Delhi. This disgusting bird haunts towns and villages, and although it eats carrion, it feeds to a large extent on human and animal excrement.

It will have been deduced from the pages that have gone before that although we have a fair knowledge of Indian ornithology there is still much to be learnt about the avifauna of India. We may come to know our birds in many ways. To mention three methods by which the furtherance of bird-study in India may be attained. Firstly, by the field-worker and observer of Nature, who sees and hears birds in their natural haunts; secondly, by the aviculturist, who watches the life-history of his captive birds; thirdly, by the cabinet ornithologist working at home or in a large museum, who is able to study skins and classify birds in some scientific and methodical manner.

As I have endeavoured to indicate before, ornithology can well be studied by the private individual who is not a scientific man holding a Government appointment as such in a Zoo or Museum. Hume was not a professional scientist, nor was Hodgson, nor Oates, nor is Stuart Baker. A large number of our best ornithologists in India at the present day are men who have taken up the study of birds as a hobby. A large percentage of these men are in the Forest or Survey Department, in the Opium Department, in the Police or the Educational Services, in the Indian Civil Service, or in the Army. My paper has already attained a great length and it is, therefore, only possible to mention a few names, without even outlining the work done by these ornithologists. The following is a list of the names (arranged alphabetically) of some of our modern ornithologists in this country who have advanced our knowledge of the subject to a greater or lesser extent:

Dodsworth, P.T.L.; Donald, C.H.; Harington, Col. H.; Inglis, C.M.; Jones, A.E.; Kinnear, N.B.; Mackenzie, J. M.D.; Magrath, Col. H.; Osmaston, A.E.; Osmaston, B.B.; Primrose, A.E.; Ticehurst, C.; Whistler, H.; and Whitehead, C.H.T.

I cannot help quoting the following passage by Hume from the Preface to Volume I of *Stray Feathers*. This passage I have always called "Hume's Exhortation to Indian Ornithologists!" It runs as follows:

"A man has only to collect *steadily*, in almost *any* locality for a year or eighteen months, one or two specimens of *every* species he can come across in his neighbourhood, to note, so far as practicable, in regard to each, whether they are rare or common, whether they are permanent residents or seasonal visitants, and if the latter, when they arrive and when they leave; whether they breed in his neighbourhood, and if so, when; what their nests are like, how many eggs they lay, and what these are like, and what their dimensions are; what the nestlings and young birds are like; what localities and what food the birds affect, and, even if he does all this *very*, very imperfectly in regard to a vast number of species, he will still (after his birds have been identified) possess materials for a most *useful* and *instructive* local avifauna, such as the most critical professed ornithologist will welcome cordially."

However, there are many who will not agree with Hume, as they deprecate the killing of harmless and beautiful birds, even for the cause of science. But we can study birds without killing them or robbing their eggs. Due to the great advancement of photography we are now able to collect a series of bird-pictures from actual life. In Europe bird-photography is much in vogue and there are many who have developed this pastime into a fine art, notably Messrs. Richard Cherry Kearton, the famous naturalists. Besides single bird-photographs we can secure a cinematograph film of birds in Nature—a moving-picture which takes us to the haunts of the bird and gives us the pleasure and benefit of watching its movements and behaviour as if the bird itself was before our eyes. In India hardly anyone[1] has taken seriously to bird-photography. So here is an untouched mine which holds rich stores, and a serious, useful, and at the same time, pleasurable hobby.

Charles Kingsley, the famous novelist, had a taste for Natural History which found expression in *Glaucus, or the Wonders of the Shore, the Water Babies*, and other works, but he was a great lover of birds. One of the best essays I have read is Kingsley's "A Charm of Birds," which was first published in *Fraser's Magazine* in June, 1867.[1] It is a fascinating study of English bird-life, and yet a violent attack on those who know not Nature. Kingsley's words hold good to-day! "May and June are spent by most educated people anywhere rather than among birds and flowers" * * * "As for the song of birds, of which in the middle age no poet could say enough, our modern poets seem to be forgetting that birds ever sing." In this present world of rush and scurry there is no time for nature-study, no time to watch the engaging habits of our feathered friends. Are we losing "that love for spring which among our forefathers rose almost to worship?" Dame Nature is not the anchor of our purest thoughts, nor our nurse, nor guide, nor the guardian of our hearts.

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[1] Mr. E. H. N. Gill of the Opium Department, United Provinces, and Major R. S. P. Bates are the only persons known to me.

"Those first affections,
Those shadowy recollections,
Which, be they what they may,
Are yet the fountain light of all our day,
Are yet the master light of all our seeing;
Uphold us, cherish, and have power to make
Our noisy years seem moments in the being
Of the eternal silence; truths that wake
To perish never;
Which neither listlessness, nor mad endeavour,
Nor man nor boy,
Nor all that is at enmity with joy
Can utterly abolish or destroy.

* * * * *

Then sing, ye birds, sing out with joyous sound."

S. BASIL-EDWARDES

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[1] Reproduced in *Modern English Essays*, 1870-1920, Vol. I, pp. 62-82.

A BEGGAR AT LOVE'S GATE

LOVE'S BEGGAR

Like Sannyasa, lo, I stand,
Love's Beggar, at thy garden gate—
Ah, my beloved, stretch thy hand
And open wide my door of Fate.
Thy perfume steals from out the dusk
Where roses call and beckon me;
Ah, let me in that I may twine
A wreath of love to garland thee.
I'll bracelets weave of champac-buds,
With jasmine stars thine ears adorn—
While I pour in the rosy shells
The music of my Soul, Love-born:
Would I might twine the marigolds
Across the lintels of thy door—
Would I might lift thy saffron veil
And all thy hidden charms adore:
Low in the dust beside thy gate,
I kneel a beggar at thy feet;
Ah, open, open Love to me,
Bid me into thy garden sweet,
Thy roses call and beckon me—
Ah, let me twine a wreath for thee!

* * *

The Breath of Thy Lips

The breath of the sandal wood is sweet;
But the breath of thy lips is sweeter.
Thy virgin breasts are as lotus buds—
Thou art pure as the heart of Sita:
Thou wilt not open the gate to me?
Then hark to the voice of my wooing:
The caged bird would know nought of love
Were she deaf to her wild mate's suing.
How can I sing my passion to thee?
My flute shall receive my caresses,
My lips shall draw forth its melody,
While I dream that I kiss thy tresses.
I would twine thy braids with strings of pearls,
And kiss thy lips twice for each jewel:
Ah, can I conquer my burning heart,
When denial adds to its fuel?
The breath of thy lips is sweet, is sweet—
Thou art as pure as the heart of Sita!

* * *

While Temple Bells

While temple bells are swaying in the breeze,
And from the mango flowers the dusty bees.
All drunk with sweetness reel and hum along,—
I stand adream, my heart all filled with song:
I hear not bird trills on the golden air,
I hear not temple bells nor chanted prayer,—

I only see thine eyes, like veiled stars,
Glow thro' the gate with its imprisoning bars.
I see the hand that lifts thy veil aside—
The veil that seeks thy beauty all to hide;
I hear the tinkle of thy ankle-bells,
I feel the witching of thy weaving spells.
And like the bee, Ah *Kama*, I would fly
To drink the honey of thy lips else die!
Come, open wide this cruel gate to me;
Thy Sannyasa kneels and pleads to thee—
To thee, Ah, *Kama-Kama*, pleads to thee:

* * *

NIGHT AND THE RAIN

Night and the rain,—
As though the clouds all wept with me
That I must plead in vain.
Thy roses weep—
And waft their incense out to me,—
And thou—how canst thou sleep?
The cypress tree
That stands beside the granite wall,
Stoops o'er to shelter me.
No stars, no light—
Save in my heart thy face that glows,
And radiates the night:
Sleep: I will wait,—
My heart and I our watch will keep
Here at thy garden gate.

Isvara bless
Thy sleeping eyes, thy tender form,
That I long to caress.
Shanti, shanti !—
May thy sweet spirit floating free,
Know that I keep watch o'er thee.

* * *

MORNING AND SUNLIGHT

Morning and Sunlight!
The birds all sing and feathers preen—
Morning and sunlight!—
The trees are robed in fresher green,
And flower petals soft unfurl,
As in the breeze they dance and swirl.
The cloying sweetness on the air
Invites the bees to banquet rare,
And all the world seems born anew,
While Heav'n is mirrored in the dew :
Morning and Sunlight!
And temple-bells, and tom-toms beat,—
While I am chained by heart and feet
To the closed gate that cruel stands
Defiant to my helpless hands.
Mine eyes with *soma* juice I'll bathe,
And in the stream my limbs I'll lave,
A beggar's yellow robe then don,
With *kusa*-grass to sit upon,
And so I'll meditate on thee,—

Oh, may the *devas* grant to me
My prayer, and send me ecstasy.

* * *

LOST IN A DREAM

Lost in a dream,—
My soul went fairing forth in search of thee;
Methought I stood within thy garden close,
And thou didst come, with fragrant, unbound hair,
And offer me one perfect, crimson rose;
A rose so sweet,—so wondrous sweet and rare,
That faint I grew with rapture and sank down
As the great Indra offered me a crown!
My lips clung to thy henna-tinted feet,
Too drunk with joy to lift mine eyes to meet
Thine own, or take the rose still held to me.
Lost in a dream,—
I seemed to hear thy vina's silver voice,—
As Twilight scattered violets afar,
And offered incense to the evening star.
Then back my spirit came, and Truth I knew—
From the heart of dreams, realities e'er grew.
I looked, and lo, thy gate was open wide,
And unveiled, thou didst beckon me inside,
I heard thy voice, sweet as the bul-bul's song,
"Come, my beloved, I have waited long,—
Let us with roses and the night rejoice:"

TERÉSA STRICKLAND

HINDUISM AND MUHAMMADAN HERETICS DURING THE PATHAN PERIOD

The Timuride princes of Delhi were good Muhammadans but during their long sojourn in India they had imbibed many of the superstitious beliefs of the original Hindu inhabitants of the country. Their belief in astrology was probably characteristic of that age, but Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador at the Court of the Emperor Jehangir, speaks of one superstitious rite that is still current among the native Hindus and was undoubtedly of Hindu origin. Writes Sir Thomas Roe[1]—"Then the king descended the staires with such an acclamation of Health to the king, as would have out-cryed cannons. At the staires foote, where I met him, and shuffled to be next, one brought a mighty carpe, another a dish of white stuffle like starch, into which he put his finger, and touched the fish, and so rubbed it on his fore-head; a ceremony used presaging good fortune." In that "mighty carpe" and "a dish of white stuffle like starch" it is not difficult to identify a *Rohit* fish and a pot of '*Dadhi*', things of good omen that every orthodox Hindu likes to touch and look upon when he sets forth from his home for a new place, even to-day. The Hindu and Muhammadan had lived side by side for so many centuries that they had naturally learnt to tolerate and unconsciously imbibe each other's social customs, common beliefs and even superstitious rites, and the process must have begun long before the conquest of India by Babar and his immediate successors. Towards the Tughlak period, the Muhammadans of India had earned such a notoriety for their heathenish practice among their co-religionists outside India that Timur regarded his invasion of India as a real Jehad; according to him most of the Indian Muhammadans were no better than heathens. In the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* we read that the expedition was directed mainly against "the infidels and polytheists of India." The Muhammadans were neither infidels nor polytheists but the same authority informs us that in this country "there were those who called themselves Mussalmans but had strayed from the Muhammadan fold." (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III p. 426). In the defence of Bhatnir the Muhammadans not only fought side by side with their Rajput comrades and fellow countrymen but, like them when all hopes were lost, killed their women and children and rushed forth to fight and die sword in hand. Evidently, the Hindus and Muhammadans had learnt to unite in the face of a common danger and disaster. Both of them had learnt not only to tolerate but to co-operate with each other and from the evidence at our disposal it appears that the social customs and even religious beliefs of the Islamic conquerors of India did not long remain unaffected by those of their Hindu subjects and neighbours.

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[1] Purchas His Pilgrims, Vol. IV, p. 376.

A zealous Muhammadan was Firuz Shah Tughlak. In his reforming zeal he did not spare either himself or his subjects, and heresy, wherever and whenever detected, was sternly suppressed. He has given us a list of his achievements in a short work called *Futuhat-i-Firoz Shahi* and this gives us some idea of the encroachment made by Hinduism on the Muslim mind in those days. Firuz Shah informs us—"There was a sect of heretics who laboured to seduce the people into heresy and schism. They met by night at an appointed time and place, both friends and strangers. Wine was served, and they said that this was their religious worship. They brought their wives, mothers, and daughters to these meetings. The men threw themselves on the ground as if in worship, and each man had intercourse with the woman whose garment he caught. I cut off the heads of the elders of this sect and imprisoned and banished the rest so that their abominable practices were put an end to." We know nothing more. about this heresy suppressed by the pious Emperor but from the short description of their abominable rites one feels tempted to find in these heretics the Muhammadan converts of *Tantrism*. The free use of wine and communion of women at their place of worship reminds us of the well-known *Bhairavi-Chakra* of the Tantrists.

If the *Tantras* found their votaries among Indian Muhammadans in those remote days, the ordinary idolatrous practice was not without its admirers among them. We read in the pages of *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of *Shams-i-Sirai Afif*, of a Brahman who perverted the Muhammadan women of Delhi and led them to become infidels. It does not appear possible that the Brahman actually converted these Muhammadan women for even in those days Hinduism was not a proselytizing religion. All that these female converts to idolatry probably did was to worship a wooden tablets "covered within and without with paintings of demons and other objects." The Brahman was burnt to death after a formal trial by a body of Muslim theologians but the Historian does not tell us whether that served as a deterrent to the fair delinquents of Delhi.

If *Tantrik* doctrines in their grosses and interpretation were accepted by some sensualists and ordinary idolatry without any philosophy at all found converts among credulous women, the higher teaching of the Vedantas was not altogether lost upon the Mahomedans of India. Sufism is, as is well known, nothing but Vedantism in its Islamic garb and the celebrated Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia was suspected to Sufi leanings. Sufism, however, did not disappear with him and was found to prosper in its most advanced form during the reign of Firuz Shah in the far off province of Guzrat. The Emperor tells us—A person...set himself up as a Shaikh in the country of Gujrat, and having got together a body of disciples, used to say, "*Ana-i-Hukk*" (I am God). He commanded his disciples that when he used these words, they were to say "thou art, thou art!". He further said, "I am the king who dies not." In the above mentioned exclamation—"Ana-l-Hakk" we hear nothing but an echo of "So'ham" ("I am He") and the Hindu theory of identity and unity between the creator and his creation. A book written by the Gujrat Heretic was burnt at the orders of the zealous Emperor, but did that root out this heresy?

The Emperor also tells us that "A custom and practice unauthorised by the Law of Islam had sprung up in Mussalman cities. On holy days women riding in palankins, or carts or litters, or mounted on horses or mules, or in large parties on foot, went out of the city to the tombs." This new practice did not meet the Emperor's approval and he frankly informs us that it has not the sanction of the Law of Islam. Were these Muhammadan ladies emulating the example of their Hindu sisters who were in the habit of going to holy cities on pilgrimage on festive occasions in large companies attended by only a comparatively small number of the male sex?

It may be objected that these heretics were all probably new converts and uneducated people of the lower classes who found it very difficult to shake off their old beliefs and customs. This objection is not unreasonable and from the meagre materials now at our disposal it cannot be satisfactorily answered. But it is noteworthy that during the reign of Sikundur Lody, a Muhammadan nobleman of very high station and probably of good education as well, Ahmud Khan, son of Mubarik Khan, Governor of Lucknow, was accused of becoming a convert to the Hindu doctrines. Probably this conversion did not go further than an avowed sympathy as in the case of Prince Dara Shuko in a later age, but it is undoubtedly significant. Many Muhammadan scholars studied Sanskrit literature and Philosophy. The celebrated poet Amir Khusru, "the parrot of Hind", was a sincere and ardent admirer of both. There is no reason to suppose that he was the solitary Muhammadan to admire the ancient Philosophy and Literature of the Hindus in Pathan period. The Vedanta and the Upanisads have many European admirers to-day, and is it impossible that they found some real converts among the Muhammadans of those days? It is highly improbable that these heresies would have attracted the attention of the Emperor Firuz, had they been confined among a few low class renegades newly and probably forcibly converted into Muhammadanism? Either these heretics could count among men of note or the heresies suppressed by Firuz Shah must have been very widespread indeed. It is not improbable that some men of high rank at least had some leanings towards the heresies described above. Converted Hindus often rose to very high position in the days of the Pathan Emperors. Khusru Khan, the notorious favourite of Mubarik Khilji, was a converted Hindu and so was Khwaja Jehan, the all-powerful minister of Firuz Shah Tughlak. It appears that in those days converted Hindus, even when highly placed, did not forget their former friends and relatives, nor did the latter hesitate to stand by their converted kinsman. In the pages of Ferishta we find an instance of a Hindu chief permitting a brother, converted into Islam, to reside in his fort. Khusru relied mainly on his Hindu friends in his ambitious schemes and so did Khwaja Jehan, the Junior. Heredity and environment, after all, cannot be easily dismissed and these highly placed converts, who intermarried in high families were probably not a little responsible for the propagation of the Hindu ideas and introduction of Hindu customs among their new relatives and correligionists. This seems all the more likely when we remember that to-day uneducated Muhammadans in Bengal willingly worship many popular Hindu gods and the Hindus on their part resort to shrines of celebrated Muslim saints with unmitigated alacrity. Even caste system, a practice opposed to the fundamental democratic doctrines of Islam, is recognised by many Muslims in India.

The reforming attempts of Firuz Shah proved a failure, for Sikunder Lody had to prohibit afresh some of the objectionable practices, said to have been suppressed by Firuz. In the meantime toleration grew apace among the people in general[1] and in Bengal, in particular, if any Muslim poets came forward to enrich the Vaishnava literature. The Vernacular literatures of Hindustan found many Mahomedan patrons and towards the close of the Pathan period, the response from the Hindu side was so eloquent that the Muslim rulers no longer felt it necessary to issue bilingual coins. As the Shufis popularised Vedantic doctrines among Muhammadans, so also the Hindus in their turn made a serious endeavour to introduce the democratic principles of Islam into their own faith. The result of this influence was the Sikhism of Nanak and the Vaishnavism of Chaitanya.

When the Muhammadans first came to India the Hindus naturally kept aloof from their conquerors with jealousy and mistrust and the early Pathans became as much Hindûstanis as the Saiyads of Basha in the closing years of the so-called Mughul period. A careful examination of known events shows that the Hindus again began to take a prominent part in the politics of the Pathan empire during its last days. The renegade Hindus naturally led the way but they were in due course followed by unconverted Hindus as well. In the Saiyad days the powerful Hindu Zemindars were no longer indifferent spectators but took active part not only in the petty intrigues which marked that period but also in the administration of the country, and the closing years of Pathan rule was marked by a striking revival of Hinduism. The Historians of the Pathan Rule in India cannot afford to ignore the fact that the Afghan Jagirdar of Northern India once looked to Rana Sanga of Mewar for leadership in their opposition to Babar and his foreign hordes. A new spirit of comradeship and sympathy of which the heresies mentioned by Firuz Shah were probably the first fruits, was fast coming into existence when it was interrupted, for a short time only, by the advent of a new band of Muhammadan warriors, yet unaccustomed to tolerate idolatry and unfamiliar with the brighter side of Hindu culture.

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[1] The new spirit of tolerance can be illustrated by the following anecdote told by Ferishta : A Muslim holy man once had the temerity to protest against the intolerance of Sekundur Lody. "He maintained that it was highly improper for a king to interfere with the religion of his subjects, or to prevent them bathing at places to which they had been accustomed to resort for ages. The prince drew his sword and said 'Wretch! do you maintain the propriety of Hindu religion ?' The holy man replied, 'By no means : I speak from authority. Kings should not persecute their subjects on any account.'" This offers a remarkable contrast to the opinion, expressed by Kazy Mugheesuddin, when consulted by Allauddin Khilji, that "to slay the Hindus or to convert them to the faith" was a well recognised maxim. But Gulam Hanif forbade heedless execution and commanded that "tribute should be exacted to the uttermost farthing from the non-believers, in order that the punishment may approximate as nearly as possible to death." It is also noteworthy that when a Brahman who claimed equality for all religions was placed before the Kazis of Lucknow (during the reign of Sekundar Lody) for trial, they were divided in their opinion as to the eligibility of the doctrine upheld by the offender. In an earlier period there would be no difference of opinion among the Muslim Doctors of Law as to the utter worthlessness of any doctrine that placed Muhammadanism and any other faith on the same level. Unfortunately, we have not enough information about such interesting subjects and some side-lights alone were thrown on the state of religious toleration when such a bigot as Firuz Shah deemed it necessary to record what we conscientiously considered to be his services to Islam in India. More tolerant rulers were probably indifferent to heresy and idolatry and only negative evidence of their tolerance is available, except when a Badauni comes to upbraid or an Abul Fazl to eulogize a religious innovator like Akbar.

SURENDRA NATH SEN

MUSIC IN MALAYA

Singapore, Penang, Malacca and Khali Lampur ; Barbaric names that once represented some of the mystery and allurement of far distant ports, unattainable, except in dreams. But now the miracles of modern travel have minimized the world's immensities of space, and those dreams have become realities to those of us who feel and respond to the call of adventure, and who set our faces towards the remote ends of the earth in eager anticipation of the joys of discovering for ourselves new beauties in nature and new interests in human nature.

British Malaya lies close to the Equator ; mountainous, densely wooded, and rich in tropical flora. The blue hills rise into the mist-filled heights ; rivers wind, like silver threads in a verdant tapestry, among the vivid green rice fields, the rubber plantations, the shady cocoanut groves and grass meadows, to lose themselves among the impenetrable fastnesses of old secretive jungles. Flowers, rain-bow hued, bloom riotously, and the songs of strange and brilliant birds scatter notes upon the air while, overhead, the changing panorama of the clouds moves slowly against the opaque turquoise of the sky.

Nature, amorous and prolific, embraces the fecund soil, and all growing things reach a quick maturity under the warm sun of the East. The human element, moving against this rich background, are no less interesting, and we wonder in what manner they react towards their environment, and to what degree they respond to the climatic influences in the development of their history, religion and arts.

In a brief historical survey we find that the known aboriginals of Malaya were the Negritos, and the semi-Negritos, or the brown-skinned Sakei, who dwelt in the jungles and along the slopes of the mountains.

The Malays are said to have come from the Island of Sumatra somewhere about 1400 A.D., to take up their residence on the Peninsula. The name "Malay," is supposed to be Sanskrit and means "a chain of mountains."

A succession of predatory invasions have brought in many new races, religions, customs and manners; until now there is a polyglot of nations in Malaya. One may see Burmans, Chinese, Arabs, Siamese, Annamese, Javanese and Indians from the Punjab to Madras; which with the aborigines, the half-caste and the various Europeans, make a kaleidoscopic, many-faceted composite of human kind.

The first European invaders were the Portuguese from the West, who were followed by the Dutch and the English. The British established themselves and their rule about 1826, but not without strife. Tribal wars, piracy, ferment and civic disruption, which had torn the country with discordant conflict, were gradually suppressed; and finally, with the ratifications of the various peace treaties, Law and Order was attained.

Rudimentary methods of agriculture and mining were improved and developed; and under a new regime of systematic supervision, the growing of tobacco, areca nut, rubber, sugar-cane, rice, copra and tapioca came to be important industries, and tin mining grew into a lucrative business. So much for the history of Malaya.

But what of the old Pagan Gods who brooded over the country centuries before civilization came to the Peninsula with relentless, if enlightening, Change and Progress?

The arrogant invaders from the West and East brought with them strong new religions, and much new wisdom, and they pushed the old gods of the aborigines from their pedestals and relegated them to the outmost jungle and the top-most peak, where they dwell forgotten and forlorn.

The green banner of Islam waved so triumphantly that the majority of Malayans embraced the faith of the Prophet, and are now *en masse*, Mohamedin. Then came also, the disciples of Confucius, and of Tao, the followers of Buddha; the Pseudo Christian, as exemplified in the Madrasi Indian; the Punjab Sikh; the Hindu with his polytheism, and the Animistic primitives. In all this confusion of theology, each moves along his own lines of racial and traditional individuality, and each has contributed something distinctive and new to the arts of the country.

There are temples, mosques, monasteries, shrines, churches and topes; lifting domes, minarets, towers and spires towards the skies, calling on the names of Buddha, of Mohamed, of Allah, of God and of the Brahminic deities of multitudinous titles. From the temples come the blare of the conch-horn, the beat of brazen cymbals, the tap of the drum and the crystal peal of metalled bell; punctuating the ceremonial periods of the offices of Priest-hood; calling the "drowsy worshipper" to prayer, or announcing the oblations of some devotee.

A projection of the animistic beliefs pervades all Oriental music. A most significant example of this Pagan influence is found in the "Devil Dancers" who weave outlandish measures to macabre music shrilled on pipes and horns and accompanied by the pulse of skin-drums. These dancers may be found about any Buddhist temple, or as a complement to the Buddhist festivals which take place annually in various parts of Malaya.

The half-chanted passages of the Koran, droned by some dreamy-eyed follower of the Prophet; the old "Guzzles" of Islam, and the ballads of hope that hold the promise of beautiful *Houris* in some perfected Paradise, are the characteristic songs of the Mohamedin population.

The Malay, saturated in superstitions and legends, sings songs of long ago, when fierce pirates captured prizes on the high seas, or warriors leapt and moved through the tribal "Kris Dance," preparatory to meeting an enemy, or perchance in softer mood, he sings some love songs or lullabys; old songs of the people, based on the themes and verses of forgotten bards, and handed down from generation to generation.

The hawk-faced Arab sings of his sun-baked and moon-bathed desert; of his camels; of water-holes in cases; of his loves among the dancing girls of Biskra and Ouled Niall; and there is a wistful echo in his heart of yester years, before he and his father came to a new land, to mingle with a new people; but never to lose his racial characteristics.

The Chinese Cooly, and there are thousands of them in Malaya, chants his barbaric and untuneful folk-songs, as he works in mine or fields; on waterway or pulling a "foreign devil" in a ricksha along a thoroughfare. His songs are the almost unconscious accompaniment of all his labours and his moods.

The old parchment-faced Buddhist Priest, twirls his prayer wheel and drones out interminable repetitions of the mystic *mantra* "Om Mani Padmi Hum," or chants some obscure theme of his own about the Lord Buddha and the reward of Merit which is the Ultimate Bliss of Nirvana.

The Hindu sings long songs, embellished with trills, grace note and quavers, about the might of Brahma, Shiva or Vishnu; the prowess of the Gods of Ind; the exploits in the Ramayana; or some popular and heroic theme. Or, perhaps, he dreams of the crumbling temples by the sacred Ganges in his distant homeland, or roams the jungle in fancy, or sits beneath the shade of the Banyan tree by some lotus-covered pool in a sun-warmed village of the Plains.

The Aborigine, and what does he sing of? Those lonely Pagan Gods who sleep in forests and hills? Or, perchance, his thoughts turn to those old days before the invasion of foreigners when he roamed the wild hills in untrammelled freedom. From his villages in the jungles and on the hills comes the faint tap-tap, tap-tap of the drums beating out the rhythm of nameless songs, the expressions of nameless emotions.

So many songs, all different, yet all alike; for they voice the same feelings, the same hopes, and longings that have dominated the human race since its beginning. Man does not change in the essentials, the same primitive instincts dominate the sub-strata of his being; and the old folk-songs but express the inarticulate messages of his heart: and so we find a common chord in the music of all these races, diversified but alike in essence.

It is in the instruments, rather than the songs themselves that we find the absorption and influences of the different people who have come to dwell together in Malaya. Each new race, in finding its way to that country, has brought over some indigenous instrument of music, which gradually came into common use, until, when we begin to look for the characteristic instruments of the Malaya, we find a large family of instruments worked into a composite picture.

We see the Siamese *Ranat* (harmonicon), the *Tuk-kay* (string), the *Pee* (fiddle) and the *Kong ya l*(gong); the Chinese *Cheng* (organ), the *Kin* (lute), the *San Hee* (guitar) and the *Yu-hsiao* (flute); the Javanese *Peechawar* (flute), the *Bonang* (gongs), the *Suling* (pipes) and the *Gambang* (staccado); the Arabic *Kanun* (dulcimer), the *Nai* (flute), the *Tamboura* (string) and the *El oud* (lute); the Hindu *Mridanga* (drum), the *Esraj* (string), the *Poonji* (gourd flute) and the *Kinnari* (fiddle); the Burmese *Patola* (guitar), the *Ya-gwin* (cymbals), the *Thro* (violin) and the *Khew* (bells); the Ceylonese *Kombone* (horn), the *Ravani* (timbrel), the *Udakea* (drum) and the *Venavah* (fiddle). And this is only a part of the curious and primitive instruments that have come into Malaya through the doors of invasion from other countries.

Many of these instruments, however, although masquerading under a multitude of jaw-breaking names, are simply new versions of old drums, flutes, cymbals, gongs, horns and fiddles, that go to make the Family Musica of all the Eastern nations. As for the actual Malay and aboriginal instruments, they do not comprise so large a variety in themselves, but consist of crude and ancient forms of the favoured instruments of percussion wood-wind and string which makes the bases of their music.

The musical background is, as with most primitive nations, ever and always furnished by drums, which are found in all sizes and shapes, and which are thumped, hammered, tapped and beaten on all and sundry occasions.

There are the *Suling* and the *Serdum*, the flutes and fifes which are essentially Malayan, the *Kachapi* or ten-stringed lute; the *Klongkhek*, or *Malay* drum, and the *Klong-Yai*, or kettle drum: the *Rabab*, a stringed instrument played with a bow: a variety of tom-toms, gongs, cymbals, bells, rattles and trumpets of brass and horn, and the assortment of flutes of bamboo, metal and wood.

The Malays, like most oriental people, favour instruments of percussion and brass, valuing volume of sound rather than quality of tone. Their typical folk-dances are accompanied by flutes, horns, drums and the clapping of hands or stamping of feet in rhythm with the music.

Prior to the Mohamedan invasion, when music might still be regarded as aboriginal, there were mock War Dances, Sword Dances, Ceremonial Dances and Sacred Dances in which both men and women joined, interpolating rude songs by way of variety. Most of the ceremonial dances were characterized by slow and stately measures, interpreting the dignity and importance of the occasion. At Festivals, or State Dances, the music of the Malay was never frivolous or light, for the music was too much a part of the symbolism of the pomp of the court, the seriousness of war, or the sacredness of some religious occasion.

In the War Dances the participants drew their krisses and executed a mock fight, feinting all the passes common to their swordsmanship, leaping around each other, with clashing blades, wild cries, and in mimic battle danced to the death climax to the crescendo of crashing brass and beating drum. On more popular feast days, having relaxed to the influences of heady native wines, the tempo of the dances quickened, and the measures grew joyous and untrammelled in atavistic reversion to paganism.

With Easterners singing and dancing go hand in hand; and music is regarded as an essential part of daily life, and not merely a superficial drawing-room accomplishment. The folk-dances are impregnated with history and legend and are of vital importance; the songs based on tradition are of religious significance and handed down by hereditary bards. There are professional dancing girls, singers, and musicians who follow the line laid down by their ancestors, and sing or play the old music of the country.

The method of dancing is different from the Western arts of Terpischore. The Malayan dances from the hips up, not the hips down, and the dancer uses her fingers and arms in graceful fluidity of movement. Her muscular control is perfected through the natural freedom of her unbound body, innocent of steel girdles, shoes, or other impedimenta. Besides the co-ordination of muscles, there is an instinctive sense of rhythm and a slow sinuous expression of grace that is fascinating to the beholder, and almost impossible of emulation by the Westerner. There is a feeling of poetry, of litheness, of oneness with the theme that makes the dancer complete in herself. The partner, and the elaborate instrumental accompaniment are neither missed nor needed.

The Malayan loves bright colours, and his sarongs present a variety of brilliant hues and quaint designs, as does his silk headgear. His colour schemes, while outrè to the occidental, are always in harmony when worn by an Oriental, and the combinations of colour tones never seem to clash. The women, while swathing themselves somewhat voluminously with long skirts and shawls, are none the less graceful. They love the adornments of gay jewellery, and wear an assortment of bracelets, rings ear-rings, and necklaces that are almost barbaric in colour and size. Some of the Malay women are very pretty in a general way, with good figures, and Mongolian features, flat but pleasant, almond-eyed and with shiny black hair piled high on their heads and ornamented with combs and pins of silver, shell or jewelled gold. A group of Malayan dancing girls present a pleasing picture of colour and charm. Moving with gracile dignity, and with deliberate and sinuous undulations of arms and hands, they posture and turn and dip with much the same motions as a swan when it floats on a lake, more or less stationary at the base.

The feet sometimes beat a rhythm or tinkle an ankle bell, but as a rule, there is little movement to the legs or thighs. Quite opposite from the conceptions of a Russian ballet dancer, for instance, who moves with every inch of her limber body, springing from the floor with arms extended as though she were about to fly into the air.

It is difficult to describe the differences in the method of dancing of the people of the East and West in so many words. One rather senses the symbolism back of the dancing of the more primitive races, whose types of musical expression is representative of some emotional force that is ancient and ineradicable; some legend to be perpetuated; some story of hero-worship; of wars, conquests, loves or hates; or merely the natural expressions of the instincts of man, in natural *joi de vivre.* Whatever the motive, or thought-form back of the dance, it is never trivial, flippant, or superficial, but serious, significant and symbolic.

There is beauty in the lithe muscularity of the Malayan dancer, and charm in the weird melodies of the music; a harmony of rhythm and motion, dominated by the throb of the hypnotic drum, whose accent on the first beat of four notes to a measure, goes steadily on, regardless of the passing of Time, now slow, now rising to a crescendo, when, at the finale of a dance, the beat is sometimes doubled or trebled, with a digital dexterity on the part of the impassioned drum player that causes our wonder and admiration.

I have never found any Westerner, however good his musical sense, who could capture the style of the Eastern drummer. The drums take the place of harmony and seem an adequate accompaniment to most dances and songs. We do not find, nor miss, the concerted accompaniment considered necessary in the West. Here in the East a drum can say all things. From joy in a birth or marriage, to sorrow in a funeral; it is all felt and expressed through the medium of the drums. Every Eastern nation, no matter how backward in what we call civilization, has in his musical family more varieties of drums than we could ever want or use.

In Malay there are many drums, chosen to express different types of music. Tom-toms, kettle drums, war-drums, hand drums, drums of earthen ware, of skin stretched over wooden barrels, or section from palm trees; of metal, or what not, producing a variety of tones, sonorous, sharp, staccato, deep, hollow, or muffled.

The quick tempo of some gala dance on a festival day; the deep boom of a ceremonial drum on some state occasion; the sonorous throb of drums on a passing procession; the dull beat of drums escorting a funeral cortege; the joyous tom-toms of drums in a wedding train; the soft tap of a hand drum accompanying a love song: all interpret the life of the people and express the vocabulary of the emotions. In studying and learning to appreciate Eastern music, we begin and end with the drums, for they are music's epitome "East of Suez," and whatever the mood of the music the drum can and does express it and manages to convey its message to the listener.

Aside from their singing and dancing, the Malayans are very fond of any form of dramatics, and have their own individual way of giving drums and plays. The Bangsawan (drama) is usually divided into heroic plays, plays of mystery, legend, religion and ordinary comedies and tragedies. In most of the plays a clown is introduced for comic relief, and the performance is interspersed with music and a "Greek Chorous."

The average play lasts for hours, and time has nothing to do with the case. "The play's the thing." When a Malay family attends the theatre they go prepared to make a night of it literally. They carry bedding, food and liquid refreshment, and sleep at intervals. In the meantime the play goes on intermidably with relays of actors, mimics, clowns, dancers and singers. If the thread of the plot gets lost in the process nobody minds. Many of the lines are extempore and there is a great deal of declamation, adapted to the occasion. Applause and audible comment is frequent and personal opinions and sallies are expected.

The more modern and better read Malayan sometimes presents a play from Shakespeare interpreted in a most original manner. It is scarcely recognizable but intensely amusing. Hamlet and King Lear are favourites, but whether the play is a tragedy or a comedy, the clown appears on the scene just the same, and dances and songs are introduced; for it would be inconceivable to give a play "verbatim," and without all the irrelevant embellishment introduced to draw out the length of the play, the audience would not consider that it had got its money's worth. The costumes are unique and present a weird conception of appropriateness.

Besides the various forms of secular music in Malay, there is the music of the Temples and Mosques and Monasteries carried on by the priests along the old accepted lines of tradition. There is the Mohamedan ceremonial music of Festival occasions, such as the Feast of the New Moon, or Ramedan, or the Moharrum.

There are the ubiquitous Nautch girls, drawn from all classes and castes, who reap their harvests where they may, whether they are attached to temples or are free lances. There are the bards who wander about singing the old songs of yesterday; the street Musicians; the drummers, the itinerant player and singer to offer diversion in the market-place or along the country-side.

But most of all we like to remember the songs of the people, for it is there that one finds the truest expression of the country's music. The song of the bullock-driver, the cooly, the herdsmen, the water-man, the farmer, and all those who work and sing and put their longings, their joys and sorrows into tune, as naturally and as unconsciously as a bird sings.

If we lingered overlong in a review of the history and pursuits of Malaya it has been because of the need of a background for our little outline of music. There can be no present without its overshadowing Past. Even as To-morrow is the Past of the Future, so is the past an inverted To-day, and all days that have gone gave something to the making of the composite picture of the people and their music. Although the population of Malaya is composed of a diversity of races, in their songs we have found a common evidence of some "dim united quest."

We would like to carry away with us the elusive bits of melody that have haunted us, we would like to capture those winged bits of songs that fly softly on the quiet evening air. So vague, so wistful is the trailing cadence that it just eludes our memory.

From the jungle edge, at dusk comes the faint throb of a drum, and as the brief twilight slips silently into the star strewn infinitude of Night, it seems to echo the salutation of Malaya which is "Se-nang, Se-nang"—peace, peace.

LILY STRICKLAND-ANDERSON

TWO SONG POEMS

I. "A Song of Love"

Life once whispered, "I'm lonely."
And Love came out of the night.
Life grew weary with waiting,
And hope brought her candle to light.—
E'en so was I weary with longing,
Till you came with your laughter and light.

Like the Lily that droops 'mid the shadows,
Bidding the daylight adieu,
And the Rosebud that opes in the gloaming,
Athirst for the Dawn and the Dew.—
My Soul has watched for your coming,
Longing for Love and for You.

II. "Eventide"

Days that go by as the dewdrops that gleam
In the light of the rising sun.
Leave me awhile to rest and to dream
When the toil of the day is done.

When the sun in his glory is sinking low,
In the lap of the Golden West,
And the swallow seeks in the afterglow,
His mate in her downy nest.

When the silent flight of hastening wings
Is lost in the darkening blue,—
Then leave me awhile 'mid the lonely things,
To dream, Dear Heart, of you.

Augustus Somerville

BUDDHA OF HISTORY[1]

Too late or too early to know the Buddha.

We are born either too late or too early to know the Buddha of history, to be able to render an account of Buddha as he actually lived in this world of ours. Too late because the memorable event of his demise took place 2408 years before our time, should the Buddha-era be reckoned from 483 or 484 B.C. Too early because so complex and bewildering is the cobweb of fact and fiction that the sharpest historical instrument is apt to get blunt in separating the thread of one from that of another.

Deification runs counter to the spirit of history.

Numberless are Buddha's Birth-stories, Legends and Songs of Praise that are now current. But through them, as they are dressed, one will look in vain for a sober historical account. When a real man vanishes in the mist of myths and miracles, you can, if you like, direct your finger towards the brightest star in the highest heaven, where our Buddha, freed from all contamination of flesh and transformed into a body of unmeasured glory, is always preaching the holy Norm, and all the time you will be perforce taking us out of the region of history into a glorious world of your fancy. A man deified becomes a divinity in proportion he ceases to be a human mortal.

Buddhalogy is a science rather than a history.

What we have in the Buddhist workshop of history is a Buddhalogy, which is rather a science of history than a history itself. Suppose the mother of our Buddha died, as a matter of accident, a week after his birth. Does it necessarily follow therefrom, I would ask, that mothers of all who become Buddhas must similarly die? From one to all in a matter like this is a hasty generalisation, unwarranted by historical facts. But if religion is a mere matter of belief where emotion is the mode of historical perception, I have nothing to gainsay. Because a plan of Buddhalogy has been outlined in the Mahápadána Discourse, found in so authoritative a collection as the Dígha-Nikáya, and it has been fully worked up in many a later work, can the modern historian be persuaded to glibly swallow it as a gospel truth?

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[1] Lecture delivered in Rangoon, November 1, 1924.

Birth-stories and Legends like Buddha-images are ideal representations of Buddhahood.

Look at any image of Buddha set up in a Buddhist shrine. You will misjudge it, if you come away with the idea that it is a physical likeness, an ordinary bust or a statue. The human form, as my colleague Dr. Stella Kramrisch would say, is nothing but the artist's means of rendering the abstract conception of Buddhahood in some visible and tangible terms. The body has become a mode of the mind's expression. Precisely such is the case with Buddha's Birth-stories, Legends and Songs of Praise, which underlie Buddhist art. These are designed not so much to represent historical facts as to narrate how personal aspects of the Buddha-ideal of life have been conceived or visualised by the Buddhist devotees. These are useful to religion and art, to poetry and devotion, but blur our historical vision. Through their growth and multiplication one can trace processes of deification, of externalisation of divine attributes perceivable in the best of men.

Two lines of Buddhist docetism.

Buddhist speculations proceeded from the outset on two different lines before their results were combined into a magnificent Buddhalogy, in which the distinction between

Buddha and Buddhism disappeared altogether. There were two important questions, *viz.*, (1) how Buddha came into the world, (2) how Buddhism came into existence. In answering these questions separately lay the original distinction of the two lines of speculation. From the 1st or 2nd century Buddha-era onward, there arose various Buddhist denominations and schools, some of whom, notably the ekavyavahárikas, Lokottaravádins or Transcendentalists, virtually denied the human existence and career of the Buddha. There were others who were not extremists on this score, but nevertheless looked upon our Buddha's birth and other incidents of his life as supernatural occurrences. There were Sthaviras, the boasted depositaries of the faith, who built up a story narrating the incidents of Buddha's life as being in complete accord with the fundamental truths of Buddhism, the so-called Four Aryan Truths. This was just another form of extremism. Too much of symmetry is apt to give rise to a suspicion as to the authenticity of their account.

Sources of information.

We need not be intolerant of all that has largely contributed to the growth of so wide a culture as Buddhism. Our only complaint is that the legends do not directly help us in determining the Buddha of history. The earlier Brahmanist literature has completely overlooked him. The later literature, too, has mostly confounded him with Mahávíra, the founder of Jainism, and Chárváka, the advocate of Indian materialism. The Jaina Books have practically ignored him. Some of the earlier traditions, as handed down among different Buddhist sects, have been lost, and some survive in later compilations as well as Chinese and Tibetan translations. Upon the whole, the Pâli literature maintains the traditional continuity. All that is in Pâli may be suggestive but not necessarily authentic. Such is the character of the general body of traditions regarding Buddha's life. There being hardly any direct and authentic sources, the historian has to tap out of every ancient thing he encounters, whether from the Buddhist, or the Jaina or the Brahmanist source, as many indirect suggestions as he can, all of which he utilises for his purpose.

The Buddha is one and unique.

In the past history of mankind there were many *buddhas* in the sense of wise and thoughtful men. None but one of them was our Buddha. Long before his advent there were different manifestations of wisdom in different classes of beings and of men. These in a way formed the preparatory stage of our Buddha's wisdom. Similarly there were approaches of thought on the planes of cosmology, biology, psychology or ontology. These in a way formed the immediate background of Buddha's knowledge. But viewed as a whole, apart from references to antecedents, Buddha's achievement appears as a unique historical event. The theological paroxysm of the equality of all Buddhas is removed, when all means 'one' and equal means 'unique.' I mean our Buddha, apart from having certain common characteristics of all great men, represents a unique historical type.

Fact, not poetry, is the basis of Buddhism.

Why should I be anxious, it may be asked, to discover the Buddha of history ? My simple answer is that the basis of Buddhism, even according to Buddhist belief, is not poetry but fact, the grandest fact being Buddha, the historical personage. Look again, if you are interested, round a Buddhist shrine, the central edifice of which is a massive stûpa or a tapering Pagoda. There you see the temples and niches containing the images of Buddha, or the carvings and frescoes representing the scenes from Buddha's life, are all placed in the outer zone, added as ornaments or decorative designs, full of lesson and artistic value. These are various expressions of refined human imagination and finer emotion;

The central edifice towering with its imposing sight is but a device to enshrine and preserve the bones and ashes from the funeral pyre where our Buddha's body was cremated. There are old inscriptions or epitaphs, incised over relic-caskets and recording when, by whom, and for what purpose the shrine was ereted. The famous Piprawa Vase Inscription, found in Nepal Terrai, records :—

> " *Iyaṃ salila-nidhane budhasa*
> *bhagavate sakiyanaṃ sukiti-bhatinaṃ.*"
>
> "This (memorial mound was set up) on the demise of the Blessed Teacher by his Śákyan kinsmen of glorious deed."

There are expressions in the original text, e.g., *salila-nidhane,* signifying that our Buddha's body, exactly like that of any other man, was subject to decay and consumable by fire. There are passages where he is represented as saying that he was anyhow dragging his worn-out body like a cart after much repairing. The presence of hair, nail, bone, tooth and ashes indicates that he had a human form. It is neither his extraordinary tallness and dimension nor his miraculous entry into and exit out of his mother's womb that constituted his greatness. What is important in all this is that fact is the tree of Buddhist faith, while poetry or fiction supplies the cool creeper-bower of joy and beauty. As external decorations have multiplied, the central edifice has grown into a larger and larger dimension, as if, to fortify more and more strongly the cause of history, Well, if the man be the bedrock of Buddhism, it behoves us to dig his bones out of his grave as a proof of his human existence, as a means of checking the melting away of our Buddha in a sun-myth.

Outlines of Buddha's Biography.

The general outlines of our Buddha's biography that have come down to us through the Birth-stories and edifying Legends are not without their peculiar importance. In these outlines, which were developed gradually, the history of our Buddha is broadly divided into two periods, *viz.*, (1) one covered by his previous career as Bodhisattva or Buddha in the making, (2) another covered by his later career as an enlightened Teacher. With the progress of time, the former period has been extended far backward to cover numberless cycles of existence during which a young Indian hermit cultivated some six or ten moral, intellectual and spiritual qualities, manning all trying situations by his wisdom and moral strength, in fulfilment of his firm resolution to attain to supreme Buddhahood. The sudden self-consciousness of his power to achieve something great and good, and conscious effort and earnestness to pursue his aim with the determination to do or die are said to have marked the beginning of his career as Bodhisattva. Recognition of his merit and prediction of his future greatness by persons of authority helped him on the way. These persons of authority were the illustrious precursors who in their respective ages were able to appeal to all alike, and stimulate the whole humanity into energy, thus creating synthetic landmarks or dispensations. Each of them was a supreme Buddha or unsurpassed teacher of his age. Our Buddha's Birth-stories or Past Anecdotes are mere instructive snapshots taken from his previous feats of wisdom and strength, displayed during the dispensations of previous Buddhas. These form various incidents of Dúre-Nidána or Remote Section of our Buddha's history. The number of previous births, no less than that of previous Buddhas, has varied from time to time, from zero to infinity. The number of actual sketches in the writings of different Buddhist sects has also differed. The research can be pushed back to a point where these illuminating conceptions are unknown. For instance, the Isigili-Sutta of the Majjhima-Nikáya embodies a tradition of five hundred Indian hermits and sages, who were later distinguished into Buddhas and Bodhisattvas,

Buddha's early years.

Coming to his last existence, *i.e.*, to historical Buddha, his Bodhisattva-career covering a short period of 35 years, from his Descent to the eve of his Buddhahood, is demarcated as Avidúre-Nidána or 'Not-far-remote Section' of his history. The historical sketches lead us to consider, beside his individul characteristics, the following four or five points of importance, *viz.*, (1) Kála—general conditions of the age or time, (2) Dvípa—general conditions of the continent or world of humanity, (3) Deśa—general developments of the country and its people, (4) Kula—family traditions and race environs, (5) Parentage. With the exception of a few broad facts, the history of his early years shows many gaps, subsequently filled up with many a fanciful episode of romantic nature, calculated to satisfy natural cravings of the devotee for worship of the supernatural in man. These episodes as themes of poetry and burdens of songs have been of immense help to the missionaries in propagating the religion in strange regions.

His career as Buddha.

His career as Buddha, the enlightened Seer and Teacher, is said to have covered a longer period of 45 years called Santike-Nidána or 'Proximate Section.' Though Buddhist literature contains several details of it, a careful scrutiny discovers in it also many a lacuna filled in with accounts of interviews with various angels, archangels, gods, goddesses, ferocious dragon-chiefs, demons and goblins, worshipped by local peoples. The incidents connected with the demigods served only to illustrate the various occasions when our Buddha had to display wonderful moral courage to emancipate mankind from superstitious and fearful awe due to their adherence to some primitive cults and black arts.

How to sift fact from fiction.

These few suggestions will, I hope, suffice to separate the precious particle of fact from the baser one of fiction. Thanks to modern researches, the historical atmosphere of to-day is bright enough to make the appearance of our Buddha as he was—a pleasant possibility. The number of books written on the subject of Buddha in different languages of the world is legion and still more will be written, all tending to place him in his historical position. And when the whole world is thus awake and is face to face with the real Buddha, is it not a shamefully sad thing that the Buddhists themselves should remain in slumber, dreaming the dreams of a Buddha of their pious vision ?

Buddha's life, a tenor of activity.

In two of my previous lectures, namely, on 'Buddha and Vedanta' and 'Buddha and Buddhism' I have expressed some of my views about the age, environments and achievement of Buddha and his immediate followers. Now it remains for me to call your attention to a singular point in Buddha's life, namely, his whole-hearted and tireless activity. All of you remember his last words urging his followers to be energetically active in devotion to their duty. Apramáda or strenuous exertion is the most significant word in the original. There are other utterances, where he expressed himself in the same vein, which would testify that this is the one word which could sum up the whole tenor of his life and teaching. If you look further back, you at once see that taking his meals after many days of fast and penance he felt a new vigour of life, and with redoubled energy began to meditate, with an iron deter- mination not to leave his seat until he attained to his goal, whether the sky rent asunder or the earth left her fixed station.

Buddha, the unveiler of what is veiled.

If Buddha believed that his mode of thinking was against the current opinion and basic notions of Hindu social polity, how did he venture, it may be inquired, to stimulate the sleeping multitude to an active life? Why has he been praised as the unveiler of what is veiled? It seems that he came ultimately to find a fundamental agreement between the uninstructed and the most highly instructed as to the purity of their nature. He came to feel that though inarticulate, a mind which had not received any colouring was susceptible of noble impressions, capable of being quickened to activity by the impetus properly given to it. He found that what actually gained recognition in all Hindu institutions of his time was not fact but poetry or fiction. The fact of nature which strikes pure commonsense is not rest but change, not being but becoming, while the Hindu institutions were all intended to help a man to realise the ideal of the fixed and unchangeable. People in their common conversation acknowledge that future is uncertain, no one being able to say what will exactly happen to-morrow, while the basic notion of Hindu social polity is the determinate character of the future,—that what is to be must be. The real secret of making people active is to make them sufficiently self-conscious of their potentialities and possibilities, of their worth and importance. Exhaustion or lethargy is apt to overtake people when they after hard struggles obtain nothing substantial. The gifted poet may write in elegant verses, with deep pathos and sympathy, the heroic exploits and wanderings of a noble prince. But this does not satisfy people when on actual reckoning they find that the story of exploits has nothing in it but some high moral sentiments to praise. The people say that a piece of coal cannot be made to change its colour by repeated washing, or that the offspring of the cuckoo, though nurtured in the crow's nest, does not cry like a crow. That like begets like is accepted as a truism. But if you examine the popular store-house of maxims and proverbs, you are sure to pick up some, where they also admit the possibility of the dark changing into the radiant, or of an expert alchemist converting base metal into gold. The sanctified belief of Hindu society is that a thing is what it is. The black man can never have a bright complexion. But our Buddha urged that the derm having no colour of its own and the particular complexion being due to some pigment in the skin, it is possible, if one knows the art, to transform one complexion into another and thereby remove colour-prejudice for good. The learned people think that there is nothing to borrow from the popular vocabulary but a few proverbs, tales, riddles and pastoral songs. When any of them is asked to describe the parts of a charká, for instance, though he delivers many a public lecture on this subject, he becomes nonplussed. His fund of learning is inadequate to describe the thing. That charká is charká; death is death, decay is decay, is no description. It need not be beneath one's dignity to go to a poor village-woman to hear her describe in her nursery rhyme all the parts of the spinning wheel. Though she has no schooling, it is a wonder who taught her to devise the beautiful nomenclature to describe the thing and its working in the minutest detail. It is nonsense to suppose that Buddha spoke only one dialect or that the dialect or dialects embodying his words were precisely the spoken dialects of any people. In the conscious attempt to describe things as processes in terms of the possible links of transition lay the difference between Buddha's language and that of the Brahmanist. The Buddhist terminology has borrowed an infinite number of technical expressions from various sources, supplementing them, wherever necessary, with its own coinage. The real advance of knowledge and humanity does not consist in ignoring, overlooking or suppressing, but in utilising and articulating. Everything is right in its own place if it enables as to recognise the play of an unseen spirit, this is the Brahmanic creed of federation. But the true federation depends upon co-ordination and articulation of all human resources.

B. M. BARUA

DENIAL

They lie who say that Time heals lover's wounds;
Or else they never felt Love's arrow
Pierce and bleed their hearts.
Years are but acid points
That grave the pain in deeper lines
On souls that bravely strive
To hide their sorrow from a callous world.

LILY S. ANDERSON

AKBAR AND RANTHAMBHORE

"That wonderful work" Col. Todd's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan has always been the chief source of information and inspiration to a student of ancient and mediæval Rajputana, and we all owe the Colonel a deep debt of gratitude for his labours in the cause of Indian History.

But while we acknowledge our gratitude to the learned author of Rajasthan in no vague terms, we are obliged to say that the annals are nothing beyond what their names imply, and the writer who makes assertions on the sole authority of Todd, deceives himself and his readers. We are all aware of the circumstances under which Todd's Rajasthan was written, and it does not consequently surprise us to find that the author gives detailed accounts of only such of the Rajput States and Chiefs as he knew intimately. He collected and put together the traditions of the States mostly based on the accounts of the bards, and with a vigorous style and fluency of language quite his own, the Colonel succeeded in painting a singularly glorious picture of the Rajputs. But to collect and compare the various accounts, to test carefully the accuracy of the bardic lore, and then to write history properly so called was something more than the Col. had either the inclination or the means to attempt; and while the glory of the annalist seems to have discouraged in the past the student from working "in a field so well trodden," the history of Rajputana embodying the result of careful research still remains to be written, and to-day so pressing is the need of such a work that it is almost impossible to attempt a history of mediæval India until the Rajput side of Muhammadan history has been properly told.

It is not difficult to pick fanciful stories out of Todd's Rajasthan and to show how very blindly the author has relied on the accounts furnished to him by the states. So very far indeed has Todd gone from real history in places, that when the time comes to make an attempt to revise the Rajasthan carefully the book will come to be mostly rewritten.

Among the fanciful stories referred to above is Todd's account of Akbar's dealings with Ranthambhore[1] which we propose to discuss in this article.

The account had until recently, in view of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, been ignored by writers on Mughal history in general, and Akbar in particular. Lately, however, Dr. Smith condescended to accept the story as genuine, if for no better reasons than that the Rajasthan account "reflects so much on Akbar's Rajput policy."[2] We are not here to say anything about the merits or otherwise of Smith's Akbar, but we cannot help mentioning that the author has, consciously or unconsciously, killed the historian in himself by taking a not altogether unprejudiced view of one of the greatest rulers that the world has known. But now to our subject.

The fort of Ranthambhore is situated near Sewai-Madhopur in the Jaipur territory on the Mathura Nagda Railway. During the middle ages it was considered to be of great stratigical importance. It was almost impregnable, and while Chittor was famous because of the glorious past associated with the fortress, Ranthambhore could boast of its impregnability and could point to the various successful attempts that had been, time and again, made to capture it.

At the time of the conquest of Chittor, Ranthambhore was held as a fief of the Sisodia ruler by the Hada Chauhan Rao Surjan.[3] In the month of Shaban 976 Hijri (February, 1569) Akbar invested the fort and within a month it passed into the hands of the Mughals. Muhammadan historians tell us that finding it impossible to hold long against the might of the Mughals the Governor Surjan Hada surrendered the fort to Akbar in return of a pension. Abul Fazl, for instance, gives[1] the following account of the conquest.

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[1] The original name is Rana-Sthumbha-pur. It was changed to Rarnut Bhanwar and later the author of Kuchha Vansa Mahakavya changed it into Rarnit Bhamara. Such attempts at Sanskritization on the part of the Pandits have altered original names considerably. Stein gives many such illustrations of Kashmir.

[2] V. Smith, "Akbar the great Mughal," p. 98.

[3] Muhammadan Historians call him Rai Surjan but "Rao" seems more accurate.

"At that time Surjan Hada was the ruler of the fort. He had strengthened it in various ways and had provisioned it, and having prepared it so for war, he had in his folly grounded his presumptuous hopes on this piece of stone. On the day after his arrival His Majesty the Sha-in-shah had come out of the defile where his camp was pitched and examined the hill in company with few of his courtiers..............In accordance with the world-conquering commands the able Bakshis arranged the batteries round the hill on the summit of which the fort was situated. The ocean-like army surrounded it with its billows, and took the form of devastating flood. Egress and ingress were so blocked that the wind could not enter.

Able superintendents raised a lofty sabat[2] near the valley of the Ran. In accordance with orders firing began. At every discharge there was a reverberation in the mountain, the ears of the solid rocks were opened and there was a breach in the walls of the fort and the houses went to dust.

On seeing this state of things the smoke of amazement rose in Surjan's brain......on...........Tuesday the 3rd Shawwal (22nd March) he came out of the fort and prostrated himself at the thresh-hold."

Blochmann's note on Surjan Hada[3] is to the effect that—

"Rao Surjan was at first in the service of Rana and defied the Moghals, because he thought himself safe in Ranthambhore. Akbar, after the conquest of Chittor besieged, in the end of the 13th year, Ranthambhore and Rao Surjan despairing of holding out any longer—the siege having lasted about a month—sent his sons Dauda and Bhoj to Akbar's camp to sue for peace. The Emperor received them well and gave each a dress of honour. When they were taken behind the tent enclosure to put on the garment, one of their servants suspecting foul play rushed sword in hand towards the audience tent and killed several people............but was cut down by one of Muzaffar Khan's men. As Rao Surjan's sons were entirely innocent, the accident did not change Akbar's good will towards them, and he sent them back to their father. At Rao Surjan's request

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[1] Akbar Nama (Beveridge), J.A.S.B., Vol. 2, pp. 491-94.

[2] For description of the sabat. See Tarikh-i-Alifi-Elliot, Vol. V, pp. 171-73.

[3] Ain-i-Akbari, J.A.S.B., Vol. I, p. 409.

Husan Ali Khan was then sent to the fort and escorted Rao Surjan to the Emperor, Ranthambhore was annexed (Shawwal 976 beginning of the 14th year).

Rao Surjan was made Governor of Gadha-Kantaga from where in the 20th year he was transferred to Fort Chand (Chunar)."

Al Badauni tells us[1] that—

The Emperor............in the latter part of the month of Shaban came by successive days marching and invested the fort of Ranthambhore. In a short time sabats were constructed and brought close up to the castle. And the Kahars of whom there were some seven or eight hundreds, drew fifteen pieces of ordinance; carrying balls of five to seven "man" in weight by main force to the top of the hill Ran which commands the fortress and is mounted by so steep a path that even the foot of an ant would slip in climbing it. The first day they reduced the houses within the fort to ruins. Then Rao Surjan, when he contemplated the disastrous loss of the fort of Chittor and the worthlessness of its garrison, foresaw his own fate and sent his sons Duada and Bhoj by the intervention of some of the Zamindars, to do homage to the Emperor and himself asked for quarters. Then Husan Ali Khan, Khan-i-Jahan, came and gave assurance to Rao Surjan and brought him to court. He delivered the key of the fortress and on Wednesday the 3rd of Shawwal of the aforesaid year the fortress was taken, and "victory" repeated was found to give the date. Next day the Emperor with a small escort inspected the fortress in person.........".

Ferishta's[2] version is to the effect that the Emperor ordered a few big guns to be pulled up the top of the hillock, Madan,[3] a feat which had not been so far achieved by any of the invaders. The firing destroyed many houses. On this Rao Surjan was obliged to sue for peace and surrendered the fortress to Akbar.

It is useless to detain our readers any further with similar accounts found in the Maasir-ul-umaira, the Tarikh-i-alafi[4] and other histories but we cannot omit the account given by Nizamuddin Ahmad who is considered on all hands to be a reliable historian.

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[1] Munta-khab-ut—Tawarikh (Tr. Lowe), J.A.S.B., pp. 110-11.

[2] Tarikh-i-Ferishta (N. K. Press, Lucknow), p. 319.

[3] Abul Fazl, Badauni and Faizi call this "Run."

[4] Elliot Vol. V pp. 175-76.

He says: "Rao Surjan,"[1] the commander of the fort, when he observed the progress of the siege, was brought down from the pinnacle of his pride and insolence, and sent his two sons Duada and Bhoj by name, to ask for terms. His Majesty received the two young men who had come to seek his mercy, and pardoned their transgression. He sent Kuli Khan, who had received the title of Khan-i-Jahan, into the fort to give assurances to Rao Surjan. He did so, and brought the Rao to wait upon the Emperor, when he made a frank submission, and was enrolled among the Royal Servants."

Next to Col. Todd.

He says: "Ranthambhore" was an early object of Akbar's attention who besieged it in person. He had been some time before its impregnable walls without the hope of its surrender. When Bhagwan Das of Amber and his son the more celebrated Raja Man, who not only tendered allegiance to Akbar, but allied themselves to him by marriage determined to use their influence to make Surjan Hada faithless to his pledges 'to hold the castle as a fief of Chittor.' That courtesy which is never laid aside amongst belligerent Rajputs, obtained Raja Man's access to the castle and the emperor accompanied him in the guise of a mace-bearer. While conversing, an uncle of the Rao recognised the emperor and with that sudden impulse which arises from respect, took the mace from his hand and placed Akbar on the cushion of the Governor of the Castle. Akbar's presence of mind did not forsake him, and he said " Well, Rao Surjan what is to be done?" which was replied to by Raja Man " leave the Rana, give up Ranthambhore and become the servant of the King, with high honours and office." The professed bribe was indeed magnificent; the Government of 52 districts whose revenues were to be appropriated without inquiry, on furnishing the customary contingent, and liberty to name any other terms, which should be solemnly guaranteed by the king.

A treaty was drawn up on the spot mediated by the Prince of Amber, which presents a good picture of Hindu feeling: (1) That the Chiefs of Bundi should be exempted from that custom degrading to a Rajput, of sending a 'dola' to the royal harem.

(2) Exemption from the Jazia or poll tax.

(3) That the Chiefs of Bundi should not be compelled to cross the Attok.

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[10] Tabakat-i-Akbar, Elliot, Vol. V, pp. 331-32.

[11] Rajasthan, Vol. 2, pp. 471-73.

> (4). That the vassals of Bundi should be exempted from the obligations of sending their wives or female relatives to hold a stall in the "Mina Bazar" at the Palace on the festival of Nauroza.
>
> (5) That they should have the privilege of entering the Dewani-Am or Hall of audience completely armed.
>
> (6) That their sacred edifices should be respected.
>
> (7) That they should never be placed under the command of a Hindu leader.
>
> (8) That their horses should not be branded with imperial 'dagh.'
>
> (9) That they should be allowed to beat their 'nakkaras' or Kettle drum in the street of the capital as far as the Lal Darwaza (or red gate) and that they should not be commanded to make the prostration on entering the presence.
>
> (10) That Bundi should be to the Hadas what Delhi was to the king who should guarantee them from any change of capital.
>
> In addition to these articles which the king swore to maintain, he assigned to the Rao a residence at the sacred city of Kashi.........
>
> With such a bribe and the full acceptance of his terms we cannot wonder that Rao Surjan flung from him the remnant of allegiance he owed to Mewar, now humble, by the loss of his capital, or that he should agree to follow the victorious car of the Mughals."

The difference between the Muhammadans' accounts and that of Todd is so great that a satisfactory decision as to which of these is correct seems essential. Evidence is clearly overwhelming against the Rajasthan version and we cannot see how we should accept that account as true. One might feel inclined to agree with Smith in calling the account of "that consummate and shameless flatterer"[1]—Abul Fazl—as made up, but it is impossible to put Badauni and Ferishta in that category. We admit that the fort of Ranthambhore was almost inpregnable and Akbar must have found it very hard work to lay siege to it and compel its surrender. As it is, even Abul Fazl makes[2] no secret of the situation for he calls the fort "lofty," and one, the conquest of which great rulers had not been able to accomplish after long siege and which Sultan Allauddin Khilji had taken with great difficulty."

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[1] Smith, Akbar, p. 309.

[2] Akbar Nama (J.A.S.B.), Vol. II, p. 495.

But the story given by Todd is more like romance than history. Does it, one may ask, look in the least natural that after a month's fruitless operation, Akbar would one fine morning quietly enter the fort absolutely undefended and find himself the master of the place? We think not. The Emperor knew, as much as Rao Surjan, that the capture of the former's person was all that was needed to nip the growing Empire of the Moghals in the bud and to re-establish the Sisodia on the ancestral Chittor throne.

With the Rajputs all but subdued and still smarting under the insult of the last defeat, Surjan Hada could have made himself more famous than even the great Partap by simply arresting the person of the young emperor and issuing a mandate to the Rajputs to rally round the banner of the Sisodia or even the Hada. Akbar was certainly never likely to risk his life in such a job.

Granting, however, that the Emperor did all this because it was, to quote Smith, "compatible with his nature"; his reception inside the fort in a way incompatible with any nature still remains to be accounted for. Akbar gets access into the fort by guile as Man Sing's mace-bearer—the latter being given admittance "on account of that courtesy which is never laid aside amongst belligerent Rajputs"; there an uncle of Rao Surjan recognises Akbar and "with that impulse which arises out of respect" puts him on the Gaddi of Ranthambhore. How marvellous the story reads! And why, one may safely ask, any 'respect' for an enemy who had molested the Hadas without cause and had kept them closed within the walls of their fortress for quite over a month? We have heard of the high ideas of courtesy among the Rajputs, we have also heard of people being taken up, "by that impulse which arises out of respect," but to our knowledge there are few instances in human history where an enemy who, after a month's fruitless siege, gets admittance into a fort by guile finds nothing but respect waiting for him inside. It is somewhat consoling that the impulse was not sufficiently strong to warrant a warmer reception.

At a time when the feeling among the Rajputs against the Moghals was running high, when Akbar had lowered the pride of the Sisodia, when Jaimal and Phatta had wrought the deed that has earned for them a name that must last for all times to come, the only man who on account of an 'impulse arising out of respect' surrenders a fort, which Akbar had failed to capture, without any hitch or hindrance is Surjan Hada.

Even at the cost of repetition we cannot help laying emphasis on the fact that the advantage of capturing the persons of the two moving spirits of the Moghal Empire and the Rajput policy—Akbar and Man Singh was too great to be ignored by any body, the least by the foresighted Surjan to whom, by the way, is attributed the drawing up of the clever peace-treaty which we shall soon discuss. Could any body, one may ask, be safer than Surjan with the Mughal ruler as his captive and would it not have been more honourable to exact from Akbar as a price of his release the very conditions that Surjan got by surrendering the fort ?

Thus, in whatever way we look at the problem it seems evident that Todd's account is really made up, unless we are prepared to maintain that the whole show was pre-arranged between Surjan, his uncle, and Man Singh and Akbar. What we admit is within the limits of probability. It was perhaps to give a sort of a pretext for the surrender of the fort to the Mughals that Surjan "got up the show." Viewed in that light it becomes easier to explain the attitude, of Savant Hada who, we are[1] told, on hearing of Surjan's treaty gathered some Rajputs around him and "donning the saffron robe" gave his life in fighting for the honour of his clan. We might mention here that this story finds no place in the Muhammadan histories and it may not be far wrong to conjecture that it is "adapted," from the account of the 'running amock' of one of Surjan Hada's servants while the Rao's sons were putting on the Royal Khilat in Akbar's camp.[1]

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[1] Rajasthan, Vol. II, p. 473.

It might be mentioned that the surrender of Ranthambhore without fighting was not extraordinary. The fall of Chittor had unnerved the Rajputs and it was only wise to bow to the rising man and submit to the inevitable with a good grace. Even at Chittor the Rajputs offered to surrender. But as their terms were not agreeable to Akbar they decided to fight.[2] Soon after Raja Ram Chandra of Kalinjar[3] surrendered the fort without fighting.

We now come to the examination of the terms of the treaty which is said to have been drawn up at Ranthambhore on the day of its surrender (March 22nd, 1569) and which Akbar swore to observe.

The conditions of this treaty curiously enough, practically sum up Akbar's policy of the days to come. To our mind they form the most damning evidence against the validity of Todd's account and show clearly that it is made up. For, indeed, it is difficult to believe that Akbar could promise to give up every thing of his Rajput policy in order to make Rao Surjan surrender the fort. The terms are so good and honourable that even the great and valiant Rana Partap would perhaps have condescended to make peace with Akbar were they offered to him. On the face of them they constitute a declaration of the independence of the Hadas. And still we are told that with such honourable terms Surjan Hada remained nothing more than a mere jagirdar of Akbar, serving miles away from his ancestral land.

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[1] *Vide* anti p. 3.

[2] Kaviraj S. Das, Vir Vinod Ajmer M.S., pp. 77-78.

[3] Smith, Akbar p. 101.
also Ain-i-Akbari, Vol II, p 499.

The second term of the treaty demands exemption of the Bundi people from jazia. The treaty, we said elsewhere, was drawn up in March 1569, but Akbar had stopped levying the jazia five years before that date (1569)[1] and although the orders must have taken time to come into force, the fact that they were there for five years was enough to convince anybody that the Emperor had no intention of levying the hateful tax. As a matter of fact the jazia does not ever seem to have been so troublesome even before Akbar's time as to be constantly in the minds of the people and find such a conspicuous place in a peace treaty. For in spite of all that the orthodox Barani[2] has to say on the subject it is only in the time of Firuz Shah and later in that of Aurangzeb, that any anxiety seems to have been shown by the rulers to be strict in the levy of the tax. Thus there seems little justification for giving such prominence to this question in the Bundi treaty. It may be argued that Surjan had this condition put in order to insure immunity from this tax for future generations. The argument would stand were we sure that there was reason enough in 1569 for Surjan to be so very particular about this matter as to have it included in this treaty of which the conditions he may have been asked to lay down almost on the spur of the moment. Such, however, was not the case and it seems only right to conclude that this condition dates back to the time of Aurangzeb when the jazia had become a source of annoyance and humiliation to the Hindus. It is probable that some Hada chief knowing of Surjan's surrender of the Fort in Akbar's time attributed to him the exaction of this term which then certainly constituted a source of pride to the possessor of the peace treaty. The third condition exempts the Bundi rulers from crossing the Attok. Why this term in a treaty which made the Hadas independent? Did Surjan Hada suspect that his clansmen would sooner or later be forced to cross the Attok and if so, how? At the time of the surrender of Ranthambhore the question of crossing the Attok could not possibly have arisen. In fact, the province of Kabul was in 1569 still under Mirza-Hakim and Akbar had not asked any body, much less a Hindu, to go even to the northern Punjab. Was it then Surjan's foresight that could think of a time when Akbar would chide the Kachwaha Man Singh for refusing to cross Attok by telling him that all lands belonged to the Almighty and that it was a folly to call any part thereof impure?[1] The student of history, however, fortunately lives in the broad day light of substantial facts to believe in such mental feats. The seventh condition demands that the Bundi Hadas should not be placed under a Hindu General. It is difficult to understand what this means. Without giving credit to Surjan Hada for knowledge of the future, the only Hindus under whom the Hadas were afraid of being placed in 1569 were the Kachwahas of Amber. Was it then against that very Man Singh who was instrumental in persuading Rao Surjan to prove faithless to his overlord the Sisodia that this term was proposed? And granting that this was so, how far, one may safely ask, does it look even possible that Surjan could propose such a term and Akbar tolerate it? Then, again, could not Rao Surjan as well ask the total exemption of the Hadas from rendering military service to the Mughals?

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[1] Smith's Akbar, p. 65.

[2] Ziauddin Barani Tarakh-i-Feroz Shah, Elliot, Vol. III.

Still greater surprise awaits us in the eighth condition of the peace treaty. It demands that the horses of the Bundi Hadas may not be branded. The branding of horses was first introduced by Allauddin Khilji. In fact, the system in India is as old as the Vedas. It was revived by Sher Shah, but the Afghan chief ruled barely five years, a time which he spent mostly on the battlefield. He had evidently no opportunity to put his system into practice and it seems to have remained forgotten till 1574 when Akbar systematically revived it.[1] And it finds a place in the Ranthambhore treaty drawn up in 1569. How could anybody make himself believe that the term regarding the branding of horses was really included in the peace treaty in 1569, when neither Akbar nor his courtiers had ever thought of the system? It seems probable that the ingenious author of the peace treaty was, when at his task, reminded of the fact that Rao Guj Singh of Mewar was in 1620 exempted from getting the horses of his contingent branded and thinking it a mark of honour mentioned it in the treaty which purports to have been drawn in the early part of Akbar's reign. It is again not unlikely that the condition is an attempt of the Hadas to stand on the same platform with the gallant Partap whose praise Prithwiraj of Bikaner sings, by calling him "the rider of unbranded horse."[2] That the Bundi Hadas should be allowed to beat their kettle drums as far as the 'Lal Darwaza' of the capital and that they should not be commanded to make the prostration on entering the presence forms the ninth term of the treaty. Want of reference books makes it impossible for us to discuss the first part of this item of peace treaty at length; nor are we sure what "capital" is referred to therein. It is, however, interesting to point out that the Lal Darwaza, so far as it relates to Fatehpur-Sikri was a thing of days to come, as it was not till 1571, that Akbar "resolved to press on his scheme for converting the obscure village of Sikri into a great city."[3] As to the latter part of this term it may be mentioned that the usual method of saluting the Emperor at this time of Akbar's reign must have been the 'Taslim' and the 'koornihs'[4] prostration or *sijdah* being, as among all true Muhammadans, used only for prayer. When the Din-i-ilahi had been proclaimed Akbar appropriated the right of receiving the *sijdah* a regulation that was hateful to the orthodox Muhammadans.[1] How then does *sijdah* find a mention in the treaty of Bundi? Again, if this was a condition of the treaty it is impossible to explain why Surjan Hada should be the first man to act against it by prostrating himself "at the threshold."[2]

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[1] Akbar is said to have composed a *Doha* for the occasion and it runs thus. Sakala Bhumi Gopala ki. Tan men Ataka kahan.
Ja kai mun main ataka hai so hi ataka raha.
There is pun on the word (Atak).

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[1] Smith's Akbar, p. 454.

[2] Arn dagal-aswar.

[3] Smith's Akbar, page 104.

[4] Ain-i-Akbari Gladwin, page 135-36.

The tenth condition is still more wonderful. It is to the effect that the Hadas should never be asked to change their capital. This is absolutely meaningless, the more so, since Akbar had so far never asked anybody to change his capital; nor was it likely that he would do so at some future date. We think this condition owes its origin to the time when Kotah was divided among the sons of Rao Ratan or when in the time of Bhao Singh the Mughals attacked Bundi or when the Kotah rulers tried to become the first among the Hadas and the ruler Raja Bhim invaded Bundi without any object. It is probable that on any of these occasions the Bundi Hadas included this term in what we are inclined to call a made up treaty, in order to invoke the royal aid.

It seems needless to discuss the matter further for the aforesaid examination of the peace terms and the story of the siege leave no doubt in our mind that Todd's account is entirely 'made up.' When Jazia was stopped in 1564, when branding did not come in force till 1574, when *sijdah* was for twenty years to come not to be a royal prerogative, when Mina Bazar and the like were things of days to come, how could one possibly imagine that all these could find a place in a peace treaty drawn up in 1569. Then, again, no historian has even after Akbar's time said anything to corroborate Todd's account. During the Succession Wars towards the close of Shah Jahan's reign (sambat 1705-25 Vik.) a certain Murnhot

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[1] Smith's Akbar, pages 219-20.

[2] Akbar Nama Vol. II, page 495.

Nainsi wrote his famous chronicle.[1] This valuable book written in the then current Rajasthan dialect is still unpublished. The chronicler quotes his authorities and gives a careful account of the various Rajputs clans. Nainsi does not mention even one of these conditions nor does he speak of Akbar's entry into the fort as a mace-bearer. All that he has to say is that "when Surjan had been in charge of the fort of Ranthambhore for fourteen years Akbar invaded it. When Surjan found that he could not hold out any longer [2] he met the Emperor on chait sudi 6 sambat 1,625 through the Kachchwaha Raja Bhagwan Das.[3] All that he begged for was that as he (Surjan) had eaten the salt[4] of the Rana[5] he may, on that account, be excused from fighting against him. He then surrendered the fort to the Emperor.[6] "

If there was the least trace of truth in Col. Todd's account it was not likely—nay not even possible that—Nainsi who had taken so much care to collect a really accurate account of the Rajputs could have omitted to mention the wonderful story and the terms of the peace treaty.

Taking everything into consideration it seems more than probable that the treaty was drawn up in the reign of Aurangzeb at a time when the cruel policy of that Emperor was a source of annoyance to the Rajputs, when Jazia was being levied systematically, when Jaswant Singh died at Kabul, when the Sisodia, the Chauhan the Tomar, and the Hada rose to prominence if he could only please the Emperor, in fact, when everything mentioned in the treaty was being done, and it was essential for everybody to devise means against the tyranny of the ruler.

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[1] A mss. of this useful work is in possession of Rai B. Pt. G. S. Ojha of Ajmer Museum. We think the exhaustive chronological charts of this book are very useful and accurate. The original is said to be in Udaipur Library.

[2] The original is (*Bal-na-Raha*) which literally would mean "when no strength remained in him." .बल न रहा

[3] The writer calls the Amber ruler Bhagwant Das and not Bhagwan Das.

[4] The original is हूं' राणा कि दुहाई खाई सु राणा उपर विदा नही हुतु'

[5] The Chittor ruler.

[6] (Chronicle Ajmer, mss. leaf 27, page 2.)

Then, again, Col. Todd's account by itself cannot even stand the test of ordinary logic. The Colonel starts by telling us that Akbar found the fort impregnable and made use of Raja Man Singh and Bhagwan Das to influence the Hada to prove faithless to his pledges. Then follows the curious entry of Akbar in the guise of a mace-bearer, his recognition by the uncle of the Hada and the sudden surrender of the fort. There does not seem much need for "the sudden recognition and the display of respect" when Surjan had already been influenced to surrender the fort. But, if any thing of this kind happened, it must, as had been said before, have been pre-arranged between Raja Maun and Surjan Hada.

Before commencing the account of the Hadas the author of the Rajasthan tells us that he collected his information from the bards and that the portion of the annals of Bundi under reference was "a free translation of an historical sketch 'drawn up' by the Raja of Bundi from his own records."[1] We ignore the portion of Todd's account that he collected from the bards and we are sure they could not have mentioned the treaty. It evidently came from the Bundi rulers and taking it for granted that no body could possibly catalogue the ten elaborate terms of a treaty that were drawn up about two hundred years ago, unless he had the original with him, and further assuming that since the Bundi rulers had very carefully preserved such a valuable document up to the second quarter of the last century (1829-32) when the Rajasthan was written, the document must be still in their possession, we appealed in our Hindi article on the subject to the Bundi historians to publish a photograph of the original but without success; evidently because nothing like an original ever existed or exists.

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[1] Rajasthan, Vol. II, page 472.

We are, of course, aware of the fact that the local historian of Bundi Mehta Lujja Ram talks[1] so glibly of this treaty as something which the Bundi rulers may well be proud of ; but a writer who has the hardihood of telling his readers that Ranthambhore never belonged to the Sisodia Rana of Chittor, may, very safely, be ignored. Had Mehta Lujja Ram taken the trouble to look into Nainsi's chronicle he could have perhaps been more careful in making his statements. Nainsi does not end only by accusing Surjan Hada of faithlessness, but goes beyond and tells us that while Akbar erected two elephant ridden statues in honour of Jaymal and Phatta who gave their lives in fighting the cause of their master, he had Surjan put to shame by placing the statue of a dog near by the elephant to commemorate the Hada's faithlessness at Ranthambhore.[2]

P. B. JOSHI

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[1] Umaid Singh Charitra, (Hindi). Venketshwar Press pp 16-17.

[2] This fact does not seem to have been mentioned by any Muhammadan historians or any other writer of the period (Chronicle by mss. page 27).

SOME CURRENCY LESSONS OF THE WAR

II

Before the Great War, the town and the country were solidly linked together by means of credit and communication and the primitive self-sufficing character of the country's economic organisation was superseded in almost all the industrial countries. The same price ruled all over the country and all staple products had one price in the whole national market. The cities revelled in luxury and the rural people were comparatively poor. The impact of the war gave a rude shock to this system. In the areas of Central and Eastern Europe we find quite the reverse. The breakdown of communication and the credit organisation has completely disorganised internal as well as external trade. It has succeeded in placing obstacles in the way of exportation of produce not only from one country to another but within the same country; it was a matter of great difficulty to send farm produce from the country to the cities. The rural areas become self-sufficing as far as food-stuffs are concerned and the cities are reduced to wretchedness and misery as a result of their excessive concentration on industrial pursuits. The farmers realise the uselessness of the "phantom war money" and its inability to purchase as before the threshing machinery, woollen clothes and other necessities. Hence they begin to weave their own wool and thresh their own wheat. So the European cities like Vienna, Buda-pest, Moscow and Petrograd consist of famishing people who lose all their temper and sweet reasonableness and their morals and begin to have a sordid scramble for sheer physical existence and the satisfaction of other economic needs. Their civilisation has become unstable without these things. While these city people die of hunger the country people perish with cold and ill-health.[1] This economic interdependence between the city and the town has been beautifully illustrated by the war.

So are nations closely knit together by financial, industrial and commercial ties. Mr. Vanderlip compares the present problem of European economic life to that of maintaining a piece of modern machinery or an automobile taking a smooth road at 30 miles an hour or a printing press turning out nicely folded sheets of a great daily paper at the rate of 25 papers per second or an electric plant sending energy, power and light through a great city. He says "disconnect a single important mechanical feature and the whole mechanism ceases to function until the maladjustment is corrected. A whole city can be thrown into darkness by an accident to a single lever on the switchboard. But how simple are these mechanisms compared with the mechanism of modern society and how slight is the mechanical misplacement as compared to the wrecking of the essential features of the great industrial, commercial and financial machinery which was the life of modern Europe."[2] England or France can flourish if there is a flourishing Central Europe. Lacking this these countries would fail to get their needed foodstuffs and England solely a manufacturing country can flourish only if it obtains the needed foodstuffs. Sir Henry Rew calculates that "England has to import 78% of its food requirements." If the food-growing countries cannot prosper, England cannot become their industrial workshop. The agricultural and the industrial countries of the world either live or perish together. This is the economic meaning of the fundamental truth that is often expressed as "nations must learn or perish." So long as credit is the basis of their co-ordinated production, they thrive together. If political and social instability were to ruin credit and debauch currencies, the whole society becomes unworkable.

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[1] See K. Leites "Recent Economic Developments in Russia,"—pp. 76-80.

[2] See F. A. Vanderlip "What happened to Europe,"—p. 85.

The recent war destroyed the trans-national economy with the result that the continent of Europe has become an unworkable society. Economic co-operation has become impossible owing to the selfish policy of economic autonomy, independence and degenerated nationalism that is being pursued by all the war-worn countries as the be-all and end-all of their institutions. "The silken ties of economic internationalism and international relationship" are being snapped by selfish and aggressive foreign policies of the powerful national states poisoned to a great extent by the intoxicating fumes of racial egoism and interests of economic imperialism. As Prof. Brentano says "any effort of any economic system to be self-sufficient has always led to war and would lead to war in the future."

The art of living together has yet to be learnt by the nations and the cardinal truth that "humanity is not a mosaic of little mutually exclusive areas but is a complex body of interlocking interests and cultural groups" has to be sufficiently understood. The Allies have not understood this and that is why they insist on the policy of "milking the German Cow and cutting its throat at the same time."[1] No nation should be actuated by the socialistic impulse of confiscation of property.[2] As H. Lambert puts it "the countries are not 'given' by God and nature and do not 'belong' to the nations. They are merely entrusted to them for the common benefit of mankind. Men are born dwellers of the Earth and natural citizens of the world."[1] Nor should any nation strive to become a narrow economic group capable of leading an independent and economically self-sufficient existence. For a fuller realisation of the material well-being of the population of any country a stable international economy is absolutely indispensable. Each nation as a whole should be actuated by the community of interests and the present movement to economically internationalise the various nations as seen in the "international conventions to internationalise areas and to maintain an open-door policy in certain areas, international legislation, international labour conventions and international securities to facilitate the flow of capital and international credit"[2] deserves every sympathy and wide support. Cardinal Newman's idea of "Europeanising the mind" has given way to the idea of the "international mind" which treats all nations as co-operating equals whose progress, civilisation, enlightenment, culture, commerce and industry should be aided by all the other nations.[3]

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[1] Sir Charles Addis "Journal of the Institute of Bankers," April, 1919.

[2] Prof. Keynes uses very strong language in condemning the socialistic attitude of the Big Four as regards Germany. The policy of reducing Germany to servitude for a generation, of degrading the lives of millions of human beings and of depriving a whole nation of happiness should be abhorrent and detestable, even if it were possible, even if it enriched ourselves, even if it did not sow the decay of the whole civilised life of Europe. Some preach it in the name of Justice. In the great events of man's history, in the unwinding of the complex fates of nations, justice is not so simple. And even if it were, nations are not authorised, by religion or by natural morals, to visit on the children of their enemies the misdoings of parents or of rulers "Economic consequences of the peace," —p. 210.

But nations no less than individuals are ardent in their worship of the Golden Calf. As Thomas Hood says

> "Gold, Gold, Gold, Gold
> Bright and yellow hard and cold;

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[1] Lambert "Pax Economica."

[2] There are about 400 international associations of various kinds—scientific, religious, economic and literary nature. About 60 public international unions are grouped together with the League of Nations as a kind of central clearing house in Geneva. Fifty international Conferences of various kinds were held in Swizerland in 1921. Over 400 international Conferences were held in the year 1911 according to the estimate of Senator La Fontaine in Belgium. These facts challenge the attention and seek encouragement to all who seek the formation of an international society." Brown's "International Society" p. 60. See also Leonard Woolf or "International Government."

[3] Presidential speech of Mr. Butler at the Conference on "International Arbitration" May 15th, 1912.

See also Paul, Reinsch "Secret Diplomacy"—He says "the happiness of the national state depends on free and full co-operation with all others in all pursuits, activities,

Molten and graven, hammered and rolled
Heavy to get and light to hold;
Hoarded, bartered, bought and sold
Stolen, borrowed, squandered, doled
Spurned by the young, but hugged by the old
To the very verge of churchyard mould
Price of many a crime untold
Gold, Gold, Gold, Gold."

This is the ruling spirit of their actions. As Mr. Fullarton says "behind the facade of governments two occult powers —money and public opinion are determining the destines of the world."[1] Broadly speaking, the influence of la Haute Finance, as wielded by the Great Banking houses and the great manufacturers on the modern states was practically responsible for the determination of national policy and national honour. These have practically created "economic nationalism" and the Cabinet is their spokesman in the formulation and carrying out of their policy. These financiers so obscure the facts about money that the major part of the people do not see them at all. Bodin says that "the moneyers do as the doctors do who talk Latin before women and use Greek characters, Arab works, and Latin abbreviations fearing that if the people understood their recipes they would not have much opinion of them."[2] They also control the agencies of education and information and use them to a great advantage in rousing passionate resentment against all nations who dare to obstruct their plans and resist their claims. They evolve a set of intellectual and moral defenses of their own, an economic theory and a political philosophy to furnish the spiritual supports to their campaign of aggrandisement. They have a great hold on the press, the schools, the pulpit, the

interests common to humanity and in making the earth a place for dignified and happy life. Well informed public opinion in the country should exist preaching international good-will and fellowship should be established."

[1] W. M. Fullarton—"Problems of Power."

[2] Quoted by Bodin from Dunning's "Philosophy of Prices."

platform, the public house, the music-hall and the pictures. They hide their real motives and succeed in dressing up their intentions in the "garb of justice, law, order, truth, liberty, progress and development." Every war is justified and almost sanctified by a religious sanction on the ground that "our interests are in danger," "our flag was fired upon" and "our citizens have lost lives and property."

In the pre-war European states "it was money that acted as a sort of universal corruption and has upset the normal play of the governmental and administrative machinery and it has destroyed all idealism." All people recognise that money is the chief instrument of rapid and successful action. As one economist says "land is the skeleton of the social body, labour supplies the muscles, money is its life-blood without which the muscles do not move and the bones remain an inert-mass."[1] England and Germany were transformed into great industrial countries with the help of the sudden and adventitious accession of wealth obtained from India[2] and France. It is commonly stated that 'trade follows the flag' but it is none the less true that the flag follows the trade. The influence of German money and its peaceful penetration can be evidenced in pre-war Italy, Turkey, Brazil, Venezula and the Eastern Europe.[3] The magnificent development of the German industry and her flexible though precarious banking system would alone have achieved nothing. Germany has affected the surprising tour de force of securing her financial supremacy in the foreign countries while locking up very little of its own capital."[4] The German Michael is kept in a semblance of health by chronic sub cutaneous injections. French or

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[1] See M. Flurscheim "Clue to the Economic Labyrinth," p. 122.

[2] The wealth that poured into England from the Battle of Plassey to the Battle of Waterloo has been variously estimated from £ 500,000,000 to £ 1,000,000,000 and this is considered as the real basis of industrial revolution in England."

[3] See A. D. MacLaren "Peaceful Penetration."

[4] Dr. H. Hauser "Germany's Commercial grip on the World." He says that "German finance means German control, German espionage and Penetration."

American capital is the galvanising drug. Germany's home capital does not suffice to fill the coffers of the banks that are constantly being emptied by the German manufacturers and trader's demands for advances. The German Banks hence borrow from the French banks."[1] Hartley Withers says that the English acceptance houses generally accept the German trade bills and get them discounted in London. Thus German trade was being financed by the English bankers.[2] Thus international finance acted as a promoter of trade between countries and as one writer puts it "acted as a great educator and a mighty missionary of peace and good-will between nations."[3]

International Finance not only controlled the "hidden springs of peace" but also of war. Those who blame this baneful influence of international finance call it "a bloated spider which sits in the middle of a web of intrigue and chicanery, enticing hapless mankind into its toils and battening on bloodshed and war." The recent war was not due to dynastic or religious causes. It was not "a struggle to secure Liberty, equality and fraternity amongst all nations—great and small, powerful and weak, exalted and humble."[4] It was primarily the result of peaceful economic penetration, nationalism and expansion pursued by Germany and when France,

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[1] W. M. Fullarton "Problems of Power."

Norman Angell says the same thing. See his Lectures before the Institute of Bankers —January, 17, 1912.

[2] "Foreign financiers were quick to detect the advantages of the English credit system and to turn them to their own profit and to the furtherance of the trade of the countries that they represent. It is often contended that the rapid expansion of German trade, which pushed itself largely by its elasticity and adaptability to the wishes of its customers could never have been achieved if it had not been assisted by cheap credit furnished in London, by means of which German merchants ousted English manufactures with offers of long credit facilities to their foreign customers."—Meaning of Money.

[3] In 1911, the Moroccan Crisis made a European War probable but it was the financiers who advised Germany, that actually averted it."

[4] See H. Asquith's speech—H. of C. Aug. 16, 1914.

See D. Lloyd George's speech at Glasgow, June 29, 1917.

" " speech at Westminister, January 5, 1919.

See W. H. Dawson's "problems of the peace"—p. 28.

England and Russia realised the true German menace the result was the recent war. The moral issues of the war as voiced by the European statesmen were mere political platitudes uttered under pressure of expediency.[1] It was done solely to produce an effect on the common sort of mankind and to win over neutral nations. The real cause for the Great War was the economic rivalry. Anglo-German rivalry started in 1879 when Germany inaugurated a protectionist tariff injuring British trade. England's distrust of Germany increased when the latter began to develop a colonial policy and aspired to have "a place in the Sun." Later on the situation was aggravated by the famous Kruger Telegram followed by German Anglophobia during the Boer War. At about this time Germany commenced the construction of a strong fleet. England retaliated by the encirclement of Germany. Germany began to alarm the European powers by posing as the protector of Islam and the Morrocon crisis was calculated to pit ~~all~~ European powers against Germany.[2] Germany always considered England as the instigator of the alleged conspiracy. The Neo-German policy was based on ambitious claims. It sought to raise an indemnity from all the nations that outstripped her in securing a footing as colonial powers in this or that corner of the globe.

It was not the recent war alone that has been fought for economic motives such as the possession of monopolies, concessions, financial protectorates, spheres of interests and zones of influences overseas and points of vantage all over the world to serve as markets for the increasing products of their overgrown home industries, to obtain foodstuffs for the increasing population at home, to obtain raw materials as rubber, vegetable and mineral oils, cotton, metals, foodstuffs and textile materials etc., for the successful working of their industries, to provide scope for the utilisation of their increasing financial resources, to act as a safety valve in avoiding temporary crises in their productive industries and to save the entire economic structure from collapse. It is this policy that has been designated as the Economic Imperialism of the white peoples and some of the Oriental thinkers have rechristened it as the "New Yellow Peril."[1] This is what Britain has done in India and the Egypt,[2] Belgium in the Congo,[3] Japan in Korea,[4] the U.S.A. in the Philliphines, the Hayte and the Latin America.[5] This is what both Germany and France wish to do as regards the iron and coal deposits of Western Europe. This is what Russia and Japan wished to do in the matter of Eastern Asia. This is what France is doing at present in Syria and Britain in Mespotamia and Arabia.[6]

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[1] The recent war arose on account of rivalry of states for power and wealth. "It did not arise out of any need for civilisation, out of any generous impulse or noble ambition." G. L. Dickinson—European Anarchy.

[2] "The English Danger and the German people"

Dr. C. W. Elliott, President of the Harvard University in his report on conditions leading to Peace and War in the East, emphasises strongly on the economic motive leading to a state of war. He says all western nations which possess the saving habit make loans to remote and comparatively poor nations[1] which are in great need of money to pay for costly public works of transportation, conservancy, public health, and public security. The banks seek the support of their governments and the borrowing government pledges its municipal, provincial and national resources and when the dividend is not forthcoming the lender forecloses and international complications arise.[2] Again in the matter of lending there is regular competition among the saving nations and stimulated by mutual jealousy engage in aggressive operations against the Oriental peoples, who have been as a rule helpless in their hands, until Japan adopted and improved on the Western military organisation and methods of fighting and succeeded for a short time in borrowing the money needed to pay the heavy costs of a modern warfare."[3] The dominant motive leading to present-day wars is the economic one.[4] The greatness of a nation is measured by its growing industries, expanding commerce and increasing numerical strength. Not satisfied with these crowning proofs of their greatness, they covet the territories of "the weaker, order and stagnating nations." Coupled with this economic motive the race egoism goes a long way in preparing a country to become aggressive and declare war. As Brailsford puts it "the pride of race, the insolence of colour, the megalomania which swells as it contemplates great possessions and vast territories, the theatrical instinct which hails even war as a relief from the drab monotony of modern industrial life the ignorant distrust of the foreigner and the inability to seize the standpoint of a rival—all these reinforce the financial pressure towards expansion."[1]

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[1] *Vide*, B. Mukherjee "Sir Asutosh Jubilee Commemoration Vol. I," Article on the New Yellow Peril.

[2] "To defend Rothchild's interests in Egypt the whole country was annexed by Britain"—Brailsford "War of Steel and Gold."

[3] See E. D. Morel's "Blackman's Burden."

[4] *Vide*, T. F. Millard "Democracy and the Eastern Question"—pp. 32 to 39.

[5] The United States of America, which is popularly supposed to be wedded to the "Monroe Doctrine" now aspires to become a colonial power and although her imperialistic excursions have not gone far, it would be no surprise, if in the near future, she would be bitten by the megalomania of an imperialistic frame of mind. See "Economic Imperialism" by, Prof. A. Viallate—p. 32 et seq.

[6] As one writer says, "In the near East, British policy aims at linking Egypt and India by the establishment of a large Arabian State as a British protectorate. Just as the Cape to Cairo railway was to form a British backbone in Africa, so from Cairo to Calcutta, a British line of communication was to form a British backbone in South and West Africa. Mespotamia will safeguard this on the north and it is this which constitutes the strategic importance of Mespotamia." Besides this the lure of oil is the chief reason for Britain's securing the mandatory power over Mespotami

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[1] The admission to the London Stock Exchange List of the Government Loans gives the British Government some diplomatic power. The banking houses in France before granting such a privilege seek the aid of the Foreign Office and follow its advice. In the French Bourse, the Finance Minister's permission has to be obtained before the Broker's Union Committee can place these foreign government securities on the list. The U.S.A. has lately adopted this policy by asking the underwriters to place all the foreign issues which they mean floating in the American Market before the Department of the State.

[2] In Dec., 1902. the Venezuelan coast was blockaded by the French, English and German Governments as the Veneznelan government defaulted in the matter of repayment of loans of the French, English and the German capitalists—

When civil war waged in Persia, Russia sent an army to protect its subjects. France sent a naval expedition to the island of Mytilene to collect the usurius debt of its Sultan to a pair of Levantine financiers.. Germany annexed Kiao-chau in China for the murder ef a missionary.

But for the realisation of the Six Power Financial Consortium in China there would have been hopeless conflict and clash of interests of the different Imperialisms in the Far East.

[3] Quoted from T. F. Millard "The Democracy and the Eastern Question"—pp. 567.

[4] See G. L. Dickinson "Causes of International War"—International War is the conflict between two national States. The Community sense of patriotism "good or bad it is mine, it is me" sense is a possible conditional cause for the war. In addition to this feeling economic motives must be present at the bottom. Mr. W. H. W. Perris says that the very beginning of war was the conquest of peaceful people by adventurors bent on gold, pearls, amber and on servile labour to produce them. Plunder is the root of war"—War and civilisation.

But unfortunately the recent Great War could not be conducted at a very low cost. The cost of the previous wars was not so high. The cost of killing weak and unorganised nations is very small but the cost of killing civilised prople has proved to be very high. A recent writer estimates that "for killing 10 millions in the recent war about 250 millions of dollars have been spent." This high cost can be explained if the character of the recent war is borne in mind. As Garvin says, "the present Great War was a war of economics of manufacture, equipment, of rival science, of social organisation. It was a food war, a war of machinery, a chemical war, a war of fibres as of metals, a transport war, a war of petrol, a war of spare parts," Consequently it could not be waged at a low figure and the very machinery that civilisation has forged has proved to be its own destruction. This reminds one of Butler's famous epigram "mankind will be destroyed by the very machinery it has created." The financing of this Great War reveals to us one important truth which is not grasped by the common people. There is no such thing as national bankruptcy and it is this that makes the governments contract loans indefinitely and not content with the proceeds of these loans they empower their national banks to overissue notes and as the business instincts of these bank directors generally abhor the impending shadows cast by bankruptcy the governments themselves take up the inflation of currency making an occasional show to satisfy and blind the people as to the real financial status of the country. Loans upon loans internal as well as external, are contracted and national indebtedness mounts higher and higher day by day but yet the nation lives and goes on with its usual task. It need not be said that no spendthrift individual can dare to pursue such a reckless policy. It would be indeed a great surprise if such people manage to weather such storms for a while and it is luck alone that helps them in this course. No nation considers it imprudent or dishonest to contract loans at higher and higher rates of interest and the danger of being declared bankrupt has no such terror to the nation, as it exercises on the mind of the individual. The staggering load of national indebtedness is so huge that no adroit finance minister has been able to find a philosopher's stone that would automatically solve the problem of national deficiency. This reckless disregard for bankruptcy, political lying and secret diplomacy constitute as one writer terms it public immorality. According to him " public morality has hardly merged from the pagan stage of development. " He pleads for ethical education and elevation of society.

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[1] H. N. Brailsford "The War of Steel and Gold."

The greatest economic shock dealt by the war is felt by the credit system. " Credit " as one economist says, " is the child of confidence. " It arises out of the mutual trust between the bankers and the public, and the bankers and their customers. Now this confidence is destroyed during the war-time as the people fail to realise what is in store for them. They become panic-stricken and try to mobilise all their available assets into liquid cash. Loans are recalled and the granting of book-credit which is the sole basis of internal trade is discontinued as an unsafe thing during these troublous times.

As people demand cash and begin to hoard it there is an increasing need for more currency. To add to this the Government has to obtain all the requisites needed for the war and as everything has to be paid in cash, the need to increase the currency becomes imperative. In addition to these forces, there is a third one which renders necessary the increase of currency. Some of the pessimistic people anticipate a food shortage in the near future. They begin to secure large supplies of food paying ridiculously high prices. This leads to a decline in the purchasing power of money and a rise in the rate of interest sets up demands for compensating increases both of wages and of profits which increase in turn and add to the cost of production and prices and it is this vicious circle which makes impossible the real thing required at that time namely, increased production. Again the transition of peace-time industry to a war time basis restricts the output of production. While the demand for money's work is naturally restricted as a result of diminished production, the supply of money goes on increasing. The Central Bank of Issue is used by the belligerent state as an inexhaustible engine belching forth currency in the shape of its own bank notes or the state might requisition the services of its own printing press for the production of an inexhaustible supply of currency. This issuing of inconvertible currency dilutes the value of all currencies, gold as well as silver. Thus any currency system be it solidly backed by gold or silver, would be deranged during the anxious period of a war-time monetary crisis.[1]

(*To be continued*).

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

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[1] See J. M. Keynes " A Revision of the Treaty. " Note on the Mark Exchange.

THE PANTHEISTIC ASPECT OF CHRISTIANITY

III

Pantheism may be deemed as the theology of reason as opposed to that of dogmas. Reason dictates that if God is Infinite, only as the Infinite he is God. Pantheism demands the consideration of this simple proposition. Man's eyes cannot be shut to what God appears ontologically, or as Infinite, also to what he appears teleologically, or as man. And so in all religions he is conceived both as Infinite and Personal—Infinite God and Personal Deity.

The highest aspiration of mankind, as manifested in prayer, seems to point to the existence of an instinct, within man, for the most intimate relationship with God. This longing is expressed in the clearest and most forcible way by St. Paul, "Yet no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me," and his belief that to be in Christ is identical with being in God, is rooted in a pantheistic feeling, though not so expressed by him.

It is stated in Christian scripture, and the Christians have always believed, that man lives, moves and has his being in God, and that the Logos or Christ, by whom were all things made, and who was with God and was God "is all in all," (Col. III. 11). Expressions like these would suggest that man's being is united with God. Also many utterances of Christ would indicate that there is a mystical consubstantiality between God and man. In the Eucharist this is particularly realised in the mind of the believer, for when he makes his will, in all respects, conformable to the will of God, he mentally merges himself in God, like Christ, and is transubstantiated in him.

The qualities that make for the being of God are innumerable. Only a few of these are perceived by man, such as love, truth, power, wisdom, etc. Man is ever in a state of transition, with the potentiality to develop into the fulness of the Divine. (Eph. IV-13). His realisation of the Divine within him helps to live the life of the Divine, as was done by Christ. Thus Christ became the highest manifestation of the Invisible God, in humanity (Col. I-15). So, if man would live the life of Christ his inherent Divinity would be perfected. St. Peter and also St. Gregory thought that Christ was "Our example, that ye should follow his steps." As men they were concerned only with his man-hood—the man-hood of God. Christ was to them as "The Deep calling unto the deep" to be "one," as was prayed for by him. And their being "one" can only be possible on account of their substance being identical.

The first believers of Christ promulgated no theories and framed no articles of religion, but they earnestly engaged themselves to follow the supreme example which they had witnessed before them. That was the religion to which they were then proselytised, and in which they hoped for future happiness. So it appears Christianity and pantheism aim at the same goal.

By enjoining "Seek ye the truth and the truth shall make you free," Christ evidently desired to rouse in his followers the longing for truth—a thing not strewn like wild berries on the surface of the earth, but to be sought with spiritual diligence to attain to, as "धर्मस्य तत्त्वं निहितं गुहायाम् ।" He commanded them to investigate carefully before believing the old traditions, the assertions of others or the authority of ancient scriptures, for the true "Light which lighteneth every man that cometh into the world" would not that any man should live in any kind of darkness, ancient or modern, or walk in the bondage of superstition, prejudice or delusion which dims his internal vision. The latter part of the utterance of Christ, quoted above, contains the promise of a precious blessing, which has unfortunately escaped the notice of many, namely, the attainment of truth shall be rewarded with the attainment of release or salvation. Thus Christ undoubtedly bade men to investigate in order to solve the deep mysteries of the Law of Life which leads to abiding happiness. In Brahmanic scripture truth, wisdom and Brahma are equivalent in meaning, " त्यंन्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म " or the attainment of truth and wisdom is equal to the attainment of Brahma ; and as the attainment of Brahma is मुक्ति or release—the word being derived from the verb to quit—so Brahma and ' release ' are interchangeable terms. The Vedanta also teaches that by attaining knowledge of truth or तत्त्वज्ञानम् man attains self-consciousness or आत्मज्ञानम् and that by attaining self-consciousness he attains release or salvation or मुक्ति । Thus the teaching about salvation is the same according to Brahmanic and Christian scriptures.

The Modernists, desiring to understand the real values in religion, in the light of current knowledge, assembled in a conference at Cambridge, in 1921, declared themselves against the Chalcedonion Fathers. Discussing the question "What is the God in whom we believe," like the Vedic dissenters of old, " कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम " they expressed the view that Divinity and humanity are not two substances, but one, and that " perfect humanity is Divinity under human conditions." Bishop Gore may raise a voice of protest against this assertion in his book " Belief in God," but modern philosophy, in accordance with the postulates of reason, tends to establish the identity of their natures.

It is proper to believe that there is but one nature in the universe, and that is Divine nature. The particular existences that are noticed are but in degrees of that one and universal nature. If human nature were something different from Divine nature, its existence could not be accounted for. The universe may be regarded as a system of existences perfected and unperfected, which are relatively associated with one another, as parts of an organic whole. Moments and eternity, small space and infinity, mortal life and immortality, human goodness and Divine perfection, all are various stages and degrees of one supreme and absolute whole. If this be admitted could it not be said that the being of man, though in a lesser degree, is the being of God, who, the Upanishad, asserts, said, " अहंवहुंस्याम् प्रजायेय " I will be many. Just as time, space and Nature disappear before the unveiled insight of man, so the illusory middle wall of partition between Divinity and humanity disappears before a person who is illumined with God-consciousness. So I think Edward Grubb was right in saying, " The orthodox creeds, while nominally maintaining at once the Divinity and humanity of Jesus, have in effect thrown the latter away." There is no distinct mention in the Bible that " अहं वहुस्याम् प्रजायेय " in Christ there were two natures or personalties, Divine and human, at any time, nor that his Divine nature was something, sometime, transfused into his human nature, but that it was there, and afterwards which on reaching perfection, (Luke II, 40), became recognised; and so man beheld " God was in Christ." Likewise, man may also know that Divine nature is in him. Pliny in reporting to the Roman Emperor about the Christians accused them of worshipping Christ as God, " *Carmen Christo quasi Deo* : " By what he said in Scepticism, and also perhaps in contempt, he but unconsciously told the truth about Christ's final attainment of Divinity.

According to Christian scripture Christ possessed a commonness of substance and nature with the Godhead and perfect God-consciousness signifying thereby the realisation of his original Divinity. In like manner, according to his teaching, every man has within himself a potentiality for the attainment of original Divinity, *majores et minores*, as is also inculcated in the Brahmanic scripture to be the inherent privilege of every man.

The statement in St. John's Gospel that the *Logos* was in the world and that in the Old Testament that God, in the formation of man breathed his life into him, would point to the same conclusion. The feeling regarding the immortality of the soul also adds strength to the same conception. If our soul is immortal it is on account of its being a part of the Immortal and All-pervading Soul. Our soul has to realise, in a finite and temporal experience, this identity; hence the importance of self-obliteration. To lose one's self in the Eternal is held to be the completion and perfection of the self. "No man can see God and live:" the consciousness of God accomplishes the death of his man-self, and then according to the Law of Life he lives to realise the Deity within him. "ब्रह्मविद् ब्रह्म भवति"

The central thought of the Johannine Gospel is the oneness of Christ and his Heavenly Father on the one hand, and similar oneness between Christ and his followers on the other. It is thus that the cycle of human existence would be completed. Aguste Sebatier says, "The essence of the Gospel is to produce in us the consciousness of inward reconciliation with God, identical with that of Christ." But Christ's relation with God was certainly more than that of mere reconciliation.

It might, however, be contended that what was prayed for by Christ meant only a mystical union, a similarity of existence, in will and action. Pantheism predicates not only such fellowship but something more—an actual conscious absorption without extinction. It must, of course, be admitted that no one knows exactly what happens at that supreme moment, which is rightly called the ecstatic state, when man's conscience awakens into the very depth of his being and he enters into close relationship with God. So the divergence of views held on this point may be searched for in the temperamental difference between the eastern and the western minds. Though Martineau is not quite in favour of pantheism, yet he has to admit that "the tendency which gives rise to pantheistic characteristics is so foreign to our prevailing English genius, that it is not easy to awaken much sympathy with it, or to give a clear impression of the theory it has enacted." He who strives for the material progress of his life, which ends in giving an increased capacity for evil, but does not stimulate his aspiration for the advancement of his depraved self, cannot but be indifferent about the well-being of his real humanity. The Westerner seems to cling pertinaciously to his individuality, while the Easterner has no difficulty in losing it. The former is obsessed with the idea of self-assertiveness and self-aggrandisement, while the latter longs for self-effacement and self-belittleness: the path to the Divine is through selflessness and not sefishness.

As the nursery of all ancient religions was the ancient wisdom of the Mysteries one need not be surprised at finding pantheistic ideas existing also in the elements of Judaism, out of which arose Christianity. Rudolf Steiner, author of "Christianity as Mystical Fact," says, "It is related of Pythagoras that he travelled to Egypt and India and was instructed by the sages of those countries. Thinkers who lived in the earlier days of Christianity found so much agreement between the philosophical teaching of Plato and the deeper meaning of the Mosaic writings that they called Plato a Moses in Attic tongue."

It is no wonder that pantheism with its deep substratum of truth has profoundly influenced men in all ages and climes and that all religions, including Christianity, are found to contain a large element of pantheistic thought. So there being an agreement in the esoteric essentials of Judaism, Christianity, Brahmanism, Buddhism and Islam reconciliation is possible between the believers of these religions. The Logos of God being reason in man, not by its suspension but, in its light not only understanding but also amity may be established between the peoples of the world believing diverse religions who have hitherto been alienated by ancient strife and animosity.

There are some writers who would emphasise the deleterious effect of pantheism on life, as tending to obliterate ethical distinctions, and to do away with moral values. But it should be remembered that pantheism has arisen, not from any puffed up and unworthy motive, but really out of deep reverence and intense affection for the Deity, which the pantheist, in humbleness of spirit, imagines as the one Reality, concealed behind the visible phenomena of the universe, and he jealously recognises none existing besides it.

It is noteworthy that the origin of the English word God, with its German form Gott, Danish Gud, Icelandish Gudh, Persian Khuda etc., which means the Supreme Being, can be recognised in the Sanskrit word गूढ़ or the Hidden One. The Swetaswatara Upanishad tersely describes God as " सर्व्वभूतेषु गूढम् " or the hidden or immanent One in all things. Also according to another Upanishad He is " गुहाहितं गह्वरेष्ठम् " So it appears that the word God originally connoted a pantheistic idea among the ancients. This is also traced in the Latin word Pan for God, which means all, just as in "Bhagavat Gita," " सर्वं समाप्नोषि ततोऽसि सर्वः " *i.e.*, as Thou comprisest all, Thou art all.

By helping man also to identify the Creator with the whole of creation, pantheism extends the boundaries of his loving relation to all mankind, nay, even to all created beings around him. If love is the redemption of human heart, pantheism, in supplying a powerful dynamic of love, enhances the value of life. It is the spirit of man that gives ethics any value. So, if Christianity aims at bringing man to a conscious fellowship with God pantheism supplies a metaphysical basis for this fellowship by postulating a conscious unity with him. By the recognition of this unity the dignity of man is increased, and by the extention of his mental horizon the value of truth and religious freedom becomes more important to him.

If Christ is worshipped as God, it is because man after worshipping God and his attributes, in and through the various personified phenomena of Nature, in the ages past, was not satisfied till he turned his adoration to man—Christ—the highest manifestation of the Cosmic Spirit in the visible world; or his seeking after the Infinite was not quenched till, at last, he found it in the Finite, if I may say so. And so the Bible declares that Christ is "the visible image of the Invisible God."

The Christian revelation appears to be, in all its essential points, more specially in its insistence on securing spiritual welfare through Christ, similar to that promulgated by the *Rishis* in the East. God is the Truth, and its realisation will bring release or salvation. Christ's saying that the knowledge of the Truth shall make man free, exactly coincides with the teaching of Brahmanic philosophy, which holds that as ignorance is the root-cause of all forms of evil or bondage, so the knowledge of self, brings on liberation or मुक्ति. The Buddha's assertion, "The knower of the Truth is liberated," also imparts the same teaching.

In one of his remarkable discourses, the Buddha explains that ignorance is the cause of all misery, and that a continuous chain of evil and suffering follows necessarily from it. Though one may not agree with all other things that he has said in his discourse, yet it may be safely assumed that there is some essential truth in his teaching, namely, the knowledge of the Truth makes undoubtedly for liberation or salvation; that is, when man is freed from evil passions, superstitions, prejudices, delusions, etc., and comes to the full realisation of the Truth, his progress towards the development of his being becomes unhindered. It is nowhere stated in the Bible that birth in the world is a coveted condition, but on the other hand, Christianity teaches that man's release from earthly life is an advantage, a blessing. The knowledge of truth will overcome evil, the overcoming of evil will give release from fleshly births, as the flesh and the world are the cause of human misery. In Revelation, Christ says, "Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God and he shall go no more out," that is such a man shall be established for ever in the Deity, as an inseparable part of it, like a pillar in a temple, which cannot be taken out without causing its collapse. (Rev. III. 12). It would follow then that for man's perfection and happiness mere ethics does not suffice, but he needs also intellectual enlightenment. Neither any faith nor the mere observance of some religious practices is enough; the mind has also to be illumined and purified with the light of the knowledge of the Truth.

It is a remarkable fact that the pious in all ages have, in holiness of life and in passionate devotion to God, realised him in themselves, and have expressed their experience, in phrases of ecstatic joy. Christ, full of holy devotion, and God-consciousness, exclaims, "I and the Father are one." As Christ is living in every man (John I-14) and working, suffering and being crucified, through the ages, so every man, living in him, will realize, like him, his Real self and say like him, "I and the Father are one," when all will be released to their true state and his redemptive work finished on earth. The devotee's complete effacement of himself and identification with the Deity are not uncommon experiences in the religious chronicle of the world. From the ancient times of the Vedas to the present day, instances such as that of Vak, St. Paul, Sankara, Sadananda, St. Teresa, the Gopinis, Princess Mira and many saints and mystics furnish sufficient evidence concerning the assimilation of humanity with the Divinity. Experiences of this sort cannot be totally dismissed as pure illusion.

It has been said that the human intellect or reason, which is God's mind thinking in man, is Divine element in him, (John I. 3) and by virtue of it he perceives the Divinity within him; but to do so it depends upon his using this element. And as by the response of our own personality to that of another it becomes known to us, so it is the same with regard to one's God-consciousness. In Christ we have that identification in a perfect degree. Whatever belongs to the

Father that belongs to him, what the Father does, that he does also. Christ desired also that his disciples should be like unto him, and to that effect he assured them, "If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto the mountain, 'Remove hence to the yonder place,' and it shall remove, and nothing shall be impossible unto you." (Matt. XVII. 20). As in Christ's own experience he found that being born as man (John VII. 42) and growing like man (Luke. I-8) he could realise and attain to Divinity so only his instruction becomes intelligible to us.

It is, sometimes, alleged against pantheism that in it the immanence of God in the universe is unduly emphasised while his other attributes, specially his transcendence, are neglected or almost obliterated. There is no intention here of minimising the difficulty or belittling the objection. "Theism," as Prof. Alexander has well pointed out, "in emphasing God's transcendence is also liable to serious objection. The God of strict Theism is artificially related to his creatures. He is one of a multitude of beings...but does not live their life...as in some sense the pantheistic God does...but remains outside them." Could it not be said that between God's transcendence and his immanence there is no essential difference, and that they are not exclusive of each other? As no statue can be cut out in the absence of a block of stone, so transcendence cannot exist without immanence; immanence may be regarded as the crude material of which is made transcendence, the finished article. It may, therefore, be averred that God's transcendence becomes immanence when it comes into contact with base contamination. His transcendence and immanence may simply be conceived as relative states of his being in two different places; and in perfected conditions their relativity gives place to identity. The most convincing proof of this was demonstrated in the Man-God Christ. All existences are in degrees of development.

Thus Christianity, which really views God as immanent in Nature and transcendent in Christ, does not present any serious difficulty in accepting pantheism, but it is found rather tacitly to acknowledge the same. By applying to comprehend its deep truth, with an open mind, pantheism would not prove an unsurmountable study.

It might be objected that in pantheistic belief, the diversity of religious theories would make no difference, and that the only thing that matters is the practice of an absolute devotion to the Deity and an unselfish love of all beings that results from it. I think this, instead of being an objection, would be a commendation of the aspect of any religion, for, after all, what really matters in religion is devotion to God, and consecreted service to all creatures, summed up in the four words of Christ, "Do this and live," (Luke x. 28), and in view of this the statements that "The Word was made flesh," "Christ was in the form of God," "Christ is all in all" and similar others are accounted for in the Bible. It should also be remembered that as the Infinite and Unknowable, hidden in all existences, is the central thought of pantheism, it regulates the conduct of life, requiring no priest or preacher to proclaim and enforce it, for the regeneration of humanity. In it unity and diversity, both of inspiration and aspiration, meet to raise up the temple befitting the habitation and the worship of the Deity, irrespective of diverse beliefs and creeds.

Feeling has always been, more or less the foundation of all religions. If there is a reasonableness in pantheism the Christian body cannot remain unaffected by its powerful influence. If pantheism is not accepted as a creed, it would not matter much as, all the same, if a larger and richer life, the ultimate end of all religions, were the result from the better understanding of it. If religions are meant to exert a moral function only the feeling of universal love can do this adequately, and such a feeling is best entertained by the thought which identifies the universe with its Maker.

The innate longing of humanity for a higher and higher life and its struggling for it, through different lives, having evolved the personality of Christ, in "the form of God" has revealed the original Divinity of man. But man is not merely to recognise the Divinity in him, he is also to become Divine, Christ the Man-God leading him into the infinite path. Release or salvation is not in the way of the flesh nor in the belief of a few dogmas or *mantras,* but in the long and complex process of attainment. If Christianity is to belong to the whole of humanity its germinal truth must be embedded in the feeling of all men.

My intention is to show that Christianity throve in the ground of pantheistic idea of the ancients, and that it is a collateral development of what had already existed before. I have intended to emphasise this peculiar character of the essence of Christianity which is not noticed by many. I think that Christ did not intend to found any new religion, but he desired to sow in Jewry the seed which would grow to inherit the ancient wisdom of the Mysteries where it had almost perished. But Christianity, in its anxious attempt to keep clear of "the blasphemy of pantheism," founded on the belief in the unity of God and the universe, by betaking to that in the plurality of the Godhead, has unconsciously fallen into such an abyss of intellectual entanglement that it has been taxing the brains of men from the patristic time, through that of the schoolmen, to the present day.

It might be said in commendation of pantheism that it lays down the foundations of an ever progressive life—a life deepened by the sense of love towards all—and this not through any blind faith, but in virtue of a more complete knowledge of the Law of Life. In proclaiming a glorious procession of atoms, from God to God, pantheism fills all with equal hope of reaching the ultimate perfection, sometime. In the realisation of man's capability to apprehend his own true place in the universe lies the expectation of his upliftment to and reconciliation with the Deity making religion the highest science and pantheism, the highest philosophy. A religion which would aim at imparting high teaching, but would keep man, for ever separated from his Maker, cannot possibly elevate his nature or satisfy the highest cravings of his being. Pantheism denies that the First Cause is essentially different and separate from what it has caused. In it secret teaching, for a few, has no place nor mortification of the intellect, because of any hard dogma. By fostering a feeling of participation in the Divinity it has opened the gate of deathlessness to all.

The feeling of the Divinity in the humanity might be condemned as likely to foster extreme presumption in man, but I think it hardly blameworthy, in as much as it benefits him by reminding him that his life is a part of the great chain that binds him with his Maker. It also teaches him that the degree of his God-ward progress depends upon his self-effacement, and loving service, as, by the Law of Life, such alone can transform him into the Divinity, as, even in the case of Christ, it was said that through entirely emptying himself and loving sacrifice he became entirely filled with Divinity. Thus the degree of a man's God-ward attainment really corresponds to the measure of his selfessness. There are many kinds of sacrifice, but the effacement of one's self is the highest and most complete making possible man's unfoldment unto the Deity. As the value of a religion might be appraised by its theology so its glory might be tested by the unselfish loving life of its believers. In the feeling of the unity of life—of one Reality comprising all beings—an unloving attitude in any individual becomes an impossiblity, and in it the soul is trained for God's high purpose; and as each is to win his prize himself and none else can do it for him, by doing loving service, he will live the life, God has purposed in him. So pantheism not only elevates life, but also contains a great truth of Christianity; it also aims at carrying conviction of it by application in its believers.

God being the only true Reality, he is the cause and substance of all existence, as they cannot possess independent origin of themselves. In the mind or consciousness of man God is perceived, and his intellect is Divine essence. Thus he is Divine in his being. In Christ this Divine essence developed and unfolded in the highest degree, and so he perceived that he was Divine and could do what God could do. Knowing that this truth, about the Law of Life, was the same in man he taught that man could do as he could do. So every hearer of this great truth, from Christ, conforming to his principle, or that of God can become like him the "begotten son of God." The God-consciousness of man, like that of Christ, is the recollection of the eternal unity of his being with God.

The history of the world, as shown by Geology, is not the act of a sudden creation, but a state of successively developed existence—the latter state growing out of the prior—proving the unity of the whole. That matter could not have existed independently of God is a self-evident truth. Either matter must have existed independently of God at the formation of the universe or it must have evolved out of him at that time. But as the former theory is inconceivable, matter must be an expression of the Divine being.

The declaration of Christian scripture is that all things are God. Taking up such a view, in all seriousness, long before this declaration was made, pantheism had established a system of belief about the commonness of the essence of God, and man. It will be hard for man to separate himself from God, his Maker, without being overtaken by the fate of the prophet Jonah, who fled from God. Like Jonah man may, for a time, remain aloof from God, in the belly of darkness, but as none can flee from God or frustrate his purpose, like him, he will at last be brought to the light of the true knowledge about God and himself.

If pantheism be a myth, then man's hopes, his longing to live in God would, for ever, remain unrealised. On the contrary if man's state is not stationary, but ever progressive he must ultimately be like unto God, and nothing can prevent this consequence.. Pantheism makes the atoms to embrace one another in never-ending joy, believing that they are parts of a Great Whole; the stars would burst forth in glad songs hoping for a more glorious state in future; and the Christian would wait exultantly in expectation of a complete restitution to God at last, as prayed for by his Adorable Redeemer, as the priceless reward of his redemptive work on earth.

The plea of pantheism is simple enough. If matter has the attribute of extension, God who is spirit, the cause of matter, must, *a foteori,* have the same. If God is Infinite he cannot be limited, and therefore the finite and Infinite, the Divine and the human, must be comprehended as the component parts of a single Organic Whole, in which both exist. The consciousness of oneness with God is bound to supply man with an energising power which will enable him to realise his true place in the realm of existences. Pantheism emphasises the fact that man is not a transient being, a passing mode of God's expression, but a part of his eternal substance. The ideal of pantheism, *sans* abuse, helps man to grasp deeply the higher purposes of life, and becomes in him a power to live in harmony with the Divine. The abuse of a thing does not abrogate the right of its proper use or can make it an evil.

A difficulty in the belief in pantheism, I frankly admit, lies in the paradox, that if God and the universe are one, how in God, who is absolutely good, can evil possibly exist ? This is a great puzzle, but not impossible of solution. If good is conceived to be the essential nature of being, what is called evil would be a mere manner of viewing the phenomenon; an optimistic view would exclude it from our vision. In the ineffable joy of the initiate the contrast between good and evil disappears; his belief in the reality of evil is dispelled, which had existed only in his past ignorance or *avidya*, and in his total ignorement of the phenomena of good and evil he experiences the attainment of the highest happiness.

If, however, evil is acknowledged to be a fact, as in Buddhism and Christianity, pantheism would not be killed as in these pessimistic religions man's life on earth is considered unreal, which must needs be transformed into the real or perfect. Just as in Astrology Saturn with its apparently baneful influence on life, is credited with the benevolence of developing the character and destiny of man, so evil is credited, in the end, to terminate in good. Also if the universe is regarded to have existed as a system in a pluralistic form, from the beginning, consisting of higher and lower orders of things and principles, related to one another, for working out their mutual perfection, where the latter is to grow into the former; or if what the senses regard as beings are regarded as becomings, which they are in reality, evil would dissolve itself into a fleeting phenomenon in Nature, which does not end beings, but leads them, through many stages, to perfection the Divine force within them doing this, good being the ultimate state of their existence, as was seen by Christ who said, "Behold I saw Satan as lightning fall from heaven", not only would a fair solution of the paradox be found but also the question of the transcendence and immanence of God properly understood and the teaching of Christ, "Ye therefore shall be perfect as the Heavenly Father is perfect," made more intelligible to our mind.

Pantheism is both a philosophy and a religion. It is a philosophy in as much as it satisfies the craving of the human mind for speculation, to dive deeply into the most abstruse questions that constantly present themselves before the intellect and herein I disagree with Martineau in his insinuation that pantheism is not a philosophy. It is a religion in as much as it aims at rebinding man to God, as the word religion derivatively means. Nothing like pantheism seems to bind man more closely to God and bring to his heart a feeling of confidence and comfort.

The declarations of Christ, "I am in the Father and the Father in me," (John XIV. 11), "I am in my Father and ye in me and I in you," (John XIV. 20), and "I and the Father are one," (John X. 30), and the statements, "The Word was made flesh," (John I. 14), "Christ is all and in all," (I Col III. 11), "God was in Christ," (II Cor. V. 19), "God may be all in all," (I Cor. XV-28), and similar others in the New Testament, to the effect that God is the entirety in all existences, make all existences equal to God. Expunge such expressions from the Bible and you expunge pantheism from Christianity. So pantheism may be likened to a mustard seed, which has become a great tree under the branches of which many religions have found a resting place, or it is like the bed-rock upon which many religions, including Christianity, have been established. Troeltsh has well said : "In our earthly experience the Divine life is not one but many, but to discover the one in many is the special task of love." It is noteworthy that in teaching the highest spiritual truth Christ did not seek learning in his hearers, but only simple-mindedness, as is testified to in the famous incident at the side of a Samaritan well. So to the eye of Christ— many-windowed, simple-minded and sympathetic—will be yielded up something of God in everything.

The discovery of the pantheistic aspect of Christianity will not be realised by the Christian by any negative process of observation, but it is necessary to apply to its study a searching will and a receptive mind. One cannot emphasise too strongly that by recognising that there are pantheistic elements in Christianity nothing of its value and grandeur will be lost, but on the contrary, its fundamental ideas will gain in depth of meaning and in power of inspiration. In the mind of the reverent and thoughtful Christian, believeing in pantheism, Christ's supreme place, in the universe, will not only become intelligible, but also remain unassailable, and his faith in Christianity will be established on firmer grounds of reason.

(*Concluded*).

G. C. Ghosh

THE QUEST

The stream still runs to the waiting sea;
The moon still calls to the night,
The wind still sighs on the lonely lea,
And the watcher still longs for the light.
The wild gull cries to his mate so high,
As they wing a westward flight;
And breaking hearts still yearn and sigh,
For their lost loves and dreams once bright.
The roses that bloom so fresh to-day,
Still fade, and to-morrow die.
Sweet youth still loves in the old, old way,
And memories haunt us as joys pass by.
But the Soul falters on in its lonely quest,
Still seeks for the door with the hidden key;
Still longs for the end of its old unrest,
And the answer to life's mystery.

Lily S. Anderson

THE EARLY INDIAN VISITORS TO ENGLAND

In my article on "The Early Indian Visitors to England," in the October number of this Review, I might have alluded to some other visitors to Europe. They were not very important and one of them was an Arab, but their accounts have some historical significance and may throw additional light on the subject.

In 1497, when Vasco da Gama discovered India, he took back with him to Portugal a number of prisoners from Calicut; they were released and sent back to India with Cabral in 1500, that "they might give an account of what they had seen in Portugal." The expedition of Pedro Alvares Cabral consisted of thirteen vessels; it was sent by King Emanuel of Portugal, who himself presented the Admiral with the "Flag of the Cross." The fleet contained "1200 men, 8 Franciscan Friars, 8 Chaplains, and a Chaplain Major. The substance of their instructions was, to begin by preaching, and if that failed, to proceed to the decision of the sword." Cabral became acquainted with the Syrian Christians at Cranganor, on the Malabar Coast, and on leaving India the following year, passing through Persia, he took two of them, named Matthias and Joseph, to Lisbon, and it is recorded that "these were the first Christians of India seen in Europe." They did not visit England. Matthias died at Lisbon, and Joseph, when at Venice, wrote an account of his co-religionists and of his travel in a Latin work entitled *Voyages of Joseph the Indian.* Later on he returned to India via Lisbon.[1] This shows that, during the early settlement of the Portuguese on the Malabar coast, they were in close touch with the inhabitants of the place, some of whom came to Europe in Portuguese vessels. It is well known to our readers that the Jesuits exercised much influence over the Malabar Christians.

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[1] *See* Vol. I of *The Portuguese Asia*, by M. De Faria-y-Sousa, translated into English by Captain John Stevens, 1695; and also p. 49 of *The Conversion of India*, by George Smith, C.I.E., John Murray, London, 1893.

Another Eastern visitor was one Meer Ali Beg of Mecca, who became conspicuous for his seamanship. He overawed the inhabitants of the city of Magadano by representing that his ship was the first of a great fleet that would conquer all the Coast of Melinde. In 1587, encouraged by his success, Meer Ali Beg left Mecca with five vessels and anchored off Melinde, but the Portuguese Governor, who was guarding the Coast forbade him to stay even for one night. The Governor, indeed, considered him a pirate and sent his own brother with "900 men in 20 vessels" to catch him. Meer Ali Beg had meanwhile fortified himself at Mombasa. The Portuguese fleet passed up the river under fire and captured "four Gallies, killed above 70 Turks, released many Christians, and took many prisoners, and 30 pieces of cannon." As a result Meer Ali Beg was captured and brought to Portugal, where he died after professing himself a Christian. [1]

An Indian Mohammedan is mentioned by Thomas Coryat in 1616, as having been brought to Constantinople as a slave by some Florentines. On their way to Alexandria their journey was interrupted and the Indian was taken to Leghorn where he stayed two years and meanwhile learned Italian. Eventually, he returned to India, and Coryat mentions a speech which he (Coryat) delivered in Italian to " a hundred people" at Mooltan, including this Mohammedan, who was the only person who understood the language. Coryat chose Italian because the Indian had insulted him by calling him an infidel and Coryat wished to defend his position as a Christian. [2]

The famous Italian traveller, Pietro Della Valle, landed at Surat on February 10, 1623, and after visiting various places in India returned to Naples on February 5, 1626. We learn that he brought back an Indian servant who, on the occasion of a procession in Rome, quarrelled with one of the Pope's servants, who took away the Indian's sword, intending to break it into two pieces. Pietro Della Valle drew his own sword and killed the Pope's servant in the actual presence of his master. Della Valle was ordered to leave Rome, but after a short time, through the intercession of a friendly Cardinal, he was allowed to return to Rome, where he lived till his death in 1652.[1]

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[1] *See* Vol. III of Faria's *The Portuguese Asia.*

[2] *See* p. 271 of *Early Travels in India,* by William Foster, C.I.E., Oxford University Press, 1921.

HARIHAR DAS

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[1] See *Travels of Pietro Della Valle*, published by the Hakluyt Society.

THE MAIN CURRENTS IN GUJARĀTĪ LITERATURE[1]

I

Among the languages of India, Gujarātī is about the only one which has a literature going back in unbroken continuity right up to the days of the Prakrits. This is not the occasion for considering the linguistic relationships of our language: that may be postponed to another occasion. In this short introductory note we will take a sort of "bird's eye view" of the whole of Gujarātī literature.

The literary history of Gujarāt may be roughly divided into ten subdivisions. The principle of division is partly chronological and partly communal. This is certainly not the most sensible way of looking at the whole question, but it is at any rate the most convenient. And as we shall see, the communal principle of division does not come in practically till the beginning of the 19th century A. D., from which time modern Gujarātī may be said to begin.

The main divisions are :

1. The Prakrit or the Jaina Period (8th to 15th centuries).
2. The Early Gujarātī Period (15th century).
3. The Sixteenth Century.
4. The Seventeenth Century or the Golden Age of Classical Gujarātī.
5. The End of the Classical Age (18th and the first half of the 19th century).
6. The Beginning of the Modern Age (second half of the 19th century).
7. The Twentieth Century.
8. The Folk-literature of Soraṭh (Kāthiāwāḍ).
9. Islamic Writers in Gujarātī.
10. Parsi Writers in Gujarātī.

1. *The Prakrit or the Jaina Period.*

This division is almost entirely in the Prakrit (chiefly in the Apabhraṃśa), and the subject matter is mostly Jaina theology. This part of the literature has not yet been properly explored. There is still a vast amount of mss. matter hidden away in Jaina *bhāṇḍārs.* There are a large number of works known as *Rāsās, i. e.,* stories or romances with a moral, usually extolling the Jaina faith, which are very interesting for their literary style and beauty as well as for the very fine and life-like pictures they give of the manners and customs of the age. Jaina writers flourished in latter ages also, and even to-day some of the finest writers in Gujarātī are from that community. And their language is no longer Prakrit but Gujarātī.

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[1] This essay forms the *Introduction* to Dr. Taraporewala's *Selections from Classical Gujarati Literature, Vol. I*, recently published by the University.

2. *Early Gujarātī Period (The Age of the Mehtā).*

From the fifteenth century we may date the beginnings of Classical Gujarātī literature. "The Father of Gujarātī Poetry", Narasiṃha Mehtā, has set his stamp on this period as also upon all subsequent Gujarātī literature up to the 19th century. He and "the Sweet Singer of Rajputana", Mīrān, are the two greatest figures of this age. Their language was an early form of Gujarātī which was not very different from Old Western Rājasthānī, and so both these writers have a place in the literature of Rajputana as well. About a century and a half before the Mehtā flourished in Junagadh, Gujarāt had been conquered by the armies of Alā-ud-din Khilji. And very soon after that event the Emperors at Delhi had dwindled down to the position of mere puppets, which helped the foundation of strong kingdom in Gujarāt. Though the kings were Moslems, they were Gujarātīs, and as such they had the welfare of the land at heart; and the earlier rulers being strong they brought peace and prosperity to the land. As a result we find a glorious outburst of poetry which was unsurpassed for two centuries in beauty and spontaneity. The two great poets of this period have so completely overshadowed all others, that, except for a few, even their names have been forgotton. This is very clearly seen from the case of Bhālaṇ, a poet of extraordinary vigour and of great literary beauty. He certainly deserves to be remembered for the grace and fineness of his verse if for nothing else. But the Mehtā and Mīrān have captured the heart of Gujarāt for all time, and other poets have no chance compared with them. These two have had their recensions made in every succeeding century; and with each succeeding recension the language was altered so as to be understood by the common people, until at last in the 19th century both these writers were presented in the 19th century garb; and thus there grew up an idea, as strange as it was preposterous, that there was no appreciable difference between the Gujarātī of the 15th century and that of the 19th. It would have been impossible to reconstruct the language of that period were it not for the very writers who have come to be forgotten. Bhālaṇ and Padmanābh and the almost completely forgotten Parsi writers of the 13th and 14th centuries, who translated their Zoroastrian scriptures into the vernacular, are our most important authorities on the language of that time.

The reason why the Mehtā and Mīrān have captured the heart of Gujarāt is that they voiced so beautifully and in such incomparable language the deepest yearnings of the Gujarātī heart. Gujarāt has been from a very remote antiquity the Devotee of Śrī Krishna. He had His chief seat at Dvārakā, and His Yādavas had their home in Gujarāt. Hence Gujarāt has always accepted Him as her Supreme Lord; and therefore, naturally, when Narasiṃha Mehtā and Mīrān sang of the love and glory of Krishna, they carried all Gujarāt with them. The Mehtā is not a mere devotee as ordinarily understood, there is a *human* element in his attachment to Krishna which is particularly refreshing. He often addresses his Lord in terms of easy familiarity, which reminds us of the fine promise made by the Lord Himself in the *Gītā*:

ये यथा मां प्रपद्यन्ते तांस्तथैव भजाम्यहम् ।

In Narasiṃha we have the *man's* devotion to his Lord; while Mīrān is the *woman*, utterly oblivious of herself. These two have therefore divided the whole of Gujarātī humanity between them. Whatever new movement comes into the literature of Gujarāt, of one thing we may be sure, that Gujarātī hearts will never cease to respond to the thrilling notes of these two first singers. We may be sure that Gujarātī mothers shall always sing these songs to their children. *Bhakti* has been at once the strength and the weakness of Gujarāt; let us hope that in the future Gujarāt will understand better what *true Bhakti* is and will thus find her true soul.

2. *The Sixteenth Century (The Age of Nākar).*

This century witnessed many troubles in the political history of Gujarāt and in fact of all India. The powerful Kings of the previous century had passed away and Gujarāt was beset by enemies on all sides, ready to plunder her rich fields, and with none to protect her. This uncertain state of affairs is reflected in the literature of this age which is quite insipid and deserves to be forgotten except by the specialist. The best known of these was Nākar, who is at best only second rate. The *Bhakti*-cult started by the Mehtā and by Mīrān was continued, but the life had gone out of Gujarātī poetry of that period and we get mere imitations of the older masters. Some of the very third-rate verses, which we find so often inserted in the collected works of Narasiṃha and of Mīrān (and which are there merely because their names occur in the last lines), were very probably composed in such unproductive and barren periods ; and I believe that the use of the great names of Narasiṃha and of Mīrān was their only guarantee of immortality. But the period, barren as it is, contains seeds which only awaited settled conditions and peaceful times to burst out again into full bloom.

4. *The Seventeenth Century or the Golden Age of Classical Gujarātī (The Age of Premanand).*

From the beginning of the 17th century we find the rule of the Moghals consolidating in Gujarāt and with it we find the land settling down again to peaceful pursuits. Arts and letters flourish again with great vigour. The century that saw the Golden Age of Gujarātī Literature also witnessed the glories of the Tāj and of the court of Shēh Jehān. And there is one figure who dominates the whole century in more senses than one. This figure is Premānand, the greatest poet of Classical Gujarātī. His life spanned practically the whole of this period of 100 years, for he lived from A.D. 1636 to 1734. He founded a school of Gujarātī poets and did his utmost throughout his long life to earn for his beloved mother-tongue the position of a great literary language. He succeeded as he fully deserved to succeed, for the language of Premānand could not but be accepted as a language fit for literary and cultural purposes. His greatness was not merely in this service that he had rendered to his mothertongue ; as a poet he would have been among the greatest in any age and in any country. Even the Mehtā must take the second rank in comparison with him. There is no theme dear to the heart of Gujarāt which Premānand has not touched, and there is none which he touched that he did not raise to the level of a classic. And none knew as he did the inside of our human hearts with all our virtues as well as our failings. None knows as well as he, how to weep for our griefs or to smile at our petty foibles and none depicts the essential human being with such loving kindness and sympathy as does Premānand. As a critic has well said, he has given us both *prem* and *ānand* (love and joy) through his writings.

This century would have been noteworthy even if it had produced none other but Premānand. But, as always happens, such a towering genius is never born alone. He is undoubtedly, the very flower of his age but his is an age of giants. There are two other names of the very first magnitude in this century—Akho and Sāmal—who are among the highest in Gujarātī literature. Of these the former is noted for his biting satire and his caustic wit. As a merciless satirist he may rank with Swift in England; but he is not a misanthrope. His verses have all the directness (sometimes even the vulgarity) of common speech and the subject matter of his writings is all mankind, particularly those who are humbugs and pretenders. His verses are popularly known as "whips" and this name exactly describes their stinging quality.

Sāmal is famous for his stories and romances. Whether they truly portray the contemporary men and women may be doubted. Some of them reflect the pre-Islamic Hindu manners and customs, such, for instance, as have been pictured by Vātsyāyana in the *Kāma-Sūtras*; but still a good deal must have been gathered from observation of people around him, for Sāmal is a shrewd observer. His stories remind us of the inimitable stories of Boccacio, and not a few of them have also the "raciness" of the Italian story-teller. It would be really worth while to trace the stories of Sāmal to their fountain-head; for then we would be able to trace the course of some of the culture-streams between Asia and Europe. I personally do not doubt that the Boccacio type of story in Europe and the stories of Sāmal can be traced to a common source. This is a chapter of cultural history which is well worth exploring and which would very well repay the trouble taken.

Besides these three writers of the first magnitude there are quite a host of minor poets whose works deserve some sort of recognition in a sketch of the literature of the period. They are, in any case, of a decidedly greater poetic and literary merit than the writers of the preceding century. Of these the most notable is Vallabh, the elder son of Premānand and the most devoted of all his pupils and followers. There existed a deep and bitter rivalry between the school of Premānand and that of Sāmal, and though the principals were satisfied with occasional satirical allusions to each other the followers on either side indulged in violent recriminations. And among these none was more vituperative than was Vallabh. He was a man of passionate temper and though his pen is quite facile, he often descends to very vulgar abuse when he has to speak of Sāmal and his school. Vallabh has got the gift of melodious measure; but he is often strained and artificial, where his great father had been perfectly spontaneous and natural.

5. *The End of the Classical Age.*

This period falls into two clearly marked epochs: (*a*) a period of decadence which extends throughout the whole of the 18th century and (*b*) a period of revival Classicism (the Age of Dayārām), which really marks the end of what is called Classical Gujarātī Literature.

(a) The 18th century was for Gujarāt a period of much tumoil and great suffering. The Marāṭhas were harassing the land all through this period and the people knew neither peace nor safety. And the literature of this period is inane (some even call it "imbecile") and entirely sectarian. The songs are now in praises of one particular deity or even a particular local image; Ambā-Bhavānī is a special favourite. The deeper philosophy of the Krishna-cult seems to have been replaced by a petty sectarianism to the detriment of the national character as a whloe. Peace-loving the Gujarātis have always been, but now they have begun to show a positive *want* of manly vigour and backbone. The literature of the 18th century entirely lacks that note of sturdy independence, of brave vigourous manhood, which characterised the Mehtā, and Akho, and Premānand and even his son Vallabh. From the character of the men, as well as from the literature, sturdiness has disappeared. No wonder that the literature of the 18th century fails to satisfy modern Gujarāt, who worships that incarnaion of independent sturdy vigour and moral courage—Gāndhi. The number of writers in this period is fairly large, if we count all the poetasters; but barely two or three will live permanently in Gujarātī literature. Of these Narbherām is one, who has given us the lovable figure of the *Boḍāṇo*. Vallabh Bhaṭ is another who derserves to be remembered; for he was the fouder of the popular *Garbā*-literature. This particular type may more properly be called folk-literature than serious literary production; and a large part of it had been produced extempore as occasion requires. Another very popular writer of this period is Prītamdās. Some of his songs are sung all over Gujarāt, and at times we hear in them echoes of the Mehtā. As a man, too, he was very lovable. "Blessed" with a termagant for wife, whenever there was a domestic storm, he, with Socratic calmness, used to retire into a corner and compose verses!

(b) The second epoch of this period, covering the first half of the 19th century, is marked by a fresh revival of poetry. This would, under other ciscumstances, have given us another Classical Age, but now a great influence from over the seas began to make itself

felt, which gave an entirely new direction to Gujarātī literature, and ushered in the Modern Age. The break up of the Marāṭha Confederacy at the beginning of the last century and the final settlement of the Marāṭha Gāekawāḍ at Baroda brought peace into the country, which has lasted to this day. The revival of letters in the first of the century produced a number of very good poets in that period. Among them are the two very lovable persons—the two *Bhagats*—Dhīro and Bhojo, and the Marāṭha poet, Bāpu Sāheb Gāekawāḍ. There are also some fine women writers, for the first time since Mīrān. Premānand had some women disciples also, who wrote poetry, but they are not remembered except by name. But the verses of Rādhābāi, Divālībāi, Krishṇābāi and other women poets will probably survive. The name, however, which dominates the first quarter of the 19th century is Girdhar. Some writers call this quarter *the Age of Girdhar.* His chief work is the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which is deservedly popular. Personally I care more for the two *Bhagats* and for Bāpu Sāheb than for Girdhar, though some passages of the last named poet are extremely fine.

The end of this period, comprising the second quarter of the 19th century, is entirely dominated by the great figure of Dayārām. He stands so far above all his contemporaries and all his predecessors for quite a century, that the whole of this period, the end of the Classical Age, may be termed *the Age of Dayārām.* In literary excellence he is quite the equal of Premānand. And his personal attractions were very great. His songs have a haunting beauty about them, which clings to the mind and makes their memory a joy. He has written a great deal, and though his main theme was the Vaishnava cult and the worship of Krishna, still the treatment was entirely his own. In his devotion to his Lord, Dayārām has indentified himself with the *Gopi.* In that respect he approaches nearest the standpoint of Mīrān; though there is a subtle something which Dayārām possesses and which is lacking in Mirān. Perhaps it is just the fact that one was a man and the other a woman that accounts for this difference.

Dayārām fitly closes the Classical Age of Gujarātī Literature. The last and the greatest successor of the Mehtā and of Premānand, he was in every respect worthy to rank with them as the third greatest poet of Gujarāt. It really is a remarkable fact that Classical Gujarātī begins with the Mehta, culminates in Premānand, and fittingly ends with the third great name Dayārām. It would be interesting to speculate what direction Gujarātī literature would have taken if the influence of the West had not set in by the time of Dayārām's death. But this influence had already begun to leaven the intellectual life of Gujarāt even while Dayārām was alive; and towards the end of his life it seemed as if even he were being neglected by his countrymen. That was not due to any lack of appreciation of his worth, but to the fact that the intellectuals of Gujarāt were too busy absorbing the new learning from the West, that the Western influence had begun to be felt, and that when Dayārām died it had established itself as a definite factor in the intellectual life of the land, and had, for better or for worse, already set the direction of her literary growth.

6. *The Beginning of the Modern Age.*

Dayārām died in 1852, and from that date the Modern Age may be said to begin. English influence had already begun to be felt, and under the inspiration of the new learning from the West one community of the Gujarātī speaking peoples had already begun an intellectual revolution. Anxious that their brothers unacquainted with English should also share the new delights of the culture of their rulers, a number of Parsis began to write extensively on all sorts of topics, thus diverting Gujrātī into the well-marked channel of Parsi literature. When the Gujarātī Hindus read about the new things from the West, they too were naturally interested. And the more far-sighted among them took advantage of the new ideas and strove their hardest to introduce them into their literature. Just at that time there came a large-hearted Scotchman, Alexander Kinloch Forbes, to help the Gujarātīs at a critical moment in the history of their language and literature. Forbes was stationed as an officer in Gujarāt and from the first he took the liveliest interest in the history and the language of the people he loved so well. There was the danger that the enthusiasm for English might lead to the complete neglect of Gujarātī, and it was at the instance of Forbes that the ebb was stayed and the enthusiasm evoked by the new learning was diverted into useful and fruitful channels. Thus the stream of Gujarātī poetry instead of drying up, as it once threatened to do, flowed on more vigorously than ever before and irrigated fields hitherto untilled. Forbes, with the help and zealous co-operation of Dalpatrām, started in 1853 the Gujarāt Vernacular Society, which later on was named the Forbes Gujarat Sabha. Dalpatrām was from the very start the Secretary of this Soceity and he wrote voluminously on its behalf, and started a monthly literary magazine, the *Buddhiprakāśa*, which has survived to the present day. Dalpatrām was rather a mild type of the new school of Gujarātī writers, most of whom were entirely absorbed in the Western ideals, seeing little worth preserving in the manners and customs of his own time. The new reforms needed complete change, social as well as literary, and like all reformers their zeal was more iconoclastic than constructive. They saw the greatness of England and the down-trodden state of their own land and they burned with a desire to make their land as great as England, for they had imbibed the idea of patriotism from the West, but this virtue was not unknown in India. In a word, they were aggressive in their enthusiasm for the new ways of looking at life. But their patriotism took, under the inspiration of Forbes, the very practical shape of historical research in the field of ancient Gujarātī literature. Search for old mss. was begun and they devoted themselves to the task of bringing to light all that was best in the poetry of the past. They wrote themselves also, and a new departure was made by Navalrām, who started the Essay in Gujarāti. Prose writing began to be cultivated as a form of literature. We do get prose much earlier, but it was neither thought nor meant to be literature. The influence of the West also started patriotic verse, and here Narmad came to the fore.

Narmad, the most remarkable of these new poets was thoroughly imbued with all that the West had to teach. He was perhaps the most aggressive of this new school. He therefore may be taken as the type and leader of the new movement, and the first 35 years of this age may be named after him. This was a period of experiment and for feeling the bearings of the new learning and finding out how far these new ideas could be reconciled with the past history of the people. Narmad's writing started off in various directions which were entirely new. The old themes of Vaishnavism had been worn threadbare, and surely these enthusiastic reformers would scarcely have had the patience to penetrate behind the veil and to touch the very soul of Gujarāt by re-interpreting the cult of the Lord of Dvārakā. Narmad's poetry, as also most of the other produced upto about 1887, was chiefly of the didactic kind, teaching how the country could be made great once again. And Dalpatrām had, in addition, undertaken to discourse at large upon the benefits of the British Rule. We may now perhaps smile at the efforts of these writers who were the pioneers of the modern age in literature, we may think their poems rather crude in versification, but there is no doubt that they felt all they said ; and whatever they were as writers, they were quite sincere and deeply in earnest. The subjects they chose for their poems could scarcely be called inspiring to-day, but the times needed that such themes be chosen.

Another name ought to be mentioned here, that of the leader of the Prārthanā Samāj, Bholānāth Sārābhāi, a man of the highest integrity of life and of saintly purity. He started a crusade against image-worship and advocated the worship of the Formless God. He was the author of some very fine *bhajans* and hymns, which have acquired a lasting place in the literature of Gujarāt.

From 1887 to the end of the 19th century there is another well-marked division dominated by the versatile Govardhanrām Tripāṭhī. We might call this the *Age of Govardhanrām*. He is doubtless the finest prose writer of the age, and indeed in all Gujarātī literature. Though Sanskritic, and therefore somewhat heavy, still his *Sarasvatīchandra* is a monumental work of the highest merit. He seems to have fixed the prose style in Gujarātī for at least one generation. This was the period of Sanskritic revival. This was inevitable after Bholānāth's hymns to the *Nirākāra Īśvara*. The latter's inspiration was from the *Upanishads*, and this religious reform—I would rather call it "revival"—had its roots in Sanskrit. Naturally, therefore, the language, and the style also, of this period reflects Sanskritic influences. Even in purely secular works, novels or light occasional essays, we find the same style. During this period it was the Parsis who kept alive the colloquial everyday Gujarātī, which was being threatened with being entirely overwhelmed by Sanskrit, at least in literature. These latter did, indeed, debase and vulgarise the language ; but then it was a natural reaction, it was a protest from a community who had no Sanskrit traditions to follow and who wanted their mother-tongue to be easier to understand.

Another variety of literature which took its rise in the last quarter of the 19th century was the Historical Novel. The best representative of this was *Karaṇ Ghelo* of Nandaśankar Tuljāśankar. The book has got a lasting place in the hearts of all Gujarātīs.

Quite apart from Parsis there came a reaction against the Sanskritic style also from some Hindu writers themselves. One of the great writers who deliberately set about writing less Sanskritic Gujarātī, and at the same time avoided falling into the opposite extreme of vulgarism, was Maṇilāl N. Dvivedī. His style is chaste and simple. His inspiration is from all religions, especially from Hinduism and Islam, for he was a Theosophist. He stands out as an apostle of Hindu-Moslem unity, not merely in matters social and religious, but also in language.

Another great writer of the first rank adorns this last quarter of the 19th century. This was the incomparable singer who was known to the Gujarātī world as "Kalapi". That was the pen-name of Ṭhākur Sri Sursinghji, the Ruling Chief of Lāṭhi in Kāṭhiāwāḍ. He was among the first poets in Gujarātī to write Lyric Verse and Nature Poetry. His collected poems were published under the title *Kekārava* and this is one of the finest collections of lyrics, comparable to that from any other language in the world. This was an entirely new field in Gujarātī poetry and great things were hoped for from the young author (he was just over twenty at that time), but alas, he was cut off in the very prime of life in the year 1900, his life exactly covering the last quarter of the century of which he was one of the most brilliant gems.

7. *The Twentieth Century.*

With the twentieth century there begins a new age in the history of Gujarātī literature. Like all the rest of India, Gujarāt has been profoundly touched by the new spirit of nationalism. And Gujarāt has had the proud distinction of having produced the greatest of the National Congress Leaders—Dadabhai Naoroji, the Father of Indian Nationalism, Phirozeshah Mehta, the Founder of civic life in Bombay, and Gandhi the beloved leader of all India. With Gujarātī literature as such the first two had very little to do; though Dadabhai had a great share in all the educational movements of the forties of the last century, and Mehta was one of the leaders of the University of Bombay, and in this way they may be said to have encouraged learning and letters. But the influence of Gandhi has been more direct—he writes fine Gujarātī prose, and he has a very powerful, terse and direct style. But his greatest service to Gujarāt, more than to the rest of India, has been that he has helped Gujarāt to find her Soul; his wonderful personality has helped Gujarātīs to realise what Gujarāt stands for, to realise something of her past and has set them dreaming of a future more glorious than the land has ever known. How this dream is to be realised the future alone can show. The present day tendencies of Gujarātī literature are most hopeful, and though our land has not yet given birth to a Tagore, there are at the present day a large number of very good writers, from among whom it were invidious to name any. All fields of literature are being cultivated, prose in all its varieties, poetry lyrical and narrative and didactic, and above all good dramas are also being produced. The drama had been absent from Classical Gujarātī literature. A few dramas have been fathered upon Premānand, but critics are somewhat doubtful of their genuineness. The drama on the whole has been a growth of the 19th century, and Gujarātī actors and Gujarātī plays now occupy an important place in the life of the people. A new age is coming, we are all expecting a glorious outburst of national life, but a great writer, a new Premānand (giving us both *prem* and *ānand*), has not yet come to synthesise the old and the new into one glorious reality. The present generation of writers are the advance guard, who are preparing for the advent of the Master Spirit, who is assuredly coming.

(*To be continued.*)

I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA

MOHAMED[1]

It is characteristic of all religions to impress their stamp on human history; and founders, prophets and apostles play their part in the civilization of their age and people. But never, in so rapid and direct a manner, has any religion achieved such world-affecting changes as Islam has achieved. And never has the setter-forth of a new religion been so complete a master of his time and people as Mohamed has been. It is, therefore, hopeless to expect to understand the development of the people who, through Islam, became the carriers and interpreters of its civilization, without knowing the 'teachings' which swayed that civilization; and, again, equally hopeless is it to sever those 'teachings' from the man who taught them. Mohamed's personality and his message; his message and politics; his politics and the cultural development of his people, are, as a whole, so closely intertwined in the Islamic edifice, that they must be considered together in their alternating interplay. We may pass over many things which have interested historians of Islam. Many things, again, which, hitherto, were deemed well-established, have been made insecure and uncertain by recent critical investigations. The life of the Prophet, sketched and handed down to us in minute detail, seems to be trustworthy only in its main outlines—the rest is the outcome of imaginative piety, and pious fiction. At present, however, we are only concerned with those teachings and institutions of the Prophet which have a direct or indirect bearing on the rise and development of Islamic civilization. When we remember that, towards the end of the sixth century of the Christian era in Central Arabia—hitherto averse from any religious speculation—and its meeting centre, Hejaz, a peculiar yearning for a better religion had been awakened, and that Christianity and Judaism were not unknown to most men, nay had even been accepted by a few, we need not wonder that Mohamed, from a simple merchant, suddenly became a religious teacher, thinking more and more of one God; of the Lord who created him from a clot of blood; of the Most High who, by written revelation, taught men what they knew not.[1]

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[1] Joseph Hell, *Die Kultur der Araber*, Chapter II.

According to the old biographers the Prophet believed he had heard the first words from the other world in a trance. The extreme excitement which these words caused only subsided when, several months after, he heard the following words in a second vision :—O thou, enwrapped in thy mantle ! Arise and warn ! Magnify thy Lord ! And the abomination—flee it ! And bestow not favours that thou mayest receive again with increase. And for thy Lord—wait thou patiently.[2]

Not without reason the faithful biographers regard this as the first revelation and the starting-point of Mohamed's prophetic career. His whole subsequent life-work appears to them naught but an amplification of this vision. He became an admonisher of his nation, the glorifier of his Lord, a messenger of the severe laws of purity, and the founder of social equality among the Faithful. Long and toilsome, however, was the path that led to that devout consummation, for Mohamed was diffident by nature, and hesitated considerably before delivering his message to the Quraish. Thus it was some years before the number of the Faithful reached about forty. But, however small the band might be, the organizing power of Islam soon revealed itself.[3]

The official prayer, or common prayer—rich in ceremonials —is as old as Islam itself. Probably Christianity and Judaism inspired its form of worship; but, however that may be, among Muslims it acquired a special force and significance. The wish correctly to carry out the prescribed prostration and bending of the body led by itself to the *joint prayer* being performed according to a model and under a lead—Mohamed himself mostly leading the prayer. Whoever has seen the Muslims assembled at prayer in rows, carrying out the observances with astonishing uniformity, order, and dignity, will not fail to recognize the educative value of this disciplinary prayer. We need only remember that it was a proud race which yielded to no stranger's will; a people, wanting entirely in the sense of obedience—and we will recognize, at once, the importance of this form of prayer in awakening and maintaining a spirit of discipline. For this reason, to be sure, the prayer-ground has very justly been described as the first drill-ground of Islam. The regular meeting of all the faithful at this common prayer nourished the spirit of solidarity, implanted the feeling of the equality of man. In Arabia these were novel ideas. Hitherto, solidarity there had been a solidarity only within the circle of blood relations. Pride of family, of descent, of wealth, of power, and contempt for the less prosperous and less powerful—these were the main features of Arab life.[1] When Mohamed, therefore, succeeded in establishing an alliance, embracing the rich and the poor alike, on equal terms, and in striking an effective blow at the narrow family and tribal unions—he paved the way for the unity of divided Arabia. From its very start Islam had aimed at this; namely, the loosening and destruction of narrow family and tribal ties. True, this attempt was not completely successful; for to-day Arabia is as divided still as it was before Islam—yet its success, however partial, is proof positive of the profound influence of the new ideas on Arab Heathenism.

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[1] Geiger, *Judaism & Islam* and Wright, *Early Christianity.*

[2] See my *Mohamed—The Prophet of God,* Calcutta Review, September. 1923, pp. 441.

[3] Muir's *Life of Mohamed,* Vol, III, p. 53.

Besides the common prayer, the conception of social equality was an innovation peculiar to Islam. Help and maintenance of the poor thus became a sacred trust. It was left no longer to individuals to give what they pleased, but the poor-tax (zakat) became an obligatory duty, and was collected in a central treasury, and administered therefrom.

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[1] See Goldziher's masterly chapter '*Muruwwa und Din*' in his *Moh. Studien*. Browne's *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, pp 189-191. Nicholson's *Lit. Hist, of the Arabs*. Chapter II 'History and Legends of the Pagan Arabs.'

Unfortunately, on Mohamed's life and work and its progress for the first ten years of Islam, we have but scant information. What we have are merely short episodes from these eventful years, relating to the struggles against prevailing customs. On these stray and fitful data light is thrown by the Qur'an, the traditions, and the later Arab historians. We see Mohamed wrestling with indifference, prejudice, distrust on the part of the Quraish. We hear him announcing in thundrous terms the terrors of the approaching Day of Judgment. But we do not notice his flock increasing. After ten years Mohamed's followers were scarcely more numerous than they were in the earliest times. The opposition of the ruling families of Mekka was not so much against the new teachings as against the social and political revolutions which they sought to introduce. A glance at the constitution of the small community suffices to prove the displeasure and disquiet of the Quraish. In this new society not only were tribal differences wiped out, but even the ancient division between free men and slaves was threatened with extinction. And the violence with which they sought to remove the slaves from the influence of the Prophet had a new and unsuspected consequence; the emigration of the disciples of the Prophet to Abyssinia. Whatever may have been the aim and object of the emigrants, and whatever the reason which brought them back to their homes, the small community formed a close circle, and showed a spirit of obdurate defiance against the traditional practices of the Arabs. The apprehensions of the Quraish may well be imagined. Were we to follow his lead, said they, we would be uprooted from our country.

The persecutions to which Mohamed was exposed in Mekka, and the failure of his mission there, have only thus much historical interest for us, that they urged him on to seek fresh fields for his activity. Emigrations increased, conversions decreased, and the Mekkans worried themselves no longer, in the belief that the Prophet had failed in his efforts. When even the attempt of the Prophet to make converts in the neighbouring town of Taif had proved futile—he lost heart, and waited, resigned in seclusion, for the time of the pilgrimage, and the divine peace of the year 620 A.D.

For years had Mohamed attended the great Fair of Okaz, to announce his teachings there; for there met the Beduins of entire Central Arabia and the neighbouring towns; there the ambitious exhibited, in rivalry, their best productions; there poets declaimed their finest literary specimens. However slender—in comparison with his expectations—the success, the Prophet gradually found there people sympathetic to his preachings. These were the inhabitants of the town of Yathrib.[1]

Since remote times Yathrib, four days' journey north of Mekka, has been an important station on the commercial route to Syria. In pre-Christian days Jews and Judaised Arabs ruled this town, but since the fifth century they had shared this rule with the tribes of Aus and Khazraj who had migrated there from South Arabia Living thus side by side with the Jews, the Arabs were by no means ignorant of the ideas of revelation, of recompense after death, of ritual purity. And these ideas, in all outer seeming, had greatly undermined the influence of Arab heathenism. Among such people Mohamed was very sympathetically listened to. In the year 620 A.D. he managed specially to interest some Yathribites in his cause. In the following year these Yathribites introduced six of their town's-folk to him, and discussed with him the question of his reception into Medina.

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[1] Dr. Wüstenfeld's translation of *Samhudi* (Gesch. der Stadt Medina, p. 54). The first Medinite who accepted the teachings of the Prophet was Suwaid bin-al-Samit of the family of Amr b. Al-aus. Nicholson, pp. 169 *et seq.* There were in Medina four principal parties: the Refugees (Muhajirin), the Helpers (Ansar), the Hypocrites (Munafique) and the Jews (Yahud). Nicholson, p. 171.

This was followed in the year 622 by a deputation of seventy-five men, who brought to the Prophet the consent of the Yathribites to receive him and his followers in their midst. Thus the so-called "Flight" was no flight at all, but was a scheme of emigration carefully considered for two years, but which could only be secretly given effect to, for fear of apprehended violence on the part of the Quraish.

In groups, some 200 men, including those that had come back from Abyssinia, thus proceeded to Yathrib. On the 24th of September, 622, Mohamed, who was the last to leave Mekka with his people, met his followers at Koba, to lead the entry into Yathrib. This is the celebrated Hegira from which dates the Muslim era. It is a turning-point in the life and work of the Prophet—the great turning-point in the history of Islam.

The man who just left Mekka, and the man who now entered Medina, seem to be two different men.[1] The former was an ideal preacher of a perfect religion who, for his convictions, cheerfully endured scorn and persecutions, and who sought no other distinction than that of being acknowledged a messenger of God. There is no trace of love of power in him—nothing to indicate that he was striving to set up a state organization at the head of which he wished to preside. Of social reforms the one thing that he sought to achieve in Mekka—supported by the doctrines of the unity of God and the Day of Judgment; re-inforced by the joys and terrors of Heaven and Hell—was the widening of the circle of duties beyond the tribe to all the Faithful alike, and to mankind at large in the event of their accepting the true faith.

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[1] I do not agree with all this. I have fully discussed this subject in my paper "*Mohamed—The Prophet of God*" (Calcutta Review, Sept., 1923). The only difference, if difference there be, is that now the scope of the Prophet's work was considerably extended, and that he was called upon to face and solve problems which could not have arisen in Mekka, where intense was the opposition, bitter the persecution, and where the Prophet was without any proper resources or effective support. But, as Hell himself points out, even in Medina his life was simple and austere—free from pomp and parade of power. The Prophet—at Mekka as at Medina—was dominated by one passion and one only—the glory of Islam. The march of events added to his prophetic duties the burden of a temporal chief. Could he shirk or shrink from it. Had he not numerous precedents in the History of the Israelites? But who can honestly charge him with one single act of cruelty or selfishness? He was a ruler with the self-effacement of a saint—a religious chief free from the pretensions of a Pope—a man who led and bent all to his will by the sheer force of his magnetic, all-subduing personality. Such a one did Mohamed remain to his last breathing moment—a beacon-light unto the end of time.

He left Mekka as a Prophet, but entered Medina as the chief of a community. The 'fugitives' constituted a tribe by themselves, and as a corporate body were described under the name and style of '*Muhajerin.*' This change of position elicited fresh problems, set new tasks; but Mohamed was quite equal to the occasion. The Prophet now retires into the background—the diplomatist now comes forward. The Prophetship is, now, only an ornament of the ruler; an effective weapon for establishing, extending, maintaining power. In coming to Medina Mohamed became more a bringer of peace than the preacher of a faith. But therein precisely lay the need of Medina and the path to power. For more than a century the inhabitants of Medina—the two tribes of Aus and Khazraj—had been interlocked in bitterest enmity, and lived in a state of incessant warfare. It was the hope that Mohamed might restore peace among them that had induced the Yathribites to welcome him in their midst. Mohamed had apparently understood the situation in Medina. He went there, not as a ruler, but as one seeking protection—protection for himself and his persecuted followers—and as such he sought the sympathies of all parties in Medina. He sought, above all, the sympathies of the rich and powerful tribe of Khazraj, and, according to the old Heathen custom, he effected a fraternization between his most loyal fugitives and the most influential Khazrajites.[1] Towards the Jews and the Christians Mohamed played the part of a friend, and by many concessions to their faiths led them to believe that some day Islam might effect a junction with them.

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[1] "From forty-five to fifty refugees were thus united to as many citizens of Medina. The bond was of the closest description, and involved not only a peculiar devotion to each others' interests in the persons thus associated but in case of death it superseded the claims of blood, the 'brother' becoming exclusive heir to all the property of the deceased. This peculiar custom lasted for about a year and a half, when Mohamed, finding it, after the victory of Badr, to be no longer necessary, abolished the bond, and suffered inheritance to take its usual course. Muir, Vol. III, pp. 17, 18.

To the Faithful the four-cornered court-yard of his dwelling-house served as a place of prayer and meeting. According to the Arab fashion the house consisted of rooms opening out into the courtyard, and accessible therefrom. As protection against the sun and bad weather—a little away from the wall ran a row of columns of palm trunks covered with palm branches, which served the purpose of roofing.

How exceedingly simple and unpretentious was the Prophet in his public appearances may be inferred from the fact that, for himself, he never provided a special place at prayer. When he addressed the assembled Faithful he leaned against one of the palm trunks of the mosque, and only two years before his death he had a raised seat—*Minbar*—made, on which he sat when he received embassies; presided over the deliberations of his community; delivered the law. The *Minbar* was a platform two yards high, with two steps, each a yard high, and a flat surface of one yard, square-shaped.[1] From this exceedingly simple seat of the Prophet in the "assembly chamber" gradually grew, under Christian influence, the pulpit—on which, early indeed, special artistic efforts were expended. Just as this simple structure was a prelude to the Islamic art of the future, so measures, devised to meet the requirements of the moment, but marked with an extraordinary insight, became the basis of the proud edifice of the Islamic Empire. Among these the first place must be assigned to the varions treaties with the Yathribites, with the

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[1] 'The pulpit.' See Muir, Vol. III, p. 55. Mohamed ascended the pulpit for the first time on a Friday, p. 56. The Friday service described, p. 57. The pulpit was invested by Mohamed with great sanctity. All oaths regarding disputed rights were to be taken close by it, p. 57. In his '*Caliphate*' Arnold gives us an interesting history of *Minbar*, and shows its importance in the institution of the Caliphate, pp. 35-41. See Dr. Wüstenfeld's translation of Samhudi's Medina (Gesch. der Stadt Medina), pp. 62, 63.

Arab Heathens and the Jews which Mohamed concluded while at Medina.

The so-called '*Ordinance regulating the community of Medina*' shows so rare a statesmanship and is of such far-reaching importance that we must acquaint ourselves with its main provisions. The most noticeable feature of this document is the passage "*you form a community as against mankind.*" Here we encounter something novel and strange in Arabia. This startling idea finds its amplification in the statement: "*God's protection is meant for one and all: the protection of the Faithful is the bounden duty of all. The Faithfnl are pledged to protect each other against the entire world.*". Hitherto the individual Arab had no other protection than that of his family or that of his patron. Mohamed rid himself, at one stroke, of the old Arab conception which had kept the Mekkans themselves back from adopting a drastic policy of suppression and repression against him. And with it he dissolved the old ties; broke down old barriers; and placed every Muslim under the protection of the entire community of the Faithful—a protection which even extended to blood-revenge, as is emphasized in another passage; "*as regards blood shed for the cause of God, the Faithful are avengers of each others' blood.*"[1] These passages read as if they were laying down the basis of an Islamic Empire. But, in reality, they were only intended to deal with the problems of the day. Mohamed was merely thinking of securing himself and his flock from the violence of the unfaithful Mekkans, and of avenging any wrong that might be done to him or to them. He would not disclose to the Yathribites who had received him as a Peace-maker—before the actual conclusion of the treaty—his scheme of revenge; and had, therefore, to give a complexion to the treaty which concealed its real aim.

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[1] *Cf.* Muir, Vol. III, p. 31. Mohamed was desirous of a combination with the Jews. The treaty of Medina, p. 32. Krehl, *Das Leben Muhammed*, pp. 138 *et seq.* Specially p. 142. Bebel, Die *Mohammedanische—Arabische Kulturperiode.* Chapters 1 & 2.

Similarly he entered into an agreement with the Jews which was set down in a treaty. It looks like a defensive alliance pure and simple, until we come to the last clause, which really deprives the Jews of all benefit under it. "When the Jews are invited to peace they should accept peace, and when the Jews invite the Faithful to peace they have towards them precisely the same duty as the Jews, "*except war for religion's* sake." That war for religion was the ultimate aim of the Prophet's policy—particularly a war of revenge against Mekka—that he was on the very brink of translating his intention into fact, and undertaking an expedition against Mekka—was never suspected, at the time, either by the Jews or the Yathribites. It was not, however, difficult to persuade the 'fugitives' to his scheme of things. One only needed the right instinct to make use of them: their resentment at their exile, their acute home-sickness. He nourished and fortified their wrath by exposing the poverty and privations of the less lucky fugitives. In the evenings he sent for some seventy of them—half-naked, destitute, forlorn figures—and placed before them a bowl of roasted barley, and permitted them to sleep under the projecting roof of the mosque. And at the same time he assigned greater and greater prominence to Mekka in his religious system. The Kaba was now transformed into the oldest and the most sacred sanctuary of Allah; for had not Allah himself designed its plan, and Abraham and his son Ismail built it? Was not Abraham himself the first to perform the religious ceremonies at the Kaba? And did not Abraham hint at the advent of an Arabian Prophet after him? Mohamed and the Kaba thus formed an integral whole, and when the *Kibla* was changed from Jerusalem to Mekka, severance from Judaism was complete, and the national centre of Islam was fixed at the Kaba for ever more.[1] Formerly, at prayers, the Muslims turned towards Jerusalem. It was too late, indeed, when the Heathens and the Jews and the sober-minded converts of Yathrib realized how dangerous was the element which had arrived amongst them in the person of the Prophet. Before they could stir themselves to opposition Mohamed took a step forward on the path that lay clear before him: War against Mekka, with the Yathribites as allies; and, in the event of suceess, war against enemies in his own camp.

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[1] Nicholson, pp. 62-70.

Already, in the first half of the second year of the Hegira, Mohamed ventured upon a war. By its position Yathrib commanded the two high-roads of North Arabia along which the Mekkan caravan carried on its commercial intercourse with Syria. The first phase of the war was to lie in wait for the Mekkans and to plunder them when possible. It was the old Arab form of war, but Mohamed, as was often the case with him, while ready to avail himself of any Arab custom which served his purpose, was never prepared to accept its binding force. Thus, in the midst of the holy peace, he attacked and plundered the unwary Mekkans. The passion for booty rendered the Muslims oblivious of the amazing procedure adopted by the Prophet, and when he made arrangements for a yet greater stroke, namely, the capture of the summer-caravan expected from Syria, not only, as hitherto, the 'fugitives', but also many of the Yathribites, joined and followed him to the field. No one thought of a battle. They only hoped to capture a great and rich caravan. The object was not attained. The Mekkan leaders got wind of the design, and on this alarming information the entire militia of Mekka—some 1000 men with 700 camels and 100 horses —mobilized. It managed, by forced marches, to save the caravan. Thus, while the real object of the ambusade escaped their hands, the two armies stood face to face. Imagining the hostilities at an end, the Mekkans waited to enjoy themselves at Badr—a market place, an important caravan station, some 40 miles north of Mekka and 20 West of Medina. But Mohamed thought otherwise, and now sought war. He knew the superiority of his small band over the numerical strength of the Quraish, and would not let an opportunity slip of showing to the Mekkans the stuff his people were made of. The new religion had equipped the *quondam* Mekkans with qualities unknown to the Arabs: discipline and contempt for death. Mohamed had inculcated *discipline* by repeated references to it in the revelations of the time: "Obey God and, His Prophet." This was the refrain of many a sura. The call for discipline was further reinforced, improved, perfected by the practice of public prayers.[1] *Contempt for death*, on the other hand, was born of the enticing prospects of paradise which temptingly dangled before those who fell fighting for the faith. To these distinctive moral qualities was added experience in the technical arts of war, which, even in times anterior to Islam, had won for the Yathribites the reputation of being "the people of citadels and coats of mail." From the earliest times the Yathribites had been exposed to the attacks and incursions of the Beduins, and when these attacked them on horse-back they met them on foot, or retired, in case of necessity, to fortified towns, of which there were many in the neighbourhood.

Discipline[2] and contempt for death were thus the gifts of the Prophet; experience in warfare (fighting in close, compact array) the contribution of the Yathribites, to Islam.

When the Quraishites, on the 16th of March, advanced towards Badr, the Muslims awaited them in close, compact array. Mohamed himself, with a staff in his hand, went up and down the line and arranged them. And when, after the old traditional preliminaries of war, namely, challenge in words, the Mekkan cavalry burst upon the columns of Mohamed, they, without wavering for an instant, firmly held their ground. This was something novel, something astounding to the Mekkans. They turned their horses and went back to their places without shedding a drop of blood. This was followed by single combats which lasted till the evening—Mohamed watching each alternating course in intense excitement. By sunset most of the Mekkan leaders had fallen, and the entire Mekkan army showed signs of flight. Mohamed realized that the opportunity had come for his troops to reap the harvest of discipline. He stepped forward, raised a handful of dust and flung it at the enemy. This was a signal for a rush forward and the Mekkans retreated and fled. This was the first victorious battle of Islam. We have closely followed its course, for it shows the superiority of the Muslims over their fellow countrymen. All later military successes of Islam were due to the qualities which were now for the first time brought forth and developed among the Arabs: discipline and contempt for death. We will now therefore proceed to consider the effect of the series of wars which began with this battle. The victory at Badr resulted in the consolidation of the power of the Prophet in Yathrib. Henceforward Yathrib is the 'town'—Al-Medina—of the Prophet. Its ancient name vanishes—out of sight, out of mind. The largest portion of the still unconverted Arabs now voluntarily accept Islam without demur or hesitation. The Jews were the only powerful section whose conversion could not be expected.

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[1] Muir, Vol. III, pp. 41, 53.

[2] See Ouida's *Critical Studies*, pp. 79-82. She quotes from Georges Darien who shows what a curse to civilization the modern military discipline has become. We should read these pages and reflect! How different was the Islamic discipline!

About this time we clearly find, writ large, 'love of power and vengeance' as cardinal points in the Prophet's programme.[1] Love of power demanded unlimited rule in Medina—hence the banishment of the Jews; whereas vengeance cried for the subjugation of Mekka. It was anticipated that the Beduins would submit when Mekka fell, but it was not quite desirable that it should be so, for no plunder was permissible within the pale of Islam.

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[1] I do not accept this view. It is untrue and unjust.

The campaign of annihilation against the Jews was carried on according to the old tried maxim: *Divide et impera.* Within a month after the battle of Badr one of the three Jewish tribes—disunited among themselves—was attacked by the 'fugitives,' besieged in their houses, and, after an unconditional surrender, was banished from the town. Before a similar fate could be dealt out to the two remaining Jewish tribes, namely, the tribes of Nadir and Quraiza, Mohamed's attention was diverted to the Mekkans, who were marching against Medina with 3,000 foot and 200 cavalry. Confident of victory Mohamed advanced towards them with only 700 men, and came to battle at the foot of the mountain of Ohod—three quarters of an hour's journey from Medina. The battle progressed unfavourably for the Prophet. His instructions presumed a discipline far too rigid for the young army to maintain, and the result was that they were not carried out. Probably upon foreign advice, Mohamed had stationed 50 archers on the left wing of the column, and had issued the following order to them: "If we win, do not rush for booty. If we are hewn down, do not come to our help."

But the Prophet had overrated the power of his authority as against the natural instincts of his troops. When the Mekkans wavered and left the booty to the Muslims, even the archers—contrary to their instructions—left their post to share in the spoils. A leader of the Mekkan cavalry—a born commander—perceived the weakness of the Medinites, and attacked them in the rear. In the confusion of the renewed battle Mohamed was wounded, and the Muslims surrendered the field. Thus the second battle of Islam was a defeat! Mohamed, however, soon got over this momentary crisis. This, too, was due to his personal superiority. While the Mekkans lacked a leader to help them in reaping the fruit of their victory, the Prophet, by words of comfort, by booty-seeking expeditions, by the expulsion of the two remaining

Jewish tribes—Nadir and Quraiza—conquered the dangers that threatened his authority in Medina and roused once again the flagging spirits of the Faithful. Only a year after, by appearing with 1,500 followers at the market of Badr, Mohamed rehabilitated his prestige and vindicated his honour before the whole of Central Arabia. Gradually but surely the Mekkans realized that their commerce, their position in Arabia, their very existence, were at stake unless Medina was effectively checked and crushed in its new exploiting career. And thus, after two years of strenuous endeavour, they put together an army of 10,000—partly Mekkans and partly Beduins. Beduins as allies of towns-folk; Beduins as a constituent element in a great army—this, forsooth, was a new phenomenon in the military history of inner Arabia. It was due, doubtless, to the pressing need of the moment, to the desire to uproot and destroy the disquieting element in their country.

Medina, the centre of unrest, was to be besieged, captured. But once again the Mekkans found themselves face to face with a new military stratagem, simple but none the less sufficient to wreck and ruin their design. Upon the advice of a Persian, Mohamed had a ditch dug on the ill-protected northern side of the town, and there took up his position with an army of some 3,000 men. If the ditch threw the Mekkans out of calculation, want of discipline among the Beduins; inclemency of the weather; untiring defence and vigilance of the Muslims, did the rest. In the darkness of the night the besieging army, weary and dispirited, retired after a three weeks' siege.

Thus Medina was saved from a danger which would have meant utter annihilation—particularly so as the Jews, still there, were co-operating with the Mekkans to that end. The result of the 'Battle of the Ditch' was a fresh victory of organization over sheer mass power.

With a keen insight Mohamed followed up this success.

He imposed on the treasonable Jews due punishment.[1] Medina was now entirely at his feet. It was of greater moment to him to keep the Beduins in check than to convert them to Islam. Mekka was no longer to be either feared or scorned. The Prophet now sought to win it over. On the basis of a treaty which shows wonderful self-restraint on his part, he visited Mekka in the year 629.[2] Mohamed knew that his work would now speak for itself. The most intelligent of the Mekkans clearly perceived that his work could no longer be stayed or ended, and with equal clearness they also perceived that the importance of Mekka was in no way thereby threatened or assailed. No wonder, then, that in the circumstances the best military leaders of Mekka—Amr and Khalid—went over to Mohamed, in whose service they would find a far more favourable field for their talents and activity than they would with the Mekkans.

Henceforward Mohamed's army was invincible within Arabia. He was now master of the situation, and could deal with the tribes as he wished, but the time was not yet ripe for campaigns abroad—for wars with the powers surrounding his native country. And yet Mohamed about this time came into collision with one of them—the Eastern Empire. The murder of fifteen Muslims on the Syrian frontier sufficed to induce the Prophet to send an army of 3,000 to the north.[3] In the opinion of his community—in the judgment of later historians—it was merely a sense of the 'duty of protection' that led the Prophet to this venture. But the real reasons are unascertained to this day. Probably there were economic reasons outside the scope of the Prophet's plan; for it is strange that he did not accompany this campaign; in fact, he predicted its defeat. The Muslim army met the better trained and better equipped Roman army at Muta, on the Dead Sea, and, after three days of alternating success, was beaten back. The Prophet received the remnant with words of consolation. The Beduin tribes, who had hoped for a moment to shake off the yoke of the Prophet, were soon convinced that it was more to their interest to be with him than against him. This conviction gaining ground among them, whole tribes and groups of tribes passed over to Islam.

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[1] Jews of Medina, see Muir, II, 211, III, 31, 119, 130, 137. The treaty made with them, 150, 289. Their hatred of the Prophet, 291, Vol. III.

[2] The treaty was concluded in 628.

[3] Bury, Roman Empire, Vol, II, 272. Krehl, 310.

At last the year 630 saw the fall of Mekka—the fruit of unwearying persistence and sagacious efforts. The Muslim army—10,000 strong—met with no resistance, and Mohamed treated the town with extreme leniency. Only a few old enemies—hostile to the Prophet and dangerous to his cause—were sentenced to death. Booty-making was forbidden, and the old proprietary rights were left unaffected. To the Kaba Mohamed showed respect—only the idols within were removed. The Prophet commanded the Mekkans to destroy their household gods, and during his stay at Mekka, two generals were commissioned to destroy the sanctuary of the goddess Uzza in Nakhla, and that of Suwa in the land occupied by the tribe of Hudail.[1] Thus Mohamed attained the summit of his ambition. The curiously anomalous position of the individual Beduin tribe, as over against the great community of the Prophet; the individual Beduin, behind whom stood a more or less powerful tribe, and the individual Muslim, behind whom stood the whole of Islam as his protector, urged the Beduins on to a peaceful junction with the Prophet.

Embassies came in from all parts of Arabia to discuss the question of conversion from a political angle of vision, but Mohamed clung to his original religious purpose, and would not deflect from it. But be it noted here that it was not at a systematic construction of his faith that he was aiming, but merely at impressing upon his people their moral responsibility to Allah, and the necessity of submission to His will. Against heathenism he strove, in the name of Allah, to improve marriage laws, to humanize marital conditions ; to end the worship of idols ; to stop the killing of new-born girls ; to unite the tribes into one close net-work of amity and concord ; to bar the dreadful gates of war—to usher in an era of peace, happiness, good-will.[1] Even in dealing with the Jews and Christians he never lost sight of his aim. When the Jews constituted a danger to his work, he fought them unto destruction ; but when they only differed from him in matters religious he was generous and tolerant enough to leave them alone. He interfered as little with the Jewish as with the Christian faith, so long as they did not collide with his politics in Arabia. It is apparent that the position which Mohamed assigned to the Christians and the Jews in the body-politic of Islam was of the greatest possible consequence to Islamic cultural development generally.[2] Thus of far-reaching consequence were the treaties which were the outcome of a campaign towards the North—the last that Mohamed led in person. For unknown reasons Mohamed stationed an army of 30,000 strong at Tabuk, on the frontier of the Ghassanide Empire, and, without a single military operation, concluded treaties with the Christian Prince of Ayla and some Jewish tribes of the South.[3] According to these treaties Jews and Christians could be taken into the protection of the Islamic community as against payment of a capitation-tax. In Islam there were two classes of tax-payers—the Faithful who paid the poor-tax (Zakat) and the professors of monotheistic religions who paid the capitation-tax (Khiraj). As against the payment of this tax the Islamic Empire was responsible to non-muslims for the protection of their person and property. To the heathens Mohamed was less indulgent than to the Jews and Christians. Nine years after he had settled down in Medina he, through his deputy, Abu Bakr, had it announced at the Mekkan feast that "the heathens were not entitled to make a pilgrimage to the sanctuaries of Allah. Kill them, after the expiry of the holy months, kill them wherever you meet them! Take them prisoners, besiege them, hold every strategic position, and only when they accept Islam—grant them their freedom"[1]. Thus a martial stamp was impressed upon Muslim activities, and thus the impulse was given to the later propaganda work. This policy, however, chiefly affected the Heathen Arabs. As against the organized forces of Islam they had no choice but submission. They might believe what they pleased, but outwardly they must conform to Islam.

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[1] Krehl, 326, pp. 369-371. Krehl sums up the life-work of the Prophet, and the Summary is well worth a careful study.

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[1] Julius Braun, Gemälde der Mohamedanische Welt, pp. 78-81. See Note (1) on p. 80, Goldziher, Mohammed and Islam, pp. 14-21.

[2] Krehl, pp. 140 *et seq.*

[3] Muir, vol. IV, pp. 182 *et seq.* Treaty with John, Christian Prince of Ayla, p. 187 vol. IV, Treaty with the Jews of Macna, Adzruh and Jarba, p, 190. Having concluded these matters Mohamed quitted Tabuk, having halted there for 20 days, and returned to Medina, Dec., A.D. 630.

When, in the following year, Mohamed came to the annual pilgrim feast, there were no longer any unfaithful among the thousands that had come to hear him. Arabia bowed to the will of one man, and yielded to the spell of a higher faith, a loftier morality. And lo! there lay open before her the path to world-conquest. Already preparations were in progress for an expedition to the frontiers of the Eastern Empire, when, on the 8th of June, 632, the Prophet passed away.

It was now to be decided whether the ideas which Islam had implanted in Arabia were themselves powerful enough to hold the Arabs together and to lead them along the path of glory and conquest, or whether it was merely the personality and wisdom of a single man—apart from the religion he founded—that had so brilliantly triumphed so far.[1]

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[1] On Jizyah, see Arnold's Preaching of Islam, pp. 60 *et seq.* The Qur'an (II, 59, v. 73) expressly recognises Jews, Christians, and Sabians as capable of deserving the favour of God. See in this connection Arnold's masterly article in Vol. 9, of the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, pp. 765-769. On the history and legal aspect of Jizyah, see Aghnides, *Introd. to Mohamedan Law* (Columbia University, 1916), pp. 398 *et seq.*

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

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[1] I would specially refer the reader to Dr. Krehl's Mohamed (Leipzig, 1884) and to Dr. Arnold's Preaching of Islam (Constable, 1913). Both these works combine scholarship with sympathy, and throughout show an understanding spirit rare in European writers. To both of these scholars Mohamed is a genuine Prophet of God—full of divine ecstasy; bent on fulfilling his divine mission. Dr. Arnold (p. 34) has exposed the popular Christian fallacy which sees two diametrically different persons in the Mohamed of Mekka and the Mohamed of Medina. Dr. Krehl's life is one continuing tribute to the undeviating zeal of the Prophet. Dr. Arnold's book should be more widely known, and Dr. Krehl's should be made accessible to those who know no German.

THE CHINESE TANGLE: ITS SOLUTION

One is apt to be bewildered at the astonishing revelations appearing daily in China's political kaleidoscope. This has been true since the latter part of August when civil war reared its head again in violent and dangerous form, but the march of events from October 23 has been too sudden and too rapid to permit the formation of sound and accurate judgment regarding the present political situation in China. It was on the night of October 22-23 that General Feng Yu-hsiang, popularly known as the "Christian General", obtained the control of Peking through a Coup d'etat which completely upset the plans of the so-called Chihli Party, of which he had been a nominal member, and which has been from October 1923 in control of the central government of the Republic. The government of China, or at least the capital city of Peking, has been since then under the military control of General Feng who still stands as the conqueror of the Northern military factions. In the meantime, the political-military combination of General Feng, Marshal Chang Tso-lin, the Mukden war-lord, and Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the President of the Southern Republic, has resulted in the defeat of Marshal Wu Pei-fu, the soul of the Chihli Party, the forced abdication of the soldier President Tsao Kun also a member of that faction, and finally his flight from Peking. Following up his success General Feng has forced the "Boy Emperor" Hsuan Tung who was living in Peking since the downful of the Manchu Dynasty, to turn over the Imperial Seals and to evacuate the Forbidden City. As soon as all this was accomplished, the Christian General issued a call for a general "round-table" conference, and a new government has been created with Marshal Tuan Chi-jui, the former leader of the Anfu Party, as the provisional President of the Republic. It is not necessary to go back very far in the history of recent events in China to understand the new situation. It should be remembered that Marshal Tuan Chi-jui had been thrice Premier under the Republic, and was driven from office in the summer of 1920 when the Anfu Party, which dominated the Chinese government during most of the period of the European war, was routed by the armies of the Chihli party, which since then was in control of the central government of the Republic. We further understand that behind all these developments there is the secret influence of Japan and Soviet Russia, who, if they are finally able to get together and compose their differences, will undoubtedly dominate the Peking situation.

Probably the situation has never been so complex since the dawn of the Republic and surely there has never been such power for destruction as exists in the various military camps of China at present. Meanwhile, Dictator Feng Yu-hsiang, Marshal Chang Tso-lin and the provisional President Tuan Chi-jui are temporarily conducting the Peking government pending a conference of China's civil leaders who have been invited to meet at Shanghai to organize a stable and efficient constitutional government. The experiment is no doubt worth trying and deserves the commendation of all; but we have serious misgivings. Will the attempt, however praiseworthy it may be, meet with adequate success? In fact, ever since the Revolution of 1911, Chinese politics has been undergoing kaleidoscopic changes and startling dramatic developments. There have been so many experiments of constitution-making, but all have been more or less futile and none have achieved the desired results. During this short period there have come into office as many as eight Presidents in quick succession beginning with Dr. Sun Yat-sen and ending with the present holder of the office, Marshal Tuan Chi-jui and under every one of them, the prospects of Chinese unity and the revival of Chinese greatness have remained as distant as ever. Even, at the present moment, the political situation is far from encouraging. China actually remains divided into several hostile camps which are formidable enough despite recent events to make further warfare most probable and extremely destructive. Within the rival camps jealousies and treachery are so plentiful that desertions are likely at any moment entailing new alignments. Already we have heard, though the report may not be quite true, that Chang Tso-lin and Feng Yu-hsiang have not been pulling quite well and that Marshal Chang has suddenly left Peking for his headquarters Mukden in Manchuria. There is no describing the chaos which exsists in the land and there is not a military man of consequence in the Republic who will trust any other man. The whole situation thus seems to be fraught with the gravest perils and he must be a very bold prophet who ventures to predict what will exactly be the turn of events in the near future.

Republican China is really in the throes of a grave national crisis. The march of events in the last few weeks has wrought such momentous consequences and has created such a situation that the gravity of the problems is indeed appalling. To comprehend, however, the issues that are involved in the present civil war, in all their aspects and to rightly understand the recent developments requires a retrospective reference to the chequered and sad history of China.

The Manchus had invaded and established themselves in China in 1644. From that date there were no serious internal disturbances in China for a hundred and fifty years. During the greater portion of the time, the administration was at once strong, able and enlightened, for two of the first four Manchu Emperors were great and commanding personalities, while the length of time they severally occupied the throne did much to consolidate the position of the Dynasty. The second Manchu sovereign, the great Kanghi, proclaimed Emperor in 1661, occupied the throne for the long term of sixty-one years, and his long rule was extremely brilliant and vigorous. Kanghi's immediate successor, Yung Cheng, was far from being a weak man; but the fourth Manchu sovereign, Keen-lung (1735-1796) was perhaps the greatest and most successful ruler in China. He abdicated in 1796 and from that date began the history of China's misfortunes. With the accession of Kia-King (1796-1821) set in the degeneration of the Empire. The court became corrupt and the administration ceased to be efficient. The corruption of the public service gradually alienated the sympathies of the people. Justice was nowhere to be found; the verdict was sold to the highest bidder. It became far from uncommon for rich criminals sentenced to death to get substitutes procured for them, offices were sold to men who had never passed an examination, and who were wholly illiterate, the sole value of the office lying in its being a tool for extortion. Extortion and malversation ran to extraordinary lengths. The officials waxed rich on ill-gotten wealth, and a few accumulated enormous fortunes. But the administration went on sinking lower and lower in the estimation of the people, while of course its efficiency was getting steadily crippled. Kia-King was neither a strong man nor a great worker, and under him the debacle began. The next emperor Taou-Kwang (1821-1850) attempted to check the corruption of the court and to amend the evils of the administration, but the task was impossible. To the problem of internal difficulties were now added foreign troubles and complications. Great Britain, France and Russia were the chief countries which wanted forcefully to open China to the trade, missions and diplomacy of the rest of the world, accompanied by minor acts of encroachment, interference and seizure of territory under the legal guise of treaties. Great Britain began her definitely aggressive policy with the "Opium War" ending in the Treaty of Nanking, 1842, whereby China had to open five Treaty Ports and to surrender her right of fiscal autonomy. Besides, China was required to pay a huge indemnity and to cede the island of Hongkong which became an English Crown Colony. From 1842 until the end of the century, however, step by step, China was driven from her position of isolation and independence and became a prey to the exploitation of Western powers. Back of each step taken by the European countries in their application of pressure to China lay the desire at first to develop trade and later to exploit the "Middle Kingdom" as a field for investment and commercial enterprises. The hopeless incompetence and lethargy of the Manchu government even in the face of all these dangers led to the outbreak of the Taiping Rebellion which had for its object the expulsion of the Manchus from the throne of China. The Rebellion lasted for fourteen years (1850-1864) and affected as many as nine provinces in the South, and it might have suceeeded but for the unwarranted intervention of foreign powers who lent their help to the Manchu government in the shape of money and men to put down the Rebellion. Thus was the first popular attempt at reform frustrated chiefly on account of foreign interference. The years from 1860 to the Chino-Japanese War of 1894-95 were marked by the struggle on the part of the foreign powers to hold what had been gained by force and to extort still more additional commercial and political concessions. Realisation of the utter futility of expecting protection from foes, either without or within, from the decentralised and degenerate Manchu government was forced on the educated Chinese by the outcome of the war with Japan in 1894-95, when China was thoroughly and ignominiously defeated. Then followed the events of 1897-98 and it seemed that China was going to be parcelled out, as it were, by the different European powers like Germany, Russia, England, and France, but she was saved perhaps on that occasion only through the intervention of President McKinley of the United States and Hay's circular of 1899. But the defeats inflicted by the foreign powers on the "Celestial Empire" did serve to bring home vividly to the Chinese the inherent weaknesses of their system of government.

Briefly then, by 1898 the Chinese had been shown conclusively the inability of their government to keep the foreigners out of their country, or to protect Chinese interests when they were in conflict with the interests of the European powers, or even of Japan. The powers had entrenched themselves in China on a basis of equality or rather of superiority, and in so doing had imposed on the country a heavy burden of debt for indemnity and war expenses. Because of the new financial obligations of the State the Central government had been forced to increase taxes on the people, whereas the foreigners were trading in the country by paying at Treaty Ports a duty of five per cent on all imports, and not more than five per cent on exports. Even over this insignificant revenue the Central government had no control, as much of the revenue derivable from customs was mortgaged for various loans and indemnities. The increase of taxes carried with it an increase, not a diminution, of the "Squeeze" of the officials. The corruption of the court was notorious and the people were fast getting ready for revolt because of their intolerable economic grievances and because of the influence of Western ideas and culture which were introduced no doubt by England, France and the United States.

These phases of outside intrusion into Chinese life and often of unjust encroachments and inconsiderate interference helped to bring on the Reform Movement of 1898. Presently there arose a group of reformers dominated by Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao who advocated an urgent need for reforms in all the branches of the administration, if China were to be saved at all from imminent ruin and disaster. This was the beginning of the party advocating reform under the

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dynastic agitation. In realit these reformers we
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of reform. The decrees issu involved education
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was antiquated and was no lo er capable of meeting
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Dowager Tzu Hsi who had b n sitting quietly by d
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general policy of reform along certain lines might be adopted by the Imperial Government, but it was left to the provincial authorities to put this programme into execution, and it very often happened that the officials would act only when it was their interest to do so, or when strong pressure was brought to bear on them to act against their own inclinations. In fact that was the ancient and time-honoured tradition of the Chinese administrative system. Ever since the time of the Duke of Tsin (221 B.C.) the history of China has been practically a long and unceasing struggle between the forces of nationalism as represented by the Emperor and the disruptive tendencies of feudalism as represented by the provincial authorities. The history of China has, therefore, always been periods of efficient rule under powerful and successful Imperial dynasties which could keep the disintegrating forces in check, followed by periods of anarchy, confusion and disorder chiefly due to the revolts of provincial governments, and the Imperial Dynasties, known as the Tsin Han, Tang, Sung and Ming are so very famous only because they could successfully put down and check the disruptive forces of feudalism. Whenever the central government has been weak and inefficient in China, with the consequent looseness of control over the provincial authorities, the forces of anarchy and disorder reared their heads, causing untold miseries and sufferings to the people. The most essential step in carrying out any reforms of permanent value in China is, therefore, the establishment of a direct relationship between the central government and the people. The mere power of appointment and dismissal together with a general supervision and direction, is not sufficient to ensure a uniform administration. This necessity was not properly understood by the reform party of 1898. The reforms then advocated provided for the introduction of new ideas and to a certain extent enlarged the scope of parts of the existing machinery of government, but did not alter the structure or the form of government. They did not above all touch the plague-spot of the administrative system—the relation between the central and the local governments. Yet the reforms of 1898 might have done much to strengthen the constitution provided they were successful. But that was not to be. The movement failed because the reforms attempted came into conflict with the self-interest of the ruling class, but from its failure came a new direction to the movement towards political reform. The chief importance of this movement in 1898 lay in the fact that it was the first definite attempt to adjust the administration of China to the new conditions that had arisen; it wanted to reconcile the existence of the Manchu dynasty with the growing national aspirations of the people. But the failure of the attempt gave an impetus to the work of those men who felt that change could only come and progress be made with the overthrow of the Manchu dyansty. This desperate feeling largely due to the failure of the Kang Yu-wei movement and the consequent domination of the ultra-conservatives and reactionaries, both Manchu and Chinese, helped to bring on the Boxer Uprising of 1900. But the rising was again more ruthlessly suppressed by the foreign powers than in the case of the Taiping Rebellion.

The genesis of Boxerism marks the end of the period of constitutional agitation for reform in China and the overthrow of the movement convinced the entire nation that a root and branch revolution was the only remedy for the miserable state of things. The old Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi, no doubt, granted many reforms formerly advocated by the reformers of 1898, during the period from 1901-1908, but they were then considered to be too inadequate and disappointing for satisfying the aspirations of the people. The result was the Revolution of 1911 which was an unqualified success, so far as the overthrow of the Manchu yoke was concerned. But the attempt of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, the father of the Revolution did not quite succeed. China was made a Republic, no doubt, but the officials and bureaucrats of the old imperial Manchu regime very soon took advantage of the new political situation and exploited it for their own selfish ends. President Yuan Shi-kai was a very strong man and so long as he was at the helm of affairs (1912-1916) everything went smoothly on; but his death in June, 1916, was the signal for unceasing party strifes and never-ending provincial revolts. The military governors appointed by Yuan refused to submit to the central government when his strong hand was removed and their troops terrorised the populations upon whom they were quartered. Ever since there has been civil war, not as a rule, for any definite principle, but simply to determine which of various rival generals should govern various groups of provinces. After Yuan Shi-kai there has been a rapid succession of various Presidents, Li Yuan-hung, Feng Kuo-chang, Hsu Hsi-chang, Li Yuan-hung again, Tsao Kun, and the present holder of the office Tuan Chi-jui, but none of them has succeeded in giving China what she most badly and urgently requires above everything else,—a stable and efficient constitutional government.

The aggravation of the present trouble in China, due to the predominance of Chinese militarists, dates from February, 1917. In that month the American ambassador in Peking, Paul Reinsch, requested President Li Yuan-hung that China should sever diplomatic relations with Germany. Li Yuan-hung was, however, devoted to democratic ideas; his one aim was to unite the country, to stop fighting and to establish a real republic. He was trusted by the people and he was convinced that if the country could be kept at peace, his honest endeavours would be crowned with success. Li had recalled the Parliament dismissed by Yuan Shi-kai, and in the spring of 1917 the outlook for democracy, peace and national prosperity was rather bright.

But the persistent propaganda of the United States triumphed at last. The Prime Minister Tuan Chi-jui, a militarist, was strongly in favour of war. The Cabinet also decided in favour of war, but the majority in the Parliament was against it. The militarists then compelled the President by threat of military force to dissolve Parliament unconstitutionally. President Li Yuan-hung resigned and was succeeded by Feng Kuo-chang more agreeable to the militarists. Then at last they were free to declare war on Germany and Austria. But the final declaration of war was preceded by military revolts, different military governors declared themselves independent of the Peking Government, Parliament disappeared, the militarists were in the saddle and the constitution had come to a sudden end. The entry of China into the last Great War thus proved to be the greatest misfortune to that country and for this America was chiefly responsible. What might have become a prosperous nation has ever since become the prey of military autocrats.

The outlook is indeed very gloomy. The Central Government has not during the last few years functioned at all. It is nearly bankrupt and has not the money for bearing adequately even the ordinary expenses of the State. Customs which is a principal source of revenue with all the important modern states of the world, forms but a very insignificant portion of Chinese revenue. China bartered away her fiscal independence as early as 1842 by the Treaty of Nanking which provided for a duty at Treaty Ports, now numbering about fifty, of only five per cent. on imports and not more than five per cent. on exports. Change in the tariff is practically impossible, since China has concluded such commercial treaties with thirteen states, and therefore, any change in the tariff requires the unanimous consent of all the thirteen powers. At the same time much of the revenue derivable from customs is mortgaged for various loans and indemnities, so that customs cannot be dealt with from the point of view of Chinese interests alone. An essential condition of China's solvency would, therefore, be the elimination of foreign rights and territories, of foreign spheres of influence and foreign spheres of interests from the Chinese soil. The need of sources of revenue is desperate, but the internal customs are collected by the provincial authorities who usually intercept them and use them for private armies and civil wars. The Central Government is not strong enough to stop these abuses. The military governors of provinces or groups of provinces, who are called Tuchuns, govern despotically in defiance of Peking, and commit depredations on the inhabitants of the districts over which they rule. They are nominally appointed by Peking, but in practice depend only upon the favour of the soldiers in their provinces. The Central Government is almost bankrupt and is unable to pay the soldiers who very often live by loot and by such portions of the Tuchun's ill-gotten wealth as he finds it prudent to surrender to them. This is thus a virtual recrudescence of old feudalism which from time to time brought anarchy and confusion into China. The state of China today is rather one of turmoil than of transition. As yet, the forces of enlightenment are still battling with the forces of reaction, and these latter, it should be remembered, are strongly entrenched behind the usages of centuries. The immediate result of so stupendous and so violent a conflict is to be found in the widespread existence of chaos. It now remains to be seen whether the present government of Feng Yu-hsiang and Tuan Chi-jui is quite able to control the provincial governors and can permanently put down the forces of anarchy and disorder, and thereby organise a stable government. This is the problem which confronts them to-day.

A strong centralised sy[illegible] of administration as was organised by the Tsin, Han, [illegible], or even by the earlier sovereigns of the Manchu dynasties, is no longer within the domain of practical politics, especially in view of the new cultural awakening represented by the student movement and the spread, in all spheres of life and art, of democratic ideas which have received a fresh impetus since the last Great War. Even during the periods of strong central control mentioned above, the centrifugal force was ever present, and was merely held in check. The slightest weakening of authority or looseness of control over the provincial governments, invariably witnessed the revival of anarchy and disorder. Thus the lesson of past political history of China ever since the accession of the Tsin dynasty in the year 221 B. C., points to the failure of all schemes of a stable, central, autocratic government. The only alternative is, therefore, a federation which will follow the lines of the American Constitution allowing a large measure of autonomy to the constituent provinces, because the division into provinces is very ancient and the provincial feeling is very strong. After securing internal political consolidation on federal lines, the first duty of united China would be to direct her attention to the abolition of all sorts of Treaty Rights—economic and extraterritorial, subversive of China's Sovereignty. The bold and successful stand taken by Japan in 1898, and by Turkey in the recent Lausanne Conference, led to the abrogation of all such humiliating rights of exterritoriality enjoyed by European Powers in those countries. The world knows how the abolition of such capitulations has helped Japan and recently Turkey also in the attainment of their political and economic solidarity. The Washington Conference of 1921-22, apparently alive to this similar problem so vital for China, passed a resolution as the result of a very strong and able note submitted by the Chinese Delegation—the resolution which seemed to envisage a policy of sympathetic treatment of China's difficulties. That pledge, however, of the European and American Powers remains unredeemed even to-day. But the history of China and of other countries with the experience of similar foreign rights and privileges conclusively proves that China can never attain her full stature of economic and political nationhood without a thorough purging of these manifest foreign evils.

Thus the solution of the Chinese puzzle depends on two things: one is the establishment of a stable federal government, and the other is the assertion by China of her full sovereign rights. If the present leaders of China can accomplish this tremendous task, which they have the power to do, in view of the recent happy combination of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the President of the Southern Republic, Marshal Chang Tso-lin, the Manchurian war-lord, Marshal Tuan Chi-jui, the leader of the powerful Anfu Party, and last, though not the least, General Feng Yu-hsiang, then they will have certainly earned the undying gratitude of millions of their countrymen.

Tripurari Chakravarti M.A

DESERT NIGHT

Oh, bliss unspeakable!
To lie beneath the stars
And drink the beauty of a breathless night,
A deathless night in purple velvet clad.

* * *

Dreams are indigenous to self.
No man may steal them, no man say them nay.
So lie, and dream and dream,
With naught, 'twist self and heaven;
And underneath the soft moon-silvered sand,
And overhead atomic spangles,
That seem to beckon to a fellow-atom
To come and follow their gold-dusted tracks.
Perchance they are the children of the moon, these stars
Begotten of the night.
God's lamps to lighten our dim-shrouded souls,
And lead us into worlds of fantasy.

* * *

So lie, and dream and dream,
That yonder palm-tree, outlined against the sky,
Stands sentinel to guard your love and you.
There is no breeze, no puff of dew-kissed wind,
Naught save a stillness that inspires awe,
And thoughts of things unspoken.
Things that are sacred, mad and glad and sad,
Thoughts of such ecstasy, the heart must burst
With rapturous anticipation.

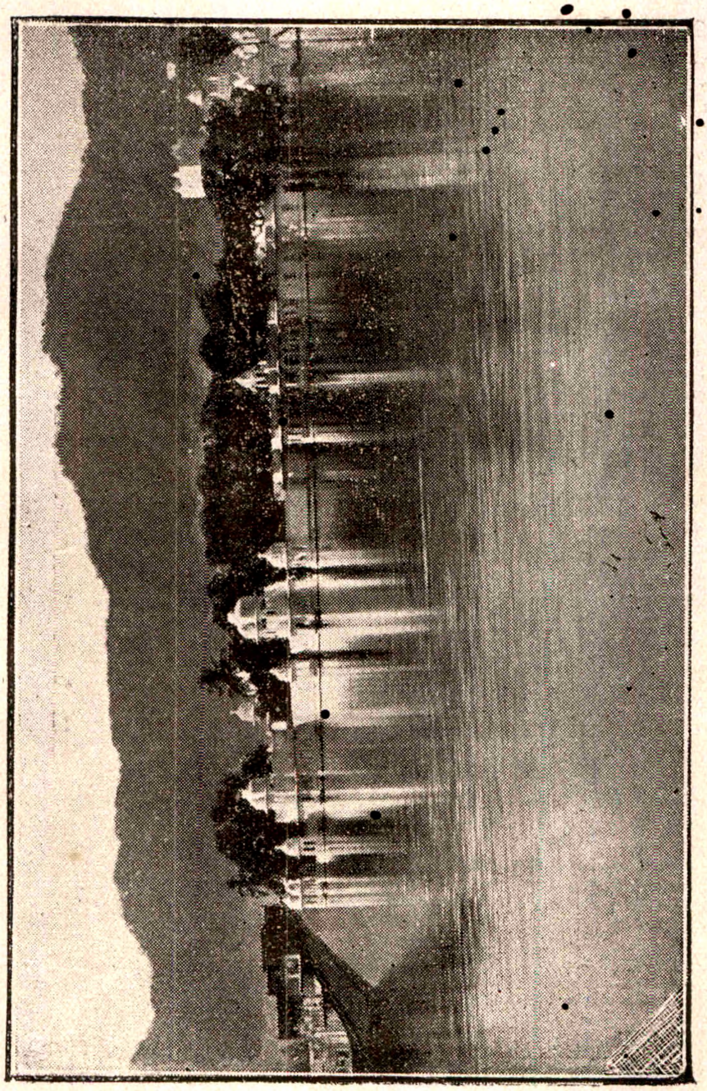
* * *

God in the West is something far apart.
God in the East is as a man's own soul.
And in the silence of a desert night
His Nearness is intensified.
So lie, and dream and dream
Of His sweet Presence consecrating Love,
And speaking through the moon and stars
To you.

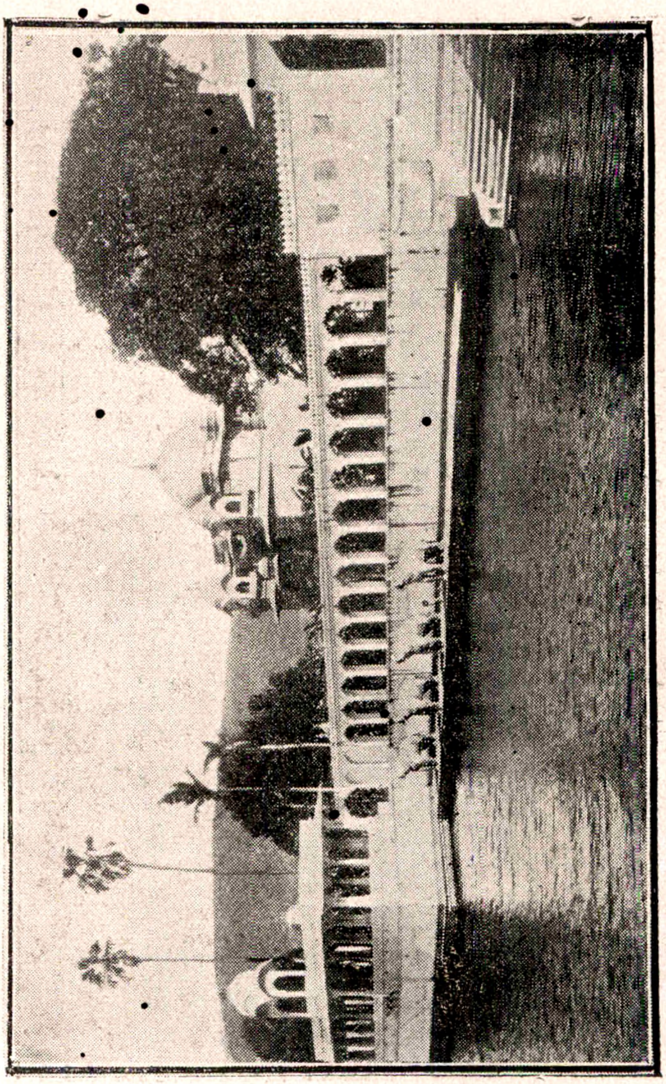
GWENDOLINE GOODWIN

UDAIPUR,—I

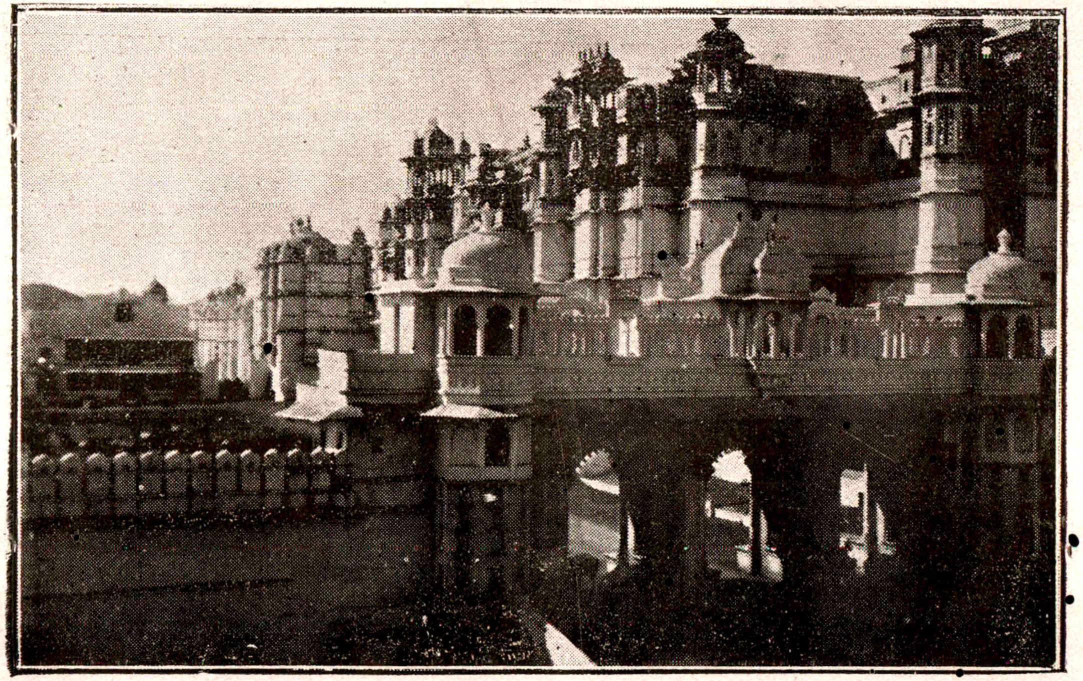
(*By courtesy of the Madhuri*)



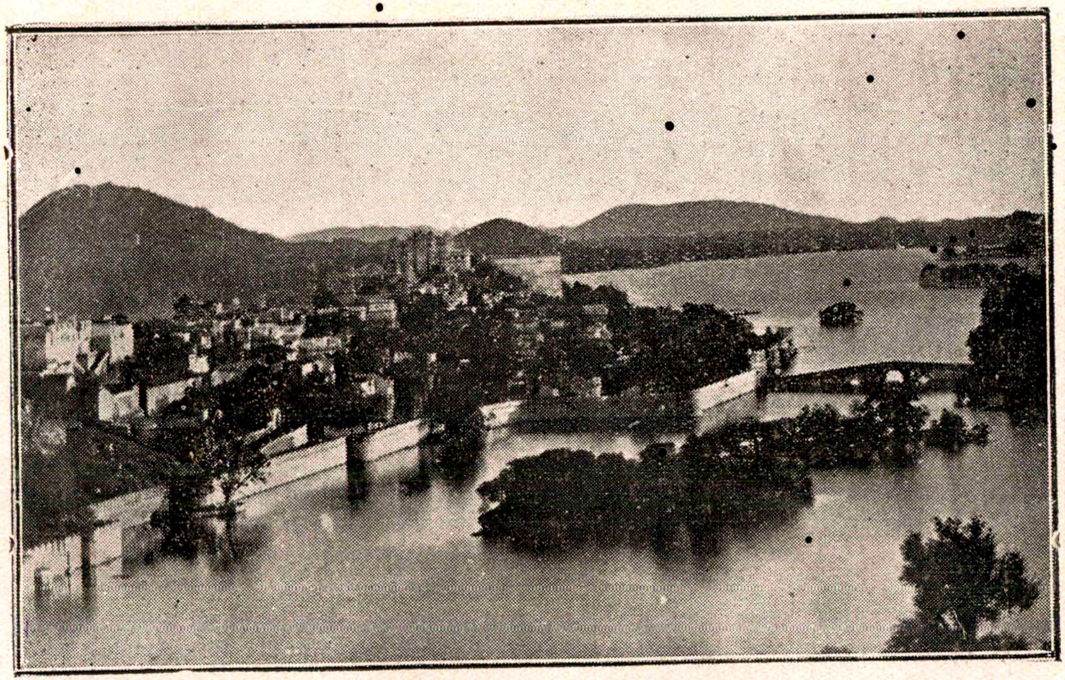
The *Jagnibash* Lake and Palace



The Jagmandir Palace and the Lake



The *Tripolia* and the Palace



The Pesola Lake and the Town

Reviews

Twelve Years at the German Imperial Court, by Count Zedlitz-Trutzschler, New York, Doran and Co. $5.00.

Is Germany alone responsible for the World War? Did she start it? These and similar questions are being discussed by scholars and diplomats all over the world. A new era of historical research in the field of diplomatic history has been inaugurated with the recent opening up of the archives of the German Foreign Office scholars of the world and the publication of the secret documents found there. This will clear up many unsolved problems and shift certain responsibilities of Germany, regarding the World War. However, one important factor regarding the responsibility and character of the actual motives of the various Foreign Offices will never be explained by documents and that is the psychological side of the autocrats and rulers of the European nations who imposed their will and dictated their policies, in spite of Parliaments and Cabinets.

The personality of William II, the ex-Kaiser, his ambitions and autocratic method of dealing with his Ministers, his susceptibility to flattery, and inability to hear the truth when unpalatable, his colossal ignorance and vanity, his duplicity in conducting foreign relations, also the nature and intrigue of Court-life in Berlin and Pottsdam is very clearly pictured in "Twelve Years at the Imperial German Court" by Count Zedlitz-Trutzschler "who as an important officer of the Court had the unique opportunity to observe." The author indicts the Kaiser for muddling in Germany's foreign affairs, and accuses high officials, even Prince von Bulow for their lack of courage, as they dared not tell an unpleasant truth to the Kaiser. The Foreign Office officials and German diplomats sent such information and dispatches only as would tickle his vanity. Even high military officers did not do their duty by opposing the Kaiser's vagaries. The author has not indulged in gossip or scandals of Court-life which he must have known and has not spoiled the historical value of his observations with personal animosities or bitternesses to the Kaiser, or any member of the Court. Indeed, the book is so well written that in many respects it may serve as a model for political research.

The moral of the book is that an autocrat, even with the best intentions, must fail, because of his inability to grasp human problems from a broad and impersonal point of view. The book is particularly valuable for those who take psychological factors into consideration in the study of history.

TARAKNATH DAS

Letters written during the Indian Mutiny, by Fred. Roberts, afterwards Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, V.C., K.G., Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1924; pp. xxii and 169; illustrated, Price 10*s*.-6*d*.

The horrors of the terrible days of the Indian Mutiny live again in these letters, edited by Lady Roberts, the late Field-Marshal's daughter. The glowing accounts of his experiences in what he calls "the wonderful land of my adoption" we have read in Lord Robert's *Forty-one years in India*. The present volume contains about thirty of his letters which were written when he was a Subaltern in the army during the Mutiny. They tell the story of his adventures and the part he played in various capacities. Most of the letters were addressed to his father, mother and sister in England, when they were eagerly looking for the latest news from India. Young Roberts was then only twenty-four years old, and these letters are characteristic of youth. They reveal a nature full of enthusiasm;—ambitious, courageous, persevering, loyal, valiant and relentless. He received promotion to the rank of Quarter-Master General, under Sir Colin Campbell, shortly after the outbreak of the Mutiny. The experiences narrated in these letters began at Peshwar and he took an active part in most of the strategic moves of the Mutiny. Kaye, Colonel Malleson and Sir George Forrest, among others, have written the history of the Sepoy Mutiny, in voluminous editions compiled from the records that were at their disposal—and these volumes have their own interest—but the young soldier's letters, giving first-hand information, throw much fresh light on the Mutiny.

In writing to his mother from the Camp at Amritsar he says, "you will have heard by that of my being well and happy, and appointed by Chamberlain* as staff of the movable column. Well the troops assembled at Jhelum, and we have come along this far, doing a little business on the road such as disarming Regiments and executing mutineers. The death that seems to have the most effect is being blown from a gun. It is rather a horrible sight, but in these times we cannot be particular." Fred. Roberts was keen about promotion and anxious to get the V. C., as is shown in a letter to his mother: "Such a Medal to wear with 'For Valour' scrolled on it. How proud I shall be, darling Mother, when I show it to you—better than all the other medals put together. All get medals when given for a campaign, but few, very few, this glorious Cross. The papers go before Sir Colin to-day, so ere I close this I shall know for certain whether I am to get it or not. My name has also gone in for a Brevet-Majority on promotion to a Company. Major Fred. Roberts. V.C.! will sound well, will it not?" To-day we cannot hear about Lord Roberts without thinking of his V.C.

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* Sir Neville Chamberlain.

His letters were admirably written, in spite of the scanty leisure of a soldier on active service. They tell many a thrilling story of the deeds of several regiments in various stages of the fight. They are not uncritical of superiors, nor do they stint praise of subordinates where praise is due. His own share in the operations is not concealed. Describing a skirmish near Cawnpore, when he pursued the Pandies, he says: "I never enjoyed a gallop more, seeing the wretched Sepoys first of all as you neared them throw away all their loot, then their arms and running as hard as they could, a few died like men, but the greater part begged for mercy. One villain, as I was coming close upon him with a spear seized a child from a woman close by and used it as a shield. I, however, managed to spear him and saved the poor little babe." The thought of the sufferings of British women and children he found unbearable; "I wish most sincerely that every woman and child were well away, and that these fiendish Sepoys had met with men only on whom their cruelties might have been practised without causing that feeling of intense horror which must pervade every one when they read what our poor unfortunate women and helpless children have had to undergo." The gravity and horror of the situation were at their height when he writes thus to his sister Harriet: "You must not think, darling Harriet, that I pity the Sepoys or blackguards who are rebelling against us. On the contrary, few are more unrelenting than I am when a prisoner is brought in, I am the first to call out to have him hanged, knowing that unless the severest measures are adopted we shall have no end to our war, but it does make one melancholy to come across accidents such as I have related. They cannot be avoided I well know. Soldiers get into a town, and cannot be expected to distinguish between the guilty and innocent in the heat of the moment, yet such scenes make one wish that all was settled."

Fred. Roberts had all the enthusiasm of a born soldier and was many times mentioned in despatches for bravery and devotion to duty. His description of the siege of Delhi after some days' hard fighting is realistic: "Within half an hour we walked up 'the Chadni Chauk' without seeing a soul, almost to the Palace to where our left had advanced. Powder bags were then brought up, and away went the gates of the Great Mogal. In we all rushed, killing every man we came across, which, however, were but few, and that night Headquarters were moved to the Palace, and we dined in the King's small Durbar room. Everybody was turned out of the City, and all the houses were plundered. A very necessary punishment, but at the same time a sad sight to see old women and little children who had probably never stirred out of their houses before making for one of the gates and leaving their houses."

His picture of the Taj reminds us of Bernier's description: "Some old Peshwar friends who gave us two picnics!! at the Taj. What a lovely place the Taj is. I have never seen anything like it, perfect in every way. We had it lighted up. The more you look at it, the better pleased you are. How glorious the designer must have felt when the means for bringing into reality what his wonderful imagination had conjured up were placed at his disposal. I could have spent days and days there."

Young Roberts was always longing for "long, long letters" from home and the eagerness with which they were read by the young soldier marks his filial devotion. While driving the scattered bonds of rebels to the north of the Lucknow and Cawnpore Road he writes to his sister Harriet: "Our cavalry were on the look out and cut up some 400 of the rascals as they came flying out. The success was complete. We only had 20 casualties, took six guns of sorts and killed upwards of 500. Yesterday, the 25th, we halted for the purpose of destroying the place, which was done most effectually. It makes one very sad, however, dearest Harriet, in the midst of all our success to see what distress a small fight of this kind even occasions. I went into the village last evening to see what damage was being done to the defences. Nearly all the houses had been burnt, except in one corner. As I approached, a very old man met me and said 'here are two cows; I have still another in the house, which I will bring out to you, but for God's sake don't burn the only property I have in the world. Yesterday morning I had five sons. See, here are three of them, the other two fled away, and I don't know whether they have shared the same fate and are dead, or whether they may have escaped. None of us ever bore arms against your Government. We are all labourers. Ever since the rebellion took place, I have prayed for your success, and if all my sons are killed, I shall still pray for you, for I know under any other rule we have nothing but oppression and tyranny to expect.' The old man went on for a long time and seemed so truthful that I had not the heart to burn his house. Going a little further, I came on three women watching the dead bodies of their husbands, none of them Sepoys, I believe. Among the colleagues mentioned by Roberts is Dighton Probyn (afterwards General Sir Dighton Probyn) a very nice fellow."

Lady Roberts is to be complimented on the interesting maps which she has included in the volume. They show "The Relief of Lucknow," "The Outram-Havelock Advance, September, 1857" and "The Colin Campbell Advance." An interesting *Preface* to the volume contains a short history of the family in which Fred. Roberts was so brilliant a figure.

The historical significance of these letters cannot be denied. Many works have been published on the Mutiny, both by European and Indian writers; numerous recollections of the horrors of the time have been recorded by many military or civilian pens; but it cannot be said that a complete history of the Mutiny has ever been written. These letters are of great value as supplementary material for such a history of the Mutiny; but nothing can be done until Englishmen and Indians shall agree to share the task and give the world their impartial judgment on the facts. It is no easy task, and racial prejudice and non-co-operation must be barred if the work is to be successful. The records preserved in the Government and Ruling Princes' State archives should be placed unhesitatingly at the disposal of the historian. In a recent report of the Indian Historical Records Commission, held in Calcutta, emphasis was laid on the desirability of giving historians access to certain records now regarded as a "sealed book." We trust that sooner or later, something will be done in this direction.

HARIHAR DAS

Labour in Indian Industries. Thesis approved for the Degree of Doctor of Science, Economics, in the University of London, by G. M. Broughton, O.B.E., M.A. (Published by the Oxford University Press).

This is a well written book which will prove useful to teachers and students as bringing together in one volume much that is scattered over a wide field. It is for the most part based on available official reports, *e.g.*, the Census Reports, the reports of the Factory Labour Commission the Reports of the Committee on Industrial Unrest, etc. The information contained in these reports has been supplemented by enquiries conducted personally by the author while employed as Adviser to the Labour Bureau of the Industrial Department of the Government of India.

The theme of the first two chapters is the origin and the growth of the Industrial Revolution in India. This is followed by a study of the available sources of labour supply and the demand for labour in the major Provinces of British India. A study of the conditions of labour in the mills and factories enables the author to lay bare the undesirable features of Indian factory life some of which at any rate are removable. As illustrations may be mentioned the congestion found in one roomed tenaments in the town of Bombay (p. 118, 120), the absence in Bombay and in Calcutta mills of suitable arrangements for the meals of the workers, of crèches where children may be accommodated during working hours (p. 127, 137) etc. These among other defects and the absence of the ordinary amenities make it clear that the owners of the cotton and the jute mills have failed to rise to the height of their responsibilities in spite of the handsome dividends which they have been enjoying during recent years amounting in some cases to 80 or 90 % or even to 375 % Dr. Broughton would have helped in rousing the public conscience of this country if she had made a critical study, side by side, of the profits and wages in the textile industries of India. She, however, dismisses the subject by making a casual reference to the "large profits" in the cotton and jute mills within recent years and for the rest, she refers the inquirer to the issue of *Capital* of the 25th January, 1923. It is time that employers in India realised what employers in the West are being forced to realise either by their governments or by the spirit of the times that industry should be conducted as a social service. The West has moved a long way from the comforting belief that common good can only be attained amidst the clash of divergent interests of men actuated solely by a desire for personal gain. Dr. Broughton no doubt refers to these new ideas and ideals (p. 197) and appeals to the Indian employers to give them a trial but her appeal would have been irresistible had it been based on a comparative study of profits and wages.

The concluding chapter on "Ameliorative Measures" is replete with interesting constructive suggestions and while readily giving credit to the State for what it has already done to relieve the lot of the Indian workers, Dr. Broughton boldly points out the larger and graver responsibilities of the government of a country whose masses are as yet illiterate and powerless.

J. P. N.

Correspondence

THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

TO THE EDITOR, *The Calcutta Review.*

DEAR SIR,

Columbia University of New York in its 171st session is offering 3,242 courses of studies for about 40,000 students. In the faculty of the University there are 1,898 professors and lecturers. Columbia University is expanding with great rapidity. What a contrast for India! Instead of encouraging higher education in India there are systematic efforts to discourage it under every pretence. The Inchcape Retrenchment Committee advised the Government to make certain reductions of expenditure of the Department of Education. But the Lee Commission Report advocates that an additional crore and a quarter of rupees be annually spent on the services. Indian nation is starving so far as true education is concerned. We hope that all political parties of India will unite to secure from the Government an additional crore of rupees annually to spread scientific and industrial education. We earnestly plead that the people of India should strengthen the position of the existing universities and raise their standard. We ask the co-operation of the people of Bengal, especially the former students of the Calcutta University, to do all they can so that the scope and activities of the University will widen to meet the need of the nation.

Yours etc.,
TARAKNATH DAS

Ourselves

SIR GOOROO DASS BANERJEE.

As announced in our last issue, the bust of the late Sir Gooroo Dass Banerjee was unveiled in the Eastern Hall of the Senate House on Saturday, the 6th December, 1924, by the Hon'ble Justice Sir Ewart Greaves, Vice-Chancellor. The ceremony took place before a well-attended meeting of Fellows of this University. Sir Nilratan Sircar, on behalf of the Senate, requested Sir Ewart to unveil the bust and observed as follows:

"It is my privilege to ask you on behalf of the members of this University to unveil the bust that has been installed here in order to perpetuate the memory of Sir Gooroo Dass Banerjee. We all know that no marble, or for the matter of that, no precious metal can adequately represent the departed saint whose loss we all mourn. But we, however, have faith in symbols and this piece of marble will be dear and sacred to our heart so long as it represents the features of Sir Gooroo Dass. Sir, to a nation nothing is so precious as the example of the lives of its great men. This little bust will not only recount to future generations the noble words and deeds of Sir Gooroo Dass, but will also inspire them with the spirit of his saintly life that was dedicated to the devoted service of God and man. You are, Sir, to-day in the forefront of those who are trying to realise the cultural ideal for which Sir Gooroo Dass lived and strove, and it is in the fitness of things that the task of unveiling his bust has been entrusted to you, which I earnestly invite you to do."

The occasion was great and indeed solemn. It was the unveiling ceremony of the bust of one who was not only one of the best and greatest men of his generation but also the first Indian Vice-Chancellor of our University. Sir Ewart

Greaves rose equal to the occasion and spoke in terms which are worthy of reproduction :

"SIR NILRATAN AND GENTLEMEN : It is only in accordance with the fitness of things that the unveiling of the bust of Sir Gooroo Dass Banerjee should take place in connection with a meeting of the Senate of this University which he served so long and faithfully, of which he was such a distinguished ornament and whose Vice-Chancellor he was for two years, 1890-92.

But I would desire to dwell for a few brief moments this afternoon not so much on his distinguished academic career, which is well known to you all who knew him for longer and more intimately than I did, nor on his distinguished career as a Judge of the High Court of Calcutta where his memory is recalled in the learned and lucid decisions, especially in matters of Hindu Law, which are recorded in the Law Reports of that Court and which I always read with the respect and attention which they demand coming from one of his knowledge and attainments, but I would prefer to dwell on the man himself.

All of us, I suppose, in the course of our lives, have met, from time to time, but I fear all too rarely, men and women who seem to stand out from their fellows as something apart from the ordinary—they are persons, not necessarily of profound learning or attainments but who impress themselves on their fellow men and on their surroundings by the saintliness of their character and by the manner of their life. We feel as we meet them that the world is better by their presence and richer by their example. They seem to exhale from themselves a fragrance which comes like a refreshing breeze to a thirsty land. Consciously or unconsciously, we are better by their presence and uplifted by their example.

They are to be met with in every country and in every clime, they are not the especial products of any religion or of any civilization. As I stand here this afternoon my mind goes back to two such men whom I have known myself in my own country. One, an Oxford Tutor, whose name is not known to you, William Campion. The other, who is probably known to you, at any rate by name, Henry Scott Holland, for many years a Canon of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's in London and, subsequently, Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford. And Sir Gooroo Dass Banerjee seemed to me to be one of such men.

You cannot conceive of any action or thought of his as mean or petty, he was above and beyond such things—actuated only by the highest motives, exacting from himself and from others the highest standards, and living always in the light of that religion which he cherished and loved so well. The world is better by their lives and poorer by their loss.

In the dust of controversy, in the strivings for place and power, in the searchings for material wealth, in the rush and hurry of these modern days, it is well that we should turn aside for a few brief moments this afternoon to contemplate the memory of one who seemed above such things, who was in the world but not of the world, and who strove always for what was best and highest, never actuated by personal motives and by thoughts of self but by his life and by his example lifting others to the high plane on which he lived himself.

I recall as I stand here that spare ascetic figure who was so familiar within these walls, a man of remarkable character, of pious and devoted life, and I feel proud that it should fall to my lot to-day as Vice-Chancellor of this University to unveil the bust which has been erected to his memory by his admirers and his friends."

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THE LATE DR. SUBRAMANYA IYER.

We desire to associate ourselves with the sentiments of deep sorrow which all India is expressing today at the death of Dr. Subramanya Iyer, the grand old man of Madras. Dr.

Iyer, it may not be generally known, was one of the *alumni* of our University. In 1908, on the occasion of our Jubilee, the Senate had the proud privilege of conferring upon him, along with other distinguished representatives of the different Universities in India, the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Law. Dr. Subramanya Iyer was a great scholar; we mourn to-day not merely the loss the world of scholarship has suffered by his death. Dr. Iyer was a great lawyer and an eminent judge; we mourn not merely so much the loss the domain of legal studies has suffered by his demise. Dr. Iyer was a distinguished educationist,—it is not the loss that the educational activities of Madras have suffered that we mourn so much to-day. What is uppermost in our minds is the independence of his character which feared not the wrath and fury of the men in power. His bold letter to the Viceroy, couched in passionate, yet convincing terms renouncing the Knighthood and other titles conferred upon him will always remain a memorable document which will arrest the admiration and respect of future generations. Dr. Subramanya Iyer's name will be handed down to posterity as one of the greatest Indians of his day and his life and career will for ever guide his fellow-countrymen in their march towards the realisation of that ultimate goal which is the aim of every true son of India.

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THE LATE MR. GIRISHCHANDRA MUKERJEE.

It is our painful duty to record the death of Mr. Girishchandra Mukerjee, M.A., who served this University for twenty-five years from 1889-1914. Mr. Mukerjee joined the University as first Assistant and was appointed Assistant Registrar in 1901 which post he filled with conspicuous ability and distinction for a long and eventful period extending over fourteen years. He twice officiated as Registrar, once in 1905 and on another occasion in 1908. After his retirement in 1914, he was nominated a Fellow of the University for a term of five years. He accepted office as Registrar to the Bengal Medical Council and Secretary to the State Medical Faculty after he severed his connection with the University and was working in that capacity at the time of his death. Mr. Mukerjee was one of the ablest officers the University has ever had and he in his turn served the University with exemplary devotion. He was gifted with remarkable powers of organisation which were accompanied with energy, tact and perseverance. A man of his type makes his mark wherever he may be called upon to serve and it was no surprise to all who knew him to find that he had made himself, within a very short time, indispensable to the Bengal Medical Council. We offer our sincerest condolences to the bereaved family for the heavy loss sustained by them.

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THE LATE MR. ABDUL MAJID.

Before the proceedings of the Senate began on the 6th December, 1924, the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor moved from the Chair a resolution expressing the regret of the University at the death of the Hon'ble Mr. Abdul Majid who represented Assam on the Senate for a number of years. Mr. Majid was for some time Legal Remembrancer to the Government of Assam; he sat on the Bench of the Calcutta High Court for several months in 1920; he returned to Assam and rose to occupy a seat on the Executive Council of the Government of that province. His death is a severe loss to Assam. We offer our sincere condolences to the bereaved family.

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KAMALA LECTURER.

It will be within the recollection of our readers that Mrs. Annie Besant was invited by the Senate to deliver a course of lectures in the University under the terms of an endowment created by the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in January, 1924, in memory of his daughter. We are now glad to announce that she will be coming to Calcutta in the second week of January and will deliver her lectures at the Senate House on the 12th, 13th and 14th instant at 5 P.M. We hasten to offer a cordial welcome to Mrs. Besant. The subject of her lectures is "Indian Ideals of (*i*) Education, (*ii*) Philosophy and Religion and (*iii*) Art," and we reproduce the Synopsis which was laid before the Senate in December, 1924 :

I. EDUCATION

Preamble—Homage to the Great Founder as Father

Education and Culture—Their common Basis, their Difference, their Divorce—"Mathematics and Music"—Beauty essential—Ancient and Modern Systems—Relation of the State to each, its cessation, and renewal—Necessity of a definite Ideal—Caste in relation to the functions of organic National Life, and to Vocational Training—Value of Learning as such, and the homage paid to it in Ancient India—The Ashrama, the Vihara and the Madrasah—Their Ideals, and their several contributions to the National Life—Their Relation to the Life of the People—The Disappearance of Indian Ideals, and its rapid and disastrous effects—The invasion by a new System—Aims of Modern Education in India and its unexpected corollaries—How to revive Ancient Ideals and to adapt them for the Moulding of a National Civilisation, to serve as a Model for the new World Era.

II. PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

Meaning of the two terms and the Sphere of each—Human types to which they severally belong—Knowledge and

Love—Their interdependence, and the danger of separation—Their function in Realisation—Supreme value of Hindu Philosophy and Religion, meeting every human need—Object of its Philosophy to put an end to pain—Its method, Realisation of Brahman, Bliss—It aims at the recognition of the One, and the understanding of the Many—a rational Philosophy leads to Pantheism—Spinoza and Mansel—Hinduism recognises infinite Gradations of Beings, as Modern Astronomy recognises infinite Gradations of Solar Systems; Nirguna Brahman—Saguna Brahman—The Darshanas—Advaita Vedanta the link between Hinduism and Islam—This highest manifestation of Human Intellect cannot comprehend the Supreme—Lord Buddha speaks last word of Logic—The three branches of Vedanta and Moksha—The Pravritti and Nivritti Margas—Their three subdivisions—The Samkhya and modern Monism—Yoga succeeds where Intellect fails—The Stages of Consciousness— Shri Shankaracharya's conditions for Study of Vedanta—The Peace of the Eternal

III. ART

The "Philosophy of Beauty"—Two fundamental Views—Created by human mind, through analysis followed by synthesis—Emanated by Divine Ideation embodied in Sattva—a Substantial Idea generating numberless particulars—The Arupa world and the Rupa—Hebrew conception of Archetypes, the World of Ideas preceding the World of Forms—Abstract Beauty and concrete beautiful things—Greek Trinity, Truth, Goodness, Beauty—Plato's View—Indian View—Rasa—True Art (as true Science) comes from Above not from Below—Music and Architecture—Nataraja and His Damru—Contrast Tolstoy's View—What is Art?—Worlds of Being and Becoming—Observation of Nature or Memory Pictures?—Indian sculptures and pictures of Devas—Contrast with Greek and with Europeanised pictures—Modern Attempts at reproducing Mental Impressions—Beauty and Art as instruments of Culture—The Revival of Art in Bengal—Its Promise for the Future.

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STEPHANOS NIRMALENDU GHOSE LECTURER.

Professor Maurice A. Canney, M.A., Professor of Semitic Languages in the University of Manchester, President of the Manchester Society of Hebraic Studies, Editor for and Ex-President of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society, etc., will deliver a course of eight lectures in Comparative Religion at the Western Hall, Senate House, Calcutta, on the dates and on subjects mentioned below. The Lectureship was founded with the object that the Lecturer should endeavour to show that the highest ideal of man lies in love and service to his fellowmen according to the essence of the teaching and life of *Christ* and that life lived under the Guidance of this ideal constituted the highest advancement of human personality, the acceptance of a particular creed or dogma being of subordinate importance :

Lecture I ...	Disposal of the Dead ...	Friday, the 9th January, 1925, at 5 P. M.
Lecture II ...	Ideas about Death ...	Saturday, the 10th January, 1925, at 5 P.M.
Lecture III ...	Birth and Creation ...	Friday, the 16th January, 1925, at 5 P.M.
Lecture IV ...	Givers of Life ...	Saturday, the 17th January, 1925, at 5 P.M.
Lecture V ...	Men and Gods ...	Friday, the 23rd January, 1925, at 5 P.M.
Lecture VI ...	The Idea of Holiness ...	Saturday, the 24th January, 1925, at 5 P.M.
Lecture VII ...	Religious Experience ...	Tuesday, the 27th January, 1925, at 5 P.M.
Lecture VIII ...	Life more abundant ...	Wednesday, the 28th January, 1925, at 5 P.M.

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MINTO PROFESSOR.

The term of office of Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc. (Econ.), M.L.C., as Minto Professor of Economics expires in January, 1925. On the 6th December last the Senate, on the motion of Principal Herambachandra Maitra, accepted the unanimous recommendation of the Syndicate to the effect that Dr. Banerjea should be re-appointed Minto Professor for a further period of five years. It was in the fitness of things that this was so done, for Dr. Banerjea has not only served the University during the last few years with ability and devotion in his capacity as a member of the Legislative Council but has also, as was pointed out by Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, happily belied the traditions of his office. In his letter to the Registrar, dated the 21st November, 1924, which we reproduce below, he refers with perfect grace to the solid work he has already done and to the programme he has in view for future activity.

"With reference to my work as Minto Professor of Economics, I beg to state that, during my term of appointment, besides taking regular classes in the Post-Graduate Department of the Calcutta University, I delivered four courses of public lectures on the following subjects, namely, "Current Indian Finance," "Indian Trade," "Fiscal Policy in India" and "Industrial Education in India." I also delivered three introductory lectures, "The Study of Economics at an Indian University," "The Trend of Modern Economic Thought" and "The Present Economic Situation in India." The fifth Series of my public lectures will commence on the 29th instant, and the subject will be "The Principles of Indian Taxation." A book of mine on "Fiscal Policy in India" was published by Messrs. Macmillan and Co., in 1922. I submitted to the Syndicate some time ago a substantial portion of the manuscript of a work on "Industrial Organisation in India." Another work, namely, "The History of Indian Finance," which will be a volume of about 600 or 700 pages, is expected to be ready shortly. I have also on hand at present a work on "Indian Provincial Finance."

I was selected in 1921 by the Calcutta University as one of its Delegates to the Congress of Universities at Oxford and I delivered at the Congress a short address on "Universities and the Study of Economics, Civics and Politics" and took part in the general deliberations of the Congress and its Committees. I also availed myself of this opportunity to visit many of the Universities of the United Kingdom and of the Continent of Europe and made a special study of the systems of commercial education which prevailed at these Universities, and it was on the basis of my report on the subject that the B. Com. Degree was instituted by the Senate in this University and classes in Commerce were established.

If I am re-appointed, I propose to complete the works I have at present on hand and also to write a book on *Indian Public Debt*."

In this connection we should note that we have read with considerable anxiety the correspondence, published in the Minutes of the Syndicate, that has been going on for some-time past between Government and the University. The controversy, briefly speaking, centres round the question as to whether the Government of India or the Government of Bengal will bear the cost for maintenance of this Chair. It will be useful to remember that the Minto Professorship was the first University Chair founded in Calcutta, barring of course the Tagore Professorship of Law. The Chair was established by the Government of India through the personal interest that was taken in University affairs by one of our most distinguished Chancellors, Lord Minto. The question has not yet been finally decided, but we sincerely hope that Government will recognise the necessity of continuance of the grant, whether to be paid by the Imperial Government or Local Government it does not matter, so as to enable the University to continue to foster the study of a subject regarding the importance of which there cannot be any two questions.

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THE POST-GRADUATE REORGANISATION COMMITTEE.

The *Interim* Report of the Post-Graduate Reorganisation Committee was placed before and accepted by the Senate on the 6th December, 1924. This Report did not, in fact, tackle the various questions which have been raised in connection with the Post-Graduate Department; it only provides for the creation, as a temporary measure, of a Board of Appointments for the Post-Graduate Department. The Committee, we understand, is sitting from day to day and examining the representatives of the various Boards in the Departments of Arts and Science. The Report is reproduced below:

Report.

We, the members of the Committee appointed by the Senate to consider and report on the working of the Post-Graduate Department, beg to submit the following *interim* report:

I. We recommend that clause (*d*), Section 12 and clause (*d*), Section 22, Chapter XI of the Regulations be deleted and that a new section under the heading "Appointments Board" to be numbered as Section 23A, be added as follows:

"All questions relating to appointments, tenure, pay, terms and conditions of service, regarding the teaching staff under Chapter XI shall be referred by the Executive Committee of the Post-Graduate Council concerned to an Appointments Board which shall hold office till 30th June, 1926, or for such short period, after that date, as the Senate may think necessary. The Appointments Board shall be constituted as follows:

(1) Vice-Chancellor, *President*, *ex-officio*;

(2) President of the Council concerned, *i.e.*, the President of the Post-Graduate Council in Arts in the case of an appointment in Arts Department and the President of the Post-Graduate Council in Science in the case of an appointment in the Science Department;

(3) Chairman of one of the Boards mentioned in Section 8 and 18 in case of an appointment relating to that particular Board;

(4) One representative of the Board of Higher Studies concerned;

(5) & (6). Two representatives of the Executive Committee concerned;

(7) One representative of the Faculty of Arts in the case of an appointment in the Arts Department and one representative

of the Faculty of Science in the case of an appointment in the Science Department;

(8) & (9) Two representatives of the Syndicate one of whom shall be the Head of or a Professor in an affiliated College;

(10) & (11) Two representatives of the Senate one of whom shall the Head of or a Professor in an affiliated College;

Provided that the two representatives of Affiliated Colleges, mentioned in the above two clauses, shall not be members of the staff of one and the same college;

(12) President of the Board of Accounts.

The quorum for a meeting of the Appointments Board shall be fixed at 8.

The Appointments Board shall, whenever possible, co-opt not more than two members, not being members of the Senate and not in receipt of any salary from the University, on the ground of their special knowledge of, or interest in, the subject or subjects in which appointments shall be made by the said Board. The function of such members shall be to give advice, but they shall not vote at meetings of the said Board.

The Board of Higher Studies concerned shall recommend not more than two names for each of the appointments under the Board, as sanctioned by the Senate, to the Executive Committee of the Post-Graduate Council in Arts or Science, as the case may be, who shall thereupon consider such proposal and forward the name or names to the Appointments Board with its observations, if any;

Provided always that the Executive Committee shall have the right to propose one additional name for each appointment, if it deems necessary.

The final selection shall then be made by the Appointments Board whose choice shall not be limited by the recommendation or recommendations of the Board of Higher Studies or Executive Committee, but it shall be subject to confirmation by the Senate which shall have the power to send back the name or names proposed to the Appointments Board for review.

In case any Board of Higher Studies desires the creation of a new post not sanctioned by the Senate or not provided for in the Budget or in the case of abolition of any post, the Board of Higher Studies concerned shall make its recommendations to the Executive Committee who shall thereupon consider such proposal in consultation with the

Board of Accounts and forward its recommendation to the Senate for necessary orders. Provided always that the Executive Committee of the Post-Graduate Council concerned may also recommend the creation of a new post in consultation with the Board of Higher Studies concerned."

II. We further recommend that Sections 12 and 22 be modified, as indicated below:—

(1) The word "initiate" will have to be replaced by "make."

(2) Proceedings of the Boards of Higher Studies shall be subject to confirmation, revision or modification by the Executive Committee which shall also have the power to send such proceedings back to the Boards of Higher Studies for further consideration.

(3) Proceedings of the Executive Committee, except as otherwise provided for, shall be subject to confirmation, revision or modification by the Council which shall also have the power to send such proceedings back to the Executive Committee for futher consideration.

III. Sections 13 and 23 should, in our opinion, be revised as follows:

Each Board of Higher Studies shall, not less than six months before the termination of the academic session, formulate the requirements of its special department during the ensuing session, together with an estimate of the probable financial cost. The Executive Committee shall thereupon scrutinise the said requirements and elect a Committee called the Budget Committee consisting of the President and three members of the Executive Committee who shall in consultation with the University Board of Accounts prepare a consolidated Budget. The Budget shall then be placed before the Council for such observations as it may make. The Budget, thereafter, should be forwarded to the University Board of Accounts to be laid with their comments thereupon before the Senate.

W. E. Greaves, (*Vice-Chancellor*).
Nilratan Sircar.
Herambachandra Maitra.
Upendranath Brahmachari.
Girischandra Bose.
H. E. Stapleton.
S. C. Mahalanobis.
Paul Brühl.

Jnanchandra Ghosh.
J. R. Banerjea.
W. S. Urquhart.
B. C. Roy.
R. N. Gilchrist.
D. R. Bhandarkar.
P. N. Banerjee.
Pramathanath Banerjea.

Syamaprasad Mookerjee.

* * *

RESEARCH IN COMPARATIVE PHILOSOPHY.

A scheme of research in Comparative Philosophy was submitted by Pandit Muralydhar Banerjee, M.A., now working in Post-Graduate Department of the University, to the late President of the Post-Graduate Council in Arts. At his recommendation the publication of two works comprised in the scheme was sanctioned by the Executive Committee on the 19th January, 1924, and it was ordered that the works should be published in the *Journal of Letters* and extra copies printed off for separate publication.

Synopsis of chapters of the two works with brief introductions are now published elsewhere and these, it is hoped, will give a general idea of the scheme of the work done.

The first work is a "Genetic History of the Problems of Philosophy." The second work is a "Genetic History of Indian Philosophy." When these two works are finished, it is in contemplation of the learned author to prepare other works to complete the series of Genetic Histories.—The third and subsequent works in contemplation are the following:

Third work: A Genetic History of the Problems of Morality.
Fourth work: A Genetic History of the Problems of Art.
Fifth work: A Genetic History of the Problems of Religion.

* * *

THE NEXT CONVOCATION.

The Annual Convocation of the University will be held at the Senate House on Saturday the 21st February, 1925, at 3 P.M. His Excellency Lord Lytton, Chancellor of the University, will preside.

* * *

Final M. B. Examination, November, 1924.

The number of candidates registered for Parts I and II of the Examination was 12 of whom 3 passed, 8 failed and one was expelled. Of those who failed one passed in Part I whilst 3 passed in Part II.

The number of candidates registered for Part I (New) of the examination was 160 of whom 89 passed, 67 failed and 4 were absent.

The number of candidates registered for Part I (Old) of the Examination was 3 of whom 2 failed and one was absent.

The number of candidates registered for Part II (New) of the Examination was 132 of whom 81 passed, 49 failed and 2 were absent.

The number of candidates registered for Part II (Old) of the Examination was 2 of whom none passed.

* * *

First M. B. Examination, November, 1924.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 181 of whom 67 passed, 99 failed and 15 were absent.

* * *

Preliminary Scientific M. B. Examination, November, 1924.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 81 of whom 61 passed, 15 failed and 5 were absent.

* * *

Sir Asutosh Memorial Fund Sub-Committees.

The following Sub-Committees have been formed with authority to raise subscriptions on behalf of the Sir Asutosh Memorial Committee from the public for the Sir Asutosh Memorial Fund, to be forwarded to the Treasurer of the Memorial Committee, Sir R. N. Mookerjee, 6 and 7, Clive Street, Calcutta:

1. AT BADURIA P. O. (*24 Parganas*).

Mr Jatindramohan Bose, Mr. Manimohan Chatterjee, Mr. Kshetranath Mukherjee, Mr. Sudhindramadhab Bose, Mr. Jogeshchandra Sarkhel.

2. AT GOPALGANJ P. O. (*Faridpur*).

President—Mr. Gopal Chandra Mookerjee (*President, Bar Library, Gopalganj*). *Secretary*—Mr. Sukumar Dasgupta, M.A. (*Translator, S. D. A. Mission and Hon. Secy. The Coronation Library, Gopalganj*), Mr. Chandra Bilas Mookerjee (*Zemindar & Hony. Magistrate*), Mr. Girischandra De, B.A. (*Head Master, Mission School, Gopalganj*). Mr. Narendranath Dasgupta, M.A. (*Head Master, S. N. Academy, Gopalganj*), Moulvi Abdul Quader (*President, Local Board, Gopalganj and-Hony. Magistrate*), Mr. Saratchandra Sen (*Vice-President, Local Board, Gopalganj, and Member, District Board, Faridpur*).

3. AT BHOLA (*Barisal*).

Mr. Dakshinaranjan Banerjee, Mr. Bhobeshchandra Ray, S. D. O., Mr. Kuladakumar Ganguli, Mr. Jogeswar Ray, Maulavi Amjad Ali, Maulavi Akimuddin, Maulavi Narazamman, Maulavi Bazul Rahaman, Mr. Hrishikesh Banerjee (*Manager, Court of Wards*), Maulavi Golam Akbar (*C/o Joynagor*), Mr. Pramathanath Chowdhruy (*C/o Lalmohan*), Mr. Shyamacharan Chakrabarti, Mr. Bishnucharan De, Mr. Pravatranjan Biswas, Mr. Akhilchandra Mookerjee, Mr. Bhubanmohan Sarkar, Maulavi Mir Mahammad Ismail (*Sub-Registrar*).

4. AT MAGURA (*Jessore*).

Mr. Rebatikanta Sarkar, Pleader, President; Mr. Narendranath Chakravarti, B.L., Pleader (*Secretary and Treasurer*); Mr. Nilgopal Chakravarti, B.L., Pleader; Mr. Sasankasekhar Bhattacharyya, Pleader;

Mr. Charuchandra Sen, B.L., Pleader; Mr. Jatindranath Bagchi, Muktear; Mr. Pramathabhusan Mitra, Muktear; Mr. Upendrachandra Dasgupta, B.L., Head Master of the Local School; Mr. Dwijendranath Banerjee, Agent, Naldanga Raj State; Syed Abdur Rauf, B.L., Pleader; Mr. Hashem Ali, B.L., Pleader; Mr. Amulyaratan Bhattacharyya, B.A., Teacher, Magura High English School; Mr. Baidyanath Bhattacharyya, Teacher, Magura High English School; Mr. Taraknath Chakravarti, Landholder; Mr. Ramnarayan Kar, M.A., Head Master, Sripur M. C. High English School; Mr. Kantibhushan Maulik, Head Master, Nakol High English School; Mr. Hemantakumar Majumdar, B.L., Head Master, Binodpur B. K. High English School; Mr. Rakhaldas Goswami, B.A., Head Master, Gangarampur P. K. Institution; Mr. Panchanan Chakravarti, B.A., Head Master, Satrujitpur K. P. High English School; Mr. Saratchandra Bhattacharyya, B.A., Nahata School.

5. AT NATORE (*Rajshahi*).

Md. Asrafali, Bar-at-Law; Quazi Md. Jasimuddin; Quazi Md. Isa, Joint-Secretary; Mr. Pramathanath Lahiri, B.L.; Mr. Trailokyanath Nandi; Mr. Jadavchandra Bhattacharyya; Mr. Kisorimohan Pramanik, Treasurer; Mr. Sureshchandra Ray, Pleader; Mr. Kamalaprosad Sukul, Secretary; Md. Abdus Rahaman Saha; Mr. Pramathanath Kaviraj; Mr. Durgananda Sanyal; Mr. Basantakumar Saha; Mr. Indusekhar Siddhanta, B.L.; Kumar B. N. Ray, B.A., President; Mr. Satyaprasanna Majumdar, M.A., B.L., Munsiff, Vice-President; Mr. Jaminikanta Bhaduri; Mr. Purnachandra Bhattacharyya.

6. AT RANGPUR.

Prof. S. K. Rudra; Prof. H. C. Chanda, M.A., Mr. Tafazal Hossain; Mr. Tarapada Pandit; Mr. Makhanlal Ray; Mr. Jesaratulla Sarkar; Mr. Prabodhchandra Biswas; Mr. Abul Hossain Biswas; Mr. Manilal Chatterjee; Mr. Bhabeschandra Sen; Mr. Mokeswar Rahaman; Mr. Jnanendraram Baksi; Mr. Bimalkumar Bose; Mr. Matiar Rahaman; Mr. Abdul Hamid Mr. Kshitischandra Ray and Mr. Ajitkumar Sen.

7. AT BONGAON (*Jessore*)

Mr. Anadinath Sen, Sub-Divisional Officer Bongaon; Mr. Gobindachandra Chakravarti, Munsiff; Mr. Satyacharan Bose, Pleader (*Secretary* *and Cashier*) ; Mr. Surendranath Mitra, M.A., B.L., Pleader ; Mr. Pramodchandra Banerjee, Pleader ; Mr. Satischandra Banerjee, Mukhtear ; Mr. Jatindranarayan Chaudhuri, M.A., B.L. ; Mr. Surendranath Chatterjee, M.B. ; Dr. Bhushanchandra Sadhu ; Mr. Manmathanath Chatterjee, Mukhtear ; Maulavi Muzibur Rahman ; Maulavi Matiar Rahaman and Maulavi Wazed Ali.

8. AT COMILLA (*Tipperah*).

Mr. Upendramohan Mitra, M.A., B.L., Chairman, Comilla Municipality (*President*) ; Mr. Satischandra Ray, Secretary, Comilla Victoria College and Collegiate School ; Mr. Satyendranath Basu, M.A., Principal, Comilla Victoria College ; Khan Bahadur Maulavi Ali Ahmed, Zemindar, Comilla ; Rai Bhudar Das, Bahadur, Government Pleader, Comilla ; Mr. Indubhushan Datta, Zemindar and Banker, Comilla ; Mr. Jyotischandra Mukherjee, M.A., Head Master, Comilla Zilla School ; Mr. Basantakumar Kar, Head Master, Comilla Yousuff H.E. School ; Mr. Janakinath Sarkar, Head Master, Comilla Iswar Pathsala : Mr. Akshayakumar Sen, B.A. Head Master, Comilla M.E. School ; Mr. Syed Fazlur Rahman, Head Master, Comilla Hussania, Madrasa ; Mr. Dhirendranath Datta, B.L. ; Pleader, Comilla Judges Court ; Mr. Akhilchandra Datta, B.L., M.L.C. ; Mr. Kailaschandra Das, Mukhtear ; Mr. Muhammed Ishaque, B.A., Head Master, Comilla Victoria Collegiate School, (*Secretary and Treasurer*).

9. AT INDAS (*Bankura*).

Mr. Sucharuchandra Sarkar ; Mr. Praphullachandra Sarkar ; Mr. Krishnakishore Das, B.L. ; Mr. Maheswar Bhattacharyya ; Dr. Manmathanath Mitra ; Mr. Sankariprasad Hazra.

10. AT BIRNAGAR (*Nadia*).

Mr. Surendranath Khan ; Mr. Niradkumar Mukherjee ; Mr. Taracharan Banerjee ; Mr. Asutosh Bhattacharyya ; Mr. Krishnasekhar Bose.

11. AT BIRBHUM.

President.—Haripado Mukherjee, Esq. Headmaster, Birbhum Zila School.

Members.—Superintendent of the Hindu Hostel, Superintendent of the Additional Hostel, Superintendent, of the Mahomedan Hostel. Satischandra Sen, Esq., B.A., B.T., Bonbihari Das, Esq., M.A., B.T.; Moulvi Syed Abdul Quader.

* * *

SIR NILRATAN SIRCAR.

The term of Fellowship of Sir Nilratan Sircar expires towards the end of next month. Five years ago he was elected to the Senate by the Faculty of Medicine. This time, for reasons which we need not discuss at this stage, he chose to stand for election from a different constituency, that of the Registered Graduates, and we rejoice to find that he has been returned unopposed.

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DR. PRABHATCHANDRA CHAKRAVARTY.

We are glad to announce that another distinguished lecturer in the Post-Graduate Department has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Mr. Prabhatchandra Chakravarty, M.A., Lecturer in Sanskrit, joined the University in 1917 after passing the M.A. Examination in 1916 standing first in First Class in Sanskrit. He was awarded the Premchand Roychand Studentship in 1921. The subject of his thesis for the doctorate was "Linguistic and Grammatical Speculations of the Hindus and the Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar."

* * *

OUR FRONTISPIECE.

The frontispiece for this month represents one of the episodes in the story of Behula which is one of the most popular folktales of Bengal. Behula's husband Lakhindar died on the night of their wedding from the bite of a snake sent by *Manasā*, the snake-goddess, who had a quarrel with Lakhindar's father. Behula took her husband's body in a raft and floated down the stream, determined to bring him back to life. The gods ultimately took pity on her for her devotion and restored her husband to life. While she was floating in the raft with her husband's body it was reduced to a skeleton and Behula met with many sore troubles and temptations but she overcame them all. The picture illustrates one of her sorest trials when she seemed to see her mother calling her and trying to persuade her to come away leaving her husband's bones to which she had been clinging so devotedly.

* * *

A CORRECTION.

P. 64, line 1, between 'mistrust' and 'and' add "but this feeling gradually disappeared" and p. 62, line 9, after "among" add 'them.'

APPENDIX

I

A GENETIC HISTORY OF THE PROBLEMS OF PHILOSOPHY

Introduction.

The first work is a genetic history of the Problems of Philosophy. This is the result of a comprehensive survey of the history of Religion and Philosophy of all nations. In it it is shewn that not only the fundamental problems of religion and philosophy but the order of their development also are the same in all nations and individuals. It is a universal history of Philosophy, the final synthesis of all schools of thought into an organic whole, in which the different systems of Philosophy are shewn as stages of development in the continuous evolution of a world Philosophy built up by Humanity of which the different nations and individual philosophers are members.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTERS.

CHAPTER I.—Introduction.

SECTION 1.—The different methods of treating history of Philosophy.

- (1) The Empirical Method.
- (2) The Sceptical Method.
- (3) The Eclectic Method.
- (4) The Dialectic Method.
- (5) The Evolutional Method.
- (6) The Genetic Method.

SECTION 2.—The fundamental problems of Philosophy.

- (1) They are primarily divisible into two classes: the Practical and the Theoretical.
- (2) Their mutual relation and the order of their genesis.
- (3) Problems of Practical Philosophy.
    - (*a*) The first problem of Practical Philosophy—Morality.
    - (*b*) The second problem of Practical Philosophy—Art.
    - (*c*) The third problem of Practical Philosophy—Religion

(4) Problems of Theoretical Philosophy.
  The determination of the relation between Knowledge and Reality.
    (*a*) The first problem of Theoretical Philosophy turns on the antithesis between Universal and Particular in Knowledge and Reality.
    (*b*) The second problem of Theoretical Philosophy turns on the antithesis between Subject and Object in Knowledge and Reality.

CHAPTER II.—The First Problem of Practical Philosophy—Morality. It turns on the antithesis of right and wrong in the human Conduct.

SECTION 1.—The First Stage:
Harmony; childish innocence.

SECTION 2.—The Second Stage:
Conflict; distinction between right and wrong, between sin and shame and their opposites.

SECTION 3.—The Third Stage:
Reconciliation of the right with the agreeable.

CHAPTER III.—The Second Problem of Practical Philosophy—Art.

SECTION 1.—The First Stage:
Harmony; Naive and unreflective Art.

SECTION 2.—The Second Stage:
Conflict; Sentimental or Romantic Art *vs.* Classical Art: richness of Content *vs.* perfection of Form.

SECTION 3.—The Third Stage:
Reconciliation; Synthesis of Romantic and Classical Art.

CHAPTER IV.—The Third Problem of Practical Philosophy—Religion.

SECTION 1.—The First Stage:
Harmony, Naive Optimism, Nature-worship, Cosmosophy.

SECTION 2.—The Second Stage:
Conflict, Cosmosophy *vs.* Acosmism, Nature-worship *vs.* Theosophy, Optimism *vs.* Pessimism.

SECTION 3.—The Third Stage:
Reconciliation; Anthroposophy, Pessimistic Optimism.

CHAPTER V.—The First Problem of Theoretical Philosophy: it turns on the antithesis between the Universal and the Particular the whole and the part, the one and the many, both in Knowledge and Reality.

CHAPTER VI.—The First Problem continued:—
The First Stage:
A state of Harmony.
In Theory of Knowledge:—
Intuitionism, Naive Rationalism. Genesis of the categories of perceptual knowledge.
In Theory of Reality:—
Naive Pluralism.

CHAPTER VII.—The First Problem continued:—
The Second Stage:
A state of Conflict.
In Theory of Knowledge:—
Empiricism *vs.* Rationalism. Genesis of the categories of Conceptual knowledge as opposed to the categories of Perceptual knowledge.
In Theory of Reality:—
Abstract Particularism *vs.* Abstract Universalism.

CHAPTER VIII.—The First Problem continued:—
The Third Stage:
Reconciliation of the opposites.
In Theory of Knowledge:—
Rational Empirism.
Genesis of the categories of Concrete Rational Knowledge.
In Theory of Reality:—
Concrete Universalism.
Pluralistic Monism.

CHAPTER IX.—The Second Problem of Theoretical Philosophy:—
It turns on the antithesis between the Subject and the Object.

CHAPTER X.—The Second Problem continued:—
The First Stage:
A state of Harmony.

In theory of Knowledge :—
  Naive Presentationism.
In Theory of Reality :
  Natural Realism.

CHAPTER XI.—The Second Problem continued :—
The Second Stage :
  A state of conflict between the opposites.
    In Theory of Knowledge :—
      Presentationism *vs.* Re-presentationism.
    In Theory of Reality :—
      Realism *vs.* Idealism.

CHAPTER XII.—The Second Problem continued :—
The Third Stage :
  Reconciliation of the opposites.
    In Theory of Knowledge :—
      Absolute Knowledge.
    In Theory of Reality :—
      Ideal Realism.

MURALYDHAR BANERJEE

II.

A GENETIC HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

Introduction

The second work is a Genetic history of Indian Philosophy. In it the general conclusion reached in the first work is illustrated by a special study of the religious movements and philosophical schools of India. In this comprehensive view of Indian religious and philosophical thought a synthesis of all the conflicting religious sects and philosophical schools of India is reached. In this synthesis the different sects and schools without losing their individual distinctness appear as the progressive stages of development of a single process of thought. The systems instead of appearing as rigidly fixed, isolated units are seen as moving currents of thought, in the very process of their birth, coalescing and growing in volume and rolling with ever richer blending of colors and tints and rushing of multitudinous waves and myriad-faced ripples into the mighty stream of thought of Humanity of which the first work is a record. Like ordinary histories of religion and philosophy it is not a mere dated summary of the contents of books. It shews the inward evolution of thought, the unfolding of the race-consciousness as a whole in all its aspects and stages of development through the religious and philosophical literature of India. It penetrates into the inner core of spiritual life of India and unbosoms her very heart-beats in a way inaccessible to any foreign writer. It is based on original researches in every branch of Indian religious and philosophical literature.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTERS.

CHAPTER I.—Introduction.

SECTION 1.—Problems of Philosophy and the order of their development are the same in nations and in individuals.

SECTION 2.—Determination of the order of genesis of Indian Philosophical systems by the application of the genetic law established above.

SECTION 3.—Comparison of the different stages of development of Indian Philosophy with the different stages of development of European Philosophy and the determination of their place in the history of culture of the world.

CHAPTER II.—*First Period.*

Harmony:

Philosophy of the Vedic Age.

Philosophy in unity with religion.

Harmony of Thought and Reality.

Nebulous and vague currents of thought.

Doctrines and Schools in the process of formation.

Three stages:

1. Philosophy of the Mantra period.
2. Philosophy of the Brāhmana period.
3. Philosophy of the Upanishad period.

CHAPTER III.—The First Stage:—

Philosophy of the Mantra period (Devatā kānda).

Cosmosophy.

Naive Pluralism and Realism leading to Polytheism, sometimes rising to Monotheism and Pantheism.

CHAPTER IV.—Philosophy of the Vedic Age continued:—

The Second Stage:—

Philosophy of the Brāhmanas (Karma Kānda) and the Upanishads (Jnāna Kānda) in their earlier stage.

Conflict:—

Hedonism *vs.* Asceticism.

Cosmosophy *vs.* Acosmism.

Optimism *vs.* Pessimism.

Nature Worship *vs.* Theosophy.

Pluralism *vs.* Abstract Universalism and Negative Pantheism.

Realism *vs.* Idealism.

CHAPTER V.—Philosophy of the Vedic Age continued:—

The Third Stage:—

Reconciliation of the opposites.

Philosophy of the Upanishads (later stage).

Anthroposophy.
Pessimistic optimism.
Concrete Pantheism.
Absolute Idealism.

CHAPTER VI.—*Second Period.*

Conflict of Schools.
  Philosophy of the Post-Vedic Age down to the decline of Buddhism.
  Philosophy becomes independent of Religion.
  Theory of Reality is based on the theory of Knowledge.
  Rise of Contending Schools.
  Clear formulation and systematic development of doctrines.
General Review of the Second Period.
Conflict of Problems :—
  In Morality, Pleasure *vs.* Duty.
  In Religion, Optimism *vs.* Pessimism.
    Theism *vs.* Atheism.
  In Philosophy—First Problem :—
    Theory of Knowledge :—
      Empiricism *vs.* Rationalism.
    Theory of Reality :—
      Pluralism *vs.* Monism.
      —Second Problem :—
    Theory of Knowledge :—
      Objective knowledge *vs.* Subjective knowledge.
    Theory of Reality :—
      Realism *vs.* Idealism.

CHAPTER VII.—Second Period continued :—

1. Anti-Vedic Schools.
  Thesis.
    (*a*) The Lokāyata School.
      Hedonism.
      Optimism.
      Empiricism.
      Atheism.
      Pluralism.
      Realism.

CHAPTER VIII.—Second Period :—

1. Anti-Vedic Schools continued.
    - Antithesis.
        - (*b*) The Jaina School.
            - Asceticism.
            - Pessimism.
            - Empiricism passing into Rationalism.
            - Pluralism.
            - Realism.
            - Atheism followed in later Jainism by Man-Worship.

CHAPTER IX.—Second Period :—

1. Anti-Vedic Schools continued.
    - Synthesis.
        - (*c*) The Buddhist School.
            - Asceticism modified by Hedonism. (middle path).
            - Pessimism.
            - Empirical Rationalism.
            - Pluralism.
            - Realism passing into Idealism.
        - The Hinayāna School :—
            - Atheism.
        - The Mahāyāna School :—
            - Man-worship.

CHAPTER X.—Second Period continued :—

2. Vedic Schools.
    - (*a*) The Grammatical School of Pānini.
    - (*b*) The Purva-mimānsā School of Jaimini.
        - Hedonism.
        - Optimism.
        - Polytheism passing into disguised Atheism.
        - Pragmatism.
        - Pluralism.
        - Realism.

CHAPTER XI.—Second Period :—

2. Vedic Schools continued :—
    - (*c*) The Uttaramimānsā School of Badarāyana.
        - Asceticism.

Pessimism.
Pantheism.
Idealism.

CHAPTER XII.—Second Period continued :—
3. Reconciliation of Anti-Vedic and Vedic Schools.
(*a*) The Nyāya-Vaisheshika School.
Asceticism.
Pessimism.
Deism.
Rational Empiricism.
Pluralism.
Realism.

CHAPTER XIII.—Second Period.
Reconciliation of Anti-Vedic and Vedic Schools continued :—
(*b*) The Sānkhya-Yoga School.
Asceticism.
Pessimism.
Rational Empiricism, Mysticism.
Pluralism.
Objective Idealism.
The Sānkhya School :—
Atheism.
The Yoga School.
Theism.

CHAPTER XIV.—Second Period.
Reconciliation of Anti-Vedic and Vedic Schools continued :—
(*c*) The Pancharātra or the Bhāgavata School.
Optimism.
Monotheism.
Salvation by Love of God.
Pluralism.

CHAPTER XV.—Second Period.
Reconciliation of the Anti-Vedic and Vedic Schools continued :—
(*d*) The Epic School.
The Philosophy of the Geetā.

Hedonism and Asceticism, reconciled in Nishkāma karma.
Pessimistic Optimism.
Concrete Pantheism reached by the theory of Incarnate God.
Absolute Idealism.

CHAPTER XVI.—Third Period.
Philosophy of the Neo-Hindu Age:—
Synthesis of Conflicting Sects and Schools.
Problems:—
1. Reconciliation of Philosophy with Religion.
2. Organisation of the Conflicting Sects and Schools into a Hierarchy of Cultures.

CHAPTER XVII.—Third Period continued:—
(1) Anti-Vedic Schools and their gradual absorption into Neo-Hinduism.
(*a*) The Chārvāka School.
(*b*) The Jaina School.
(*c*) The Buddhist School.

CHAPTER XVIII.—Third Period continued:—
(2) Sākta Schools.
Reconciliation of Anti-Vedic Schools with Sāktaism.
Cosmosophy, Optimism, Sakti-Worship.
(*a*) Tantric Hinduism.
(*b*) Tantric Buddhism.

CHAPTER XIX.—Third Period continued:—
(3) Saiva Schools.
Reconciliation of the Sānkhya-Yoga School with Saivaism.
Acosmism, Pessimism, Monotheism.
(*a*) Thesis:—
Pluralism and Realism.
The Pāsupata Darsana.
The Māhesvara or Saiva Darsana.

CHAPTER XX.—Third Period.
Saiva Schools continued:—
(*b*) Antithesis:—
Pluralism and Idealism.
The Tridandins.

CHAPTER XXI.—Saiva Schools continued:—
(*c*) Synthesis of (*a*) and (*b*).
Absolute Idealism.
The Pratyabhijnā School of Kashmere.

CHAPTER XXII.—Third Period continued:—
(4) Vaishnava Schools.
Reconciliation of the Pancharātra and Epic Schools with Neo-Vaishnavism (Ramaism and Krishnaism).

Anthroposophy, Pessimistic Optimism, Monotheism.
Salvation through Bhakti as opposed to Knowledge.
(*a*) Thesis.
The Dualistic Vedānta of Anandatirtha.

CHAPTER XXIII.—Vaishnava Schools continued :—
(*b*) Antithesis.
The Pure Non-Dualistic Vedānta of Ballabhāchārya.

CHAPTER XXIV.—Vaishnava Schools continued :—
(*c*) Synthesis :
The Visishtādvaita Vāda of Rāmānuja.
The Dvaitā-dvaita Vāda of Nimbārka.
The Achintya Vedāveda Vāda of Jiva and Baladeva.

CHAPTER XXV.—Third Period continued :—
(5) Smārta Schools.
Reconciliation of (1), (2), (3) and (4) with Smriti (Dharma Sāstra and Purāna) through the doctrines of Trinity, and Progressive Cultural stages.
(*i*) Thesis :—
The Dualistic and Realistic Schools.
(*a*) The Theistic Nyāya Vaiseshika of Udayana and Gangesa.
(*b*) The Theistic Sankhya-Yōga of the Purānas.
(*c*) The Theistic Mimansā of Kumarila.

CHAPTER XXVI.—Smārta Schools continued :—
(*ii*) Antithesis.
Monistic and Idealistic Schools.
(*a*) The Abstract Pantheistic Vedānta and the theory of Māyā or Cosmic Illusion of Gaudapāda and Sankara and their followers.
(*b*) The Anirvāchya-Vāda of Sriharsha.

CHAPTER XXVII.—Smārta Schools continued :—
(*iii*) Synthesis.
The Concrete Pantheistic Vedānta and the Bhedābheda Vāda of Bijnāna Bhikshu.

MURALYDHAR BANERJEE

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THE FUTURE OF THE INTELLECTUAL CLASS

The question that I am proposing for your consideration bears a different aspect in the minds of two sections of this audience. To the students, it is necessarily the question of a career after they leave the University; and to those here, whose position in life is perhaps secure, it is a broader and more impersonal question. But the former aspect of the matter cannot be settled by the students unless they have in mind the broader situation, and, if they will be patient with me, I shall discuss that wider aspect first and then deal with the more intimate and personal matter which concerns them.

We notice, as we look out over the modern world, that there are certain changes going on which affect the definition of the intellectual class. From the beginning of organised human society there has been the rough division into three classes—upper, middle and lower. It is a familiar division in human thought—the two extremes and the mean. In all the codes of law that we have the whole thing turns round these three rough classifications of society.

There has always been an occupational basis for that division. It has included roughly the intellectuals, the so-called ruling class or administrators; then the tradesmen; and then the hand-craftsmen. You are familiar with the fact that your Indian caste division had four instead of three main divisions and included the "fighter." But for our purpose, dealing as we are with the future, we can leave this class out of consideration, for it is fading from the picture. The world of to-morrow is going to be organised without soldier. That is definitely settled,—if there is to be any world of to-morrow.

We have another classification in our modern world which was originated by Karl Marx. He divided society into two groups—the "bourgeois" and the "proletarians"—those who derive income from profit, and those who derive their living from wages—and he prophesied the gradual disappearance of the middle class, which he admitted temporarily into his picture. Events have proved that he was wrong in that prognostication. In some countries, especially in the United States, there has been a considerable strengthening of the middle class, the professional and the tradesman group, through intellectual development and education. But here again you have the income classification, the rough division of society on the basis not simply on occupation but on the basis of income.

Now, the intellectuals under the classification of Marx have been called the "intelligensia" and there are two groupings under that head. First, what is left of the old cultural group of the upper class, the people who have an independent income and do not need to work for living and who enjoy and practise the cultural life. And then the "intelligensia" also includes the professional people, the people who had a university education and are serving society by the exercise of their brain rather than the exercise of their hands.

Just as the "fighter" is fading from the picture, so is the purely cultural group of the "intelligensia," the people who do not toil, the people who do not work for a living, the dilettantes who practise the cultural life purely for enjoyment. They are passing from the scene if you read the signs of the times. Consider, for example, the increasing body of literature that is being turned out by thinking businessmen criticising the present organisation of society. We are getting just as keen and critical analysis of our present industrial organisation from some businessmen now as we ever had from the so-called proletarians. They are proposing one method or another for diminishing and eliminating the people who do not work. They are constantly limiting the right of the absentee owner, who takes no part in the business, to participate in the profits.

Another sign of the times is the challenge that the Labour Party of Great Britain threw out to the world when it devised its new basis for organisation a few years ago and admitted to its membership not only the hand worker but also the brain worker and only excluded those who do not work at all.

Another sign of the times is the constitution of the Union of Socialist Agriculturists in Russia. That constitution makes, as the qualification for franchise and citizenship, the performance of some socially useful labour. When the constitution was drafted the only class of people specifically excluded under that division were the people who were living on inherited money or on property and profit without working at all, members of the former Police and Secret Service, the bourgeois and the priests of the Russian Orthodox Church. All other workers of brain are eligible to citizenship.

These signs of the times indicate that the purely cultural group is passing off the scene. There will be no place for it in the world of to-morrow. You say, "What is going to become of knowledge for its own sake?" The answer to that, again, is found in what is going on in modern life. That is, culture for its own sake is being pursued in the leisure time of those who are performing some practical service to human society in business, or in the professions, or elsewhere. We have an increasing number of professional men who are practising some branch of knowledge purely for the delight which they find in it just as the scholars of the old world did.

It was, of course, one thing for the ancient scholar in India to sit under a tree and practise his cultural life. It is another thing for the same sort of life to be practised by the intensified product of a modern university. It requires a large investment of the world's capital to develop and maintain him. He, like the fighting man, requires some working men to keep him going. Therefore, we cannot afford to maintain him as a pure dilettante. He must justify his right to live by returning some service for the economic cost to society. If he wants to practise the cultural life for its own sake, we are going to limit the hours of labour to such an extent that anybody who wants to will have the time to enjoy cultural life for its own sake. That is the practical word of the industrial engineer. In America we are producing now on the basis of a four-hour working day by eliminating some of our waste and co-ordinating our processes. One of these engineers has prophesied that within a generation, taking advantage of certain processes, we can reduce it to a working day of two hours. We have undreamed of possibilities in electricity for the transformation of human labour into differnt forms. We are just on the verge of the application of the enormous energies of the universe to human life. So we need not worry as to what is going to happen to the development of culture for its own sake.

If you go to Russia, for example, where they have the six-hour day in all intellectual employments, in all occupations of professional life, of business, and government, —and where the universities of necessity, because of poverty, had to eliminate the purely cultural studies, you will find no lack of interest in the cultural life. You will find that those students who are not getting cultural studies as a part of discipline of the University are simply bubbling over with enthusiasm for them in their leisure time, and you will find that the natural interest of the human mind in the pursuit of culture for its own sake will express itself more freely when these matters are not questions of compulsory university discipline.

This change in the constitution of the intellectual class that is taking place under the influence of science, and is required by the application of science to human life, is accompanied also by a change in the status of the intellectuals. You will remember that when Plato pictured his Utopia of the most desirable society, on the top was the philosopher, the thinker, the man of knowledge, and he was the ruler. Underneath him were the fighters, the tradesmen, and the craftsmen. The same thing is true of the Hindu caste system. The thinker was at the top as leader and ruler. Now what has happened since then ? Under the development of western nations the fighter pushed the thinker to one side and we had a period of domination of the people by the fighting tribes who formed the nations and the empires. Then these people, whom the cultured folk called the "barbarians," in their turn gradually changed places again with the intellectuals, and through the middle ages it was the thinker again, largely through the Church, who dominated the organisation of human life. The Monasteries and the Holy Roman Church organisation did this service : it preserved the light of culture and made possible the renaissance.

Later on came the rise of the modern business enterprise, beginning with commercialism and culminating in the development of machines and modern industrialism. The people who were in the third status under the scheme of the ancient society now took the lead over the fighter and the intellectual and the trader came to be the dominant and controlling power. Ever since the eighteenth century, he has secured increasing powers. Our navy does the bidding of our economic powers, as we say in the United States, it "follows the flag." Preceding and following the battleship goes the foreign investor. The banker is the present ruler of the world. The banking group of New York practically dictates the terms of international agreement. Naturally, if the bankers were going to provide the money, they had the right to stipulate the terms on which that money would be available.

We have a domination of the universities of the western world by the financial powers. It is done by the fact that the group which makes the strongest social influence, which is shaping the thoughts of society, is the financial group, and necessarily the people in the new universities tend to think pretty much in the same term as do the people with whom they associate socially all the time. It is really a matter of penetration by social influence.

But, now, we are entering into a new development in human society. The thing that every student must understand is that he is going out into a world in which for the first time the third class in the Western classification, the fourth class in your Eastern classification, is coming into social control. The dominant factor in modern social organisation is the upthrust of what we call in the West the "lower classes," and what you call in the East the "depressed classes," the "untouchables." It does not matter whether we like it or not, their day is dawning. Irresistible forces are pushing them up. The whole trend of modern life, the spread of education, the spread of parliamentary institutions giving franchise on a universal basis, inevitably means the education and the political enfranchisement of these groups who never yet have shared either in the life of culture or control. The outstanding fact of modern life is that for the first time in history these classes down at the bottom, the casual labourer of the West, the coolies and the *ryots* of the East, have a world in which it is possible for them to be educated and to vote, and they have a world, therefore, in which they are going to exercise the social control which is due to their numbers, to their inherent strength and to the fundamental contribution which they have always made to human society.

Some people are afraid that the rise of the working classes to a due share in social and political control means another invasion of the "barbarians." It is a queer thing how those who have never been to Russia know what is happening there. I have had people tell me that the formation of a government in Russia on the basis of power to the peasants and workers has meant the extermination of the 'intelligensia' and the destruction of culture, science, and the universities,—another barbarian power coming like one of the great hordes of old to burn the libraries and all the instruments of culture. On the contrary, the challenge in Russia has been for an increase of culture. The demand has been for more science, more knowledge, more universities, more and more expensive bills for education in order that they and their children may share in it all. The judgment which the lower classes are bringing to us, the intellectuals, is a thing that is infinitely more searching than any sudden destruction which may be wrought in the upthrust of this group if they are unduly opposed in their search for justice and for development. The meek, the lowly, are going to inherit the earth—"the terrible meek," terrible not because they are going to destroy us but terrible in the searching nature of the judgment that they bring to us, of the challenge which they offer to us to serve this new day and this new generation, in which we find ourselves, adequately.

Do you know what they think of us? I have wished since I have been in India that I could sit down somewhere in the background and find out what the coolies are actually thinking of us, the intellectual people. In the first place they say, "What use are you after all? Can you feed and clothe yourself with your own hands? Can you provide yourself with any of the necessities of life? Must we not do all these things for you?" And, then, after that they bring to bear upon us a searching moral judgment. They have, for most of us, a deep and basic contempt, because they say "You are afraid of losing your job." Of that they are not afraid. They never have much of a job to lose; and the more of a stake you have in life, the more it gets between you and truth, between you and justice. And they are quite right that one of the great delinquencies of the intellectual life of the western world—I do not claim to know anything about the Orient yet—has been that our intellectual classes have been afraid of losing their jobs and their social status and the future of their children, and therefore stop short in the search for justice and the search for truth under the inhibiting influence of that fear.

Now, in the face of this challenge which comes to us from science, from the business world, and from the working classes of the world, the demand is that, if the intellectual classes are to live, they must adjust themselves to the fact that one of the results of the War has been an increased loss of prestige for the intellectuals. That began before the War under the searching judgment of a lot of these toilers who were beginning to think as I have said to you. Just consider what the War meant from the point of view of these men. The choicest products of our universities had been used in the western world to produce primarily the governing class, to produce the administrators in every European country. They had produced a set of men who were intelligent enough to see which way the forces that they were shaping were leading mankind, and when you read the diplomatic history to-day in the light of the documents now available you see that great men, high-minded men, intelligent men in several countries deliberately and ignorantly fostered the development of forces which were pushing humanity towards the precipice. And when the precipice suddenly yawned in front, they did everything they could to stem the irresistible tide; but it was too late and mankind was swept over into the gulf. I am not pretending that the working classes of the West are yet articulate on that point. It is being formulated by some of the intellectuals, but it is deep in their unconscious processes and it will become almost an instinctive judgment. It will be talked in the families, it will go down to the next generation, and there will never again be in Europe the same respect for the university group that there was before the War.

And, furthermore, what has happened in the making of Peace? The intellectuals have increased that loss of prestige. Just as you blundered in going into War, say the workers of the West, so have you blundered in this Peace, which has left the world divided and has left the occasions for new wars smouldering in our midst.

The loss of prestige goes a little deeper still. The universities themselves have a judgment because of what their product did or did not do in this matter. The men who were being maintained by society for the purpose of giving a detached critical judgment on things were swept away by the same passion and the same prejudice that betrayed the ignorant and the uneducated group of mankind; and the publication of the records makes it perfectly clear to-day that in every belligerent country the scientists and the historians repeated in greater or lesser degree the exact intellectual sin of those thirty-nine German scientists who signed the document given them by the Government and who had to confess later that they did not know its contents and did not examine the records. That thing to-day is being understood by the workers of the western world, and again, I say, it is going deep into their consciousness and will go down to the next generation.

How are we going to adjust ourselves to this environment? To sum it all up, the three demands that come to the intellectuals from science, from the world of business administration, and from the world of the producing masses are all centred on one point, on the point of "serviceability."

Science puts to the intellectuals this challenge: "Can you make available for the whole of mankind all that science makes possible for any part of the human race?" The nature of science is like the nature of the Sun and the nature of God. It is for all mankind. A scientific truth is true for everybody. When science discovers how to prevent a disease, the nature of science demands that that prevention shall be available for the humblest of mankind as well as for the most advanced. Every bit of knowledge and every bit of technique that science discovers, the nature of science requires that it shall be placed at the service of the whole human race. That is the challenge that science brings to the intellectuals. If the intellectual class will follow the fundamental ethics of their own profession, which is the ethics of intellectual honesty, they will have no difficulty in meeting the challenge that comes to them from the rising working classes.

The demand of the business world has been put in this form, we shall be serviceable to profit. "That is nonsense," cry the "barbarians." I have heard it in India as I have heard it in the West. A University man in India was telling me how a businessman had told him "What is the good of your universities? I can hire a B. A. for a few rupees a month, but I have got to pay a salary of thousands of rupees a year to a proper business administrator." Of course, the intellectual group knows how to put that demand in its place, I trust. It knows how to put that class of materialism where it belongs. But underneath that is something more rigid and more fundamental. The business man really, in a mistaken fashion, is demanding that culture and science apply itself to the whole of the working life of mankind and intellectualise all of it, put the intellectual content into all the vocations of life. That is not Utopia to-day. The great dreamers have always said that. Let us stop this fatal divorce between thinking and doing. Let us unite the necessary work of mankind with the necessary thinking of mankind. And that is what science is making possible. If you have something which cannot be done by the processes of science without human labour, then comes the challenge of the worker. He says: "We shall share with you. Are you going to share with us? Or, is it to be the newest and the latest form of exploitation in which the intellectuals, following the "fighters' and following the bankers, are in their turn going to exploit us by using their brains?" This is what these workers say to us. They say "You are the beneficiaries of the world's capital, the trustees of the world's stock of knowledge. Locked up in these universities and laboratories you hold the key to the emancipation of life. Come; live and share with us; put life where it never before was put, and make possible the intellectual development of all the people. Remember that this capital which has been accumulated and of which you are the trustees was not simply made by the rich, but it came out of our toil, our sweat, our blood." The judgment of "the terrible meek" is this: "Generation after generation of our children have lived in under-nourishment, have lived without much joy in life, have never known the glories of art and philosophy as you have known them, but have simply toiled and lived and died mostly as brutes. How many more generations are to live and die the same way? what you are living on, what you are using in your cultural life is sweat of our sweat and blood of our blood. We ask you, whether or not you are going to pay us back in our coin and give us toil where we have given it to you, give us service where we have served you." I say, it is an irresistible challenge to any intellectual who has any sort of conscience.

If we cannot adjust ourselves to this new environment, what is going to happen? The penalty of failure is the day of judgment and the day of doom. Do not make any mistake about that. If you want to understand,—that is no rhetoric but cold fact,—look at what is happening in Germany and Russia. In both those places, for two very different reasons, the "intelligensia," in the old sense, has been absolutely starved out of efficiency, if not out of existence. In Russia, the economic and social revolution created an environment to which they could not adjust themselves and it wiped out of existence their means of income. In Germany the same thing was done by the economic and financial policy which wiped out all the savings and most of the income of the "intelligensia" and left them in starvation and under-nourishment. That was a terrible Nemesis, the Nemesis that the intellectuals of Germany betrayed their trust and failed, as they did in the other belligerent countries, to do their part in enlightening the people and preventing the world war. In Russia the intellectuals failed to help those who were down-trodden and oppressed under the most brutal regime that modern history has known. They failed to help these people to get education and freedom, and Nemesis overtook them. And if the intellectuals of other countries fail to use science to stop war instead of to increase war, if they fail to provide some other means than class war for raising the depressed groups at the bottom, then they or their children will get the same fate that came upon the intellectuals of Germany and Russia.

There have been, from time immemorial, sins of the intellectual class which carried their Nemesis with them. The first of these has been the sin of separation from toil. The wrong development of Brahminism in this country led to separation and to the drawing of an exclusion line. Your scholars tell me that the original nature of Brahminism was that the Brahmin should be the greatest servant of the rest of the people, that he should live not to be ministered unto but to minister. In the western world also we have drawn our exclusion lines, not as individuals, but as a class, and have put our lower people outside the pale and have said "Your place is not here." It is the same sin in a newer and more organised form, and the Nemesis of that is that in ignorance of the nature and the needs of these people whom we have excluded from our circle, we leave the fire of destruction burning underneath our feet, and presently the blind will lead the blind into the conflagration. If the leading intellectuals of Moscow had known what was going on, the whole situation might have been changed. But I tell you, there is such a gulf to-day between the intellectuals and the workers that the intellectuals have no concept of the world that is forming around them. What we ought to do, instead of living apart from these people, is to get them into university halls and live with them. We can learn as much from them as they can learn from us. Don't you know that common people have the roots of wisdom locked up in them? The people who do the common work of the world have been more successful in adapting the means to the end than the intellectuals. I repeat, for the sake of saving society we need to cross the gulf that now separates the intellectuals from the workers.

The other sin of the intellectuals has been the feeling of superiority, the feeling of contempt; and that carries with it a terrible Nemesis. In due season it will breed a feeling of contempt in the minds of the common people for the intellectual classes and if that goes far enough it means that they will try to find a way through the tangle of life without the light and the guidance, which comes out of the experience of the past and the knowledge that is locked up in our universities. The Nemesis of this contempt which the intellectuals have developed for the lower worker is that, out of a corresponding contempt, paid back always with interest a hundredfold, the ignorant shall come to rule and ruin shall result.

The other sin of the intellectuals has been the sin of dogmatism. The Nemesis of that is the incapacity finally to see any truth at all. It is a significant thing, is it not, that the three pieces of constructive social organisation that have been devised in the modern world to help us into the future, *viz.*, the Trade Union, Rochdale Co-operative and the Soviet, have all come from outside the university? They have all come from the so-called lower classes; and why was that? It was because the universities, in the matter of social, political and economic science, were engaged in teaching dogma rather than the scientific task of creative analysis and constructive thinking. I am here to say that there has not been anything like the constructive, creative thinking in our Western universities in the departments that deal with human life and organisation that there has been in the departments that deal with nature. This is because it is easier to do thinking and new experimentation in the field of physical science than in the field of social science. In the latter case you have to question the tradition of your group, and that involves your own comfort; and it is the instinctive inhibition set up by the danger of the job that is responsible for having a sociology which is more destructive than creative and for having a political science which is more traditional than inventive. Can you, therefore, wonder that the working men have not much use for a lot of the science in our universities, and talk of the perfect futility of a lot of it? A young lady spent some years in Europe working for a Doctor's Degree, and she has been spending two or three years in the United States in order to get another degree on the subject of "The Background of the Irony of Chaucer." There are millions of children dying in this country because we have not applied scientific knowledge to production and distribution; there are millions threatened with destruction in the conflagration that is now forming throughout the world because we have not produced, through our constructive political science, any creative inventions of different ways of organisation in the human race. Yet the universities squander the funds that are in their care to teach a person, at the expense of years of labour "The

Background of the Irony of Chaucer." The test of "serviceability" that I have spoken of has to be worked out to avoid the Nemesis that will come to us if we do not avoid these sins. It has to be worked out in different professions.

I am going to take up now the personal aspect of my question and ask what this means to the students here who I hope have not yet congealed and are still plastic. I am going to ask what an adjustment to this new environment, and the avoidance of the Nemesis that follows the ancient sins of the intellectual class will mean to them in the choice of a career. I think I will put what I have to say in the form of another classification which runs across the other three, *viz.*, the 'bourgeois,' the 'intelligensia' and the 'proletarian.' An Economist has said that there are three ways of making wealth: (1) You can make it by service rendered; (2) you can have it given to you by somebody else; and (3) you can take it away from others. That means that all of us are one of three things:—we are either plunderers, or parasites, or producers. The question I put to you to test yourself in the choice of a vocation, is this: Under which of these categories does your vocation fall?

Would any of you be tempted to choose the first? There are still a few university brains who are choosing an occupation which falls under the category of plunderer. It was once a very honourable profession: The fighting group lived for a long period by plundering from the workers. It has become increasingly unpopular in modern society; it has been outlawed; and it has to be done to-day indirectly by the use of brains, not by the use of physical or military power. It is done in the processes of industry, agriculture and finance by taking something in the form of profit or interest away from other people without their knowledge or their consent or both. The progress of civilization consists in part of getting rid of predatory animals. All the predatory animals have a choice of two alternatives—either they become exterminated or domesticated. The progress of civilization eliminates the predatory humans and gives them the same choice—either to be domesticated or be exterminated. Those of you who might be tempted to use your brains to plunder your fellows, better remember that fact. The President of Harvard University once said that there has not been a single piece of rascality in Massachusetts during the last ten years that did not have Harvard brains behind it. Then I remembered suddenly that the most predatory and successful political personage that we had in the recent history of the United States was a graduate of Harvard University. But the number of people belonging to this first class is decreasing as the years go by. They are in process of being domesticated. When you are tempted to sell your brains as private mercenaries, I beseech you to remember that the day of your running is likely to be very short.

What about the parasitic group ? The process of development requires that the parasites should either be eliminated or made useful, and some of them can be made useful. Science is using some parasites in the matter of counteracting diseases. Now, who are these parasites ? They are the people who are performing unnecessary occupations. Human society is not going to stand too many parasites—the unnecessary occupations in the commercial world, the unnecessary processes of law and government. Consider how many of these could be dispensed with without any appreciable loss. The question has to be rigorously faced that mankind is in the process of eliminating the parasitic occupations.

A new scientific life is coming. But, remember that the technical branches can be used as parasitic appendages to business, and it is the job of the intellectual to discriminate and prevent himself from being drawn into that undesirable status. All that is wanted—even your revolutionary Socialist does not demand more than that—all that is wanted is that the service of the intellectual should be an essential social contribution, the production of some necessary service. It has been said that "there are three kinds of work—useful work like raising potatoes, silly work like writing books, and wicked work like making guns." That is not so bad a philosophy after all. "Not that I am against books," said the same person, "I have read a few, but only a few, because reading many books is just an excuse for thinking." Can you get a more rigorous scientific intellectual test than that from your university? It is for you to see that your career is a useful service to human society. The Brahmins were originally right and Jesus was right too when they both taught that the true man comes to minister and not to be ministered unto, and, after all, only those can find life who have learnt that in order to find life to the full, one must be willing, if need be, to lose it in the service of his fellowmen.[1]

HARRY F. WARD

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[1] Lecture delivered by Prof. H. F. Ward of New York at the Senate Hall, Calcutta. From the shorthand notes taken by Mr. Haridas Chatterjee, Shorthand Reporter, High Court, Calcutta.

MESSAGE FROM BARHUT VOTIVE LABELS

The Votive Labels on the railing of the Barhut Stûpa are made use of for acknowledging the gifts or donations received from different donors. The receipts are legibly incised precisely on those parts for which the contributions were made. With the exception of the coping, its remaining component parts, including the gateways or ornamented arches, are actually mentioned in some of its acknowledgments, the gateways invariably, and the pillars and rail-bars occasionally. The following examples will make the point clear :—

(*a*) *As written on the lower pillar of E. Gateway :—*

"Within the dominion of the Śungas, the gateway has been caused to be made and the workmanship in stone produced by Vàtsîputra Dhanabhûti, son of 'Gotiputa Âgaraju' (and) grandson of king Gárgîputra Viśvadeva."

(*b*) *As written on railing-pillars and rail-bars :—*

"The pillar-gift of the Noble Master Panthaka."
"The gift of Dharmagupta—a pillar."
"The rail-gift of Risirakshita."
"The gift of Sanghila—a rail-bar."

The very opening words of its acknowledgments on the gateway-pillars indicate its location, that it was situated within the dominion of the Śungas, who came into power about the middle of the 2nd century B.C., and held sway over Northern India with their capital at Pátaliputra or Patna. The name of King Dhanabhûti, the donor of its gateways, has been mentioned along with those of his parents and grand-parents, which goes to show that the royal dynasty was in power for upwards of two generations. There is another acknowledgment on a rail-bar stating that it was a gift of prince Vádhapála or Vriddhapála, the son of King Dhanabhûti.

Just a generation after, Dhanabhûti's grandson, King Dhanabhûti II, dedicated the gift of a Buddhist gateway at Mathurá, which enables one to surmise that the seat of power of this royal dynasty was either in Mathurà or a country near about. As a matter of fact, King Dhanabhûti's dedicatory inscriptions on the gateway-pillars abound in the use of the cerebral nasal in lieu of the dental, which was decidedly an influence of the Jaina Prakrit then prevalent at Mathurá. You must have noticed that in these inscriptions the princes of this royal dynasty have been distinguished by certain matronymics, the Son by the Queen Gárgî, and so forth, their mothers being called by some notable *gotras* or families of spiritual culture and social polity, tracing their origin from the ancient Rishis. The use of such matronymics as these only proves the prevalence of polygamy in Hindu society, particularly among the kings and princes.

There is no reason to doubt that our railing and the gateways owed their existence and reached their completion under the fostering care of Buddhist monks and nuns of the local Sanghârâma, the traces of which could be found among the ruins of the stûpa. The early existence of this monastery is evident from one of the votive inscriptions recording the gift of a nun of the local monastic abode—

Ávásikáya bhikhuniyá dánam.

Buddhist teachers of this monastery must have been persons well-known, honoured and trusted throughout the country. We can presume that it is mainly by the influence of this holy body of trustees that several gifts in the shape of donations and materials flowed in from the four quarters, from the monks and nuns, all of whom were Buddhists, the Buddhist laity consisting of both men and women, princes and artisans, other persons, as well as collective bodies of wealthy citizens and Buddhist dáyakas. Among the various localities of the donors, those which were most important and can now be identified, include Pátaliputra (Patna) in the extreme north-east, Kauśámbî (Kosam) on the Yamuná in the extreme north, Vidiśá (Besnagar or Bhilsa) and the port of Śrîputra in the extreme west, and probably Pándya in the extreme south. Puriká, Bhogavardhana and Násika were evidently three important cities of the Andhra rulers of the Deccan to the south of the Vindhyas. It is under the patronage of the Andhra Kings that Buddhist Sanghârámas at Nasik and Sanchi, belonging to two or more Buddhist sects, were maintained. There are also places, such as Bhojakata, Asitamaśá and the rest, which may be said to have been included in the region to the north of the Vindhyas. Seeing that no place of the North-Western region is mentioned one must imagine that this region was under the sway of some rival power, unfriendly towards the Buddhist cause. One can understand that the political supremacy was at the time contested by these three rival powers, *viz.*, the Śungas of the north, the Andhras of the south, and the Bactrian Greeks or Scythian hordes of the north-west.

From the given list of places you can form an idea of the wide extension of Buddhism in India. Buddhism was no longer a local movement of the central region in the north, but spread, far and wide, reaching as far as the western coast in Bombay, and reached, after crossing the Vindhyas and crossing the Godávarî, as far south as Pándya. One cannot expect such a state of things as this before the reign of Aśoka. In reality, one must ascribe this wider propagation of the religion to the missionary organisation of the Buddhist emperor and the liberal state-support given by him to the movement.

By this time you must have followed the trend of the tale of our railing far enough to be able to realise that its construction with all its ornamental designs was after all a most costly affair. The Buddhist Chronicles of Ceylon will tell you that King Aśoka had to call upon all his subjects, including the subordinate potentates, to raise money for the erection of 84,000 Buddhist edifices, while the Buddhist legends of India go to show that, in spite of all voluntary or compulsory contributions, the king had to exhaust his imperial treasury for the purpose. Our railing itself bears an inscription recording the amount required for the simple purchase of Prince Jeta's garden near Śrávastî, ultimately converted into a Buddhist monastery. It says that the Buddhist Banker Anáthapindika had to pay to the owner of the park crores of coins in cash. We read in the Kathávatthu, a Buddhist compilation of Aśokan time, that a man who had ready money over 40 crores was eligible for the status of a Great Banker. Even leaving a fair margin for exaggerations, the fact stands out that the construction of a Buddhist edifice such as the Barhut Stûpa with its railing and gateways was not an easy affair, within the reach of one generation, of one or two men, however rich.

Now the question arises—by what method or methods the donations were collected. The Votive Labels afford instances where the Buddhist dáyakas of Puriká collectively offered a donation. It cannot be supposed that all of them happened to visit Barhut at the same time. There must be some local agent or some one sent from Barhut to raise subscriptions. The same holds true of another case where we find that the citizens of a town made a gift.[1] In this latter case, one cannot suppose that all the donors were Buddhists. There is a third instance where we find two ladies of the same family and a gentleman, certainly related to them, made three gifts, consecutively recorded. All of them hailed from Pátaliputra. From the manner of description it is clear that the ladies came to the place on pilgrimage under the escort of the man.[2] The rows of recesses for lights at the base of the stûpa bear evidence of an elaborate arrangement for illumination. We must, indeed, presume that fairs, festivals, illuminations and other religious demonstrations helped the monks to attract annually a large number of pilgrims and heighten the importance of the place.

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[1] *Karahakaṭa-nigamasa dánam.*

[2] *Páṭaliputá Nágasenáya Koḍiyániyá dánam.*
Páṭaliputá Koḍiyániyá Sakaṭadeváyá dánum.
Páṭaliputá Mahidasenasa dánam.

But is it not strange that the monks and nuns, who are supposed not to touch money, are included among the donors? If they had no savings of their own, how could they make these contributions? It is difficult to surmise anything positively on this point, though the traditions of the time make it clear that much controversy was then going on in Buddhist churches about the legality of handling and hoarding money by the members of the Buddhist religious order.

Our railing has evidence to show that by the 2nd or 1st century B.C., the history of Buddhism had far outgrown its two earlier stages, namely, that represented by the career of the Master, and that by the career of the Apostles. That is to say, it reached the third stage marked by development of the Churches. Not only that. It is in a position to say that the Sanghârâmas of the different Buddhist churches, like the Christian monasteries in Europe during the Middle Ages, became centres of religious education and polite learning. So far as India is concerned, these educational institutions were liberally supported by the people, irrespective of castes and creeds. The erection of stûpas, railings and gateways served only to create an artistic atmosphere. Please note the personnel of each Church or Sanghârâma. It consisted, as appears from the list of its donors, of monks, nuns and dáyakas. Note that the dáyakas are no mere upásakas and upásikás, that is, mere admirers and occasional supporters of the new movement. Mark that some of them have adopted or retained Buddhistic names, *e.g.*, Stûpadása, Bodhi, Bodhigupta, Buddharakshita, Dharmarakshita, Dharmagupta, Sangharakshita, Sanghamitra, and the like. See that such prefixes as Bhadanta—Gentle Sir, Ârya—Noble Master, and Bhadanta-Ârya—Gentle and Noble Master, have been freely used to denote church-dignitaries. Observe that the nuns are simply referred to as "Bhikhunis" or "Bhichunis," which is not the case in all of the labels elsewhere. It is for you to guess if they were not accorded an inferior position in the particular church connected with Barhut tradition.

Some or most of the names of monks and nuns go to show that on being ordained they were given Buddhistic names replacing those given by their parents. This was in practice a departure from the older tradition where Buddha's followers retained their quondam names, such as Ráhula, Ânanda, Śárîputra and Vangeśa. Though, in theory, it was a more logical carrying out of the Master's wish to organise an ideal order, ignoring the previous social names and ranks, bonds and ties, it was, at the same time, an adaptation to the old Brahmanist conception of a second birth, having at its back a natural analogy from bird-life. Now the distinctive epithets have a peculiar message of their own. The fact that the laics are distinguished as dáyakas is a clear evidence that they were kept outside the pale of the Buddhist Sangha, while according to Buddha's own idea, a Bhikshu or a householder, who mastered certain stages of sanctification to be called Ârya, was *ipso facto* a constituent of the Sangha, and not simply one formally ordained. Among the Bhikshus, there were some bearing the epithet Navakarmika, a church-functionary, whose business it was to supervise the construction of a new Buddhist edifice or monument. There were among the laity some employed as church-functionaries in a monastery, such as Bhattôdeśaka, whose business it was to distribute food. There were among the monks, the Bhánakas or Reciters who rehearsed, got by heart, and orally handed down the traditions of the Buddhists. The schools of such Bhánakas as appears from Buddhaghosha's account, arose soon after Buddha's demise. The institution of these bodies of Reciters survived till the time of the construction of our railing, which means that the Buddhist texts were not till then committed to writing.

There were also among the monks, the Petakis who knew the Pitaka by heart, as well as the Sautrântikas, well versed in the Sûtras. Even among the laity there were persons who bore the epithet Panchanaikáyika, the Master in the Five Nikáyas.

The term Pitaka wherefrom Petaki was derived is suggestive of a double metaphor of a basket for carrying earth from head to head, that is, from teacher to teacher, and of a pit or box, where the whole thing is deposited or closed. The biological expression Nikáya, as applied to literature, denotes a distinct division or body having an independent identity. These epithets are a clear evidence of the fact that a Buddhist canon with its division into Pitakas and five Nikáyas was well-known in the 2nd or the 1st century B.C. Seeing that Nikáya is not used in this sense by any other Buddhist sect than Sthaviraváda, one need not be surprised that the Barhut church belonged to this sect. How could it be that even the laics were repositaries of textual traditions? The best explanation is that they were persons who reverted to household-life from the monasteries, retaining their knowledge of the texts, as well as their monastic names.

The facts supplied by our railing are not adequate to give you an idea of the social condition of the Buddhist laity. It is difficult to say if there was at the time any Indian Buddhist community or caste, within which interdining and intermarriage were confined, though there were beginnings of such social processes, particularly where the whole tribe or the whole population of a place professed the religion. Along with these social processes there was a national process of identification of men's existence with a place, So and So—the Selapuraka,—the man of Śailapura; So and So—the Therâkutiya, the man of Sthavirakuta, and so forth. The personal names of the donors clearly show that Deva, Datta, Sena, Gupta, Mitra, Rakshita, and Pálita are not used yet as surnames. These are parts of so many compounds. It is very curious that the Barhut set of names are now conspicuous by their absence among the members of Brahmin caste. It is still more curious that in Bengal the Hindu castes where Deva, Rakshita, Pálita and the like are current as surnames have a much lower social status at the present day. Is it not a pity that even behind these names and surnames one gets the scent of sectarian narrowness! Stûpadása is the single name where we trace the later Vaishnavite spirit. Most of the names, other than those connected with religion or religious personages and orders, are yet of astrological import, Revatîmitra, Bharanîdeva, Pushyá Sravaná, and the like. Here Revatî, Bharanî, Pushyá and the rest are names of important constellations of stars.[1]

B. M. BARUA

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[1] Read at the University College, Rangoon, Nov. 3, 1924.

SATI

The humdrum busy World goes on
Regardless of the passing Soul,
That oft amidst its bustling throng
Had entered, yea, and taken part
In joys of work, of play, of home ;
In many-wrinkled, careful thought
In action strong exhilarating ;
With tender love, caresses sweet,
Of loving wife and children dear.

Yet now of all that motley crowd,
Of friends, acquaintance and loved ones,
All deep immersed in Life's pursuit
Who would accompany him there,
Far out beyond earth's paradise,
In regions of uncharted depths
Where knowledge fails to penetrate,
And all is blank like skies above ?
The Sati, fortified with Love.

E. H. SOLOMON

GLIMPSES INTO THE COURT OF SARDHANA

Very little information can be obtained from contemporary writers about the private life of the famous Sardhana Princess Begam Samru. She could boast of no illustrious heritage and, as the wife of General Sombre, she had no position at the Court. Even at the height of her power when the Princess of Sardhana was known to all she preferred to live in her principality and so in the narratives of the Court of Delhi we find no description of her person or followings although her name is occasionally mentioned. Most of our information is derived from the *Military Memoirs of George Thomas*, who was her general for some time, and from occasional records left by the visitors to her Court after she came under the protection of the British.

Begam Samru must have been a handsome woman. Geo. Thomas, in narrating the events of 1796, describes her personal appearance as follows:

> " Begam Samru is about forty-five years of age, small in stature, but inclined to be plump. Her complexion is very fair, her eyes black, large and animated. Her dress perfectly Hindustani and of the most costly materials. She speaks the Persian and Hindustani languages with fluency, and in her conversation is engaging, sensible and spirited." (*Thomas*, p. 59*n*).

Although she used to march in person with her battalions in most of their campaigns, Begam Samru in her earlier days strictly maintained Indian etiquette, and the Memoirs of Geo. Thomas give us an insight into her life at Sardhana:

> " It has been the constant and invariable usage of this lady, to exact from her subjects and servants the most rigid attention to the customs of Hindustan. She is never seen out of doors, or in her public darbar unveiled. Her officers and others, who have

> business with her, present themselves opposite the place where she sits; the front of her apartments is furnished with *chiques* or Indian screens, these being let down from the roof; in this manner she gives audience, and transacts business of all kinds. She frequently admits to her table the higher ranks of her European officers, but never admits the natives to come within the inclosure. On dinner being announced, twenty or thirty of her female attendants most of them Christians, repairing to the outer door, there receive the dishes and place them upon table, they wait on the company during the repast, which is always plentiful and well served.—(*Thomas*, pp. 58-59.)

But from the time she put herself under the protection of the British in 1803, she "by degrees adopted the European modes of social intercourse, appearing in public on an elephant, in a carriage, and occasionally on horseback with her hat and veil, and dining at table with gentlemen. She often entertained Governors-General and Commanders-in-Chief, with all their retinues, and sat with them and their staff at table, and for some years past kept an open house for the society of Meerut; but in no situation did she lose sight of her dignity." (Sleeman, ii. 288.) "At the dinner[1] the Begam seemed in excellent humour, and bandied jokes and compliments * * * through the medium of an interpreter." (Mundy, i. 376.) As a matter of fact in her conversation she always managed to interest the audience.

As for the Begam's costume, she used to have her little person enveloped in a yellow Cashmere shawl of exquisite texture; under this shawl a handsome green silk cloak of European fashion, but embroidered, was generally spread. In her old days she substituted a turban for the veil invariably worn by the females of her country. This turban, generally of damson colour, became her well and bespoke a judicious taste. Her slippers were as bright and as small as those of Cinderella. Upon most occasions she was decorated with a prodigious quantity of jewels. Her stud of horses was one of the finest in Hindustan. Mrs. A. D. had the pleasure of a ride in the Begam's Calcutta-built coach, a vehicle "painted in bright yellow, with silver mouldings. The window frames of solid silver; the lace and hangings of silver ribbon wove in a pattern, and very substantial, with silver bullion tassels. The wheels were dark blue, to match the lining. The postilions wore scarlet jackets and caps, almost covered with silver lace." (*Cal. Rev.*, 1894, p. 324).

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[1] We learn from the account left by Mrs. A. D. [A Deane], who visited the Court of Sardhana between 1804 and 1814, that "she adhered to the Mahomedan way of living as far as food was concerned, but no further." (*Cal. Rev.*, 1894, p. 324.)

The Begam usually gave a grand féte during Christmas, which lasted for three days, and to which all the society of Meerut, Delhi, and the surrounding stations was invited. Bacon, who happened to be present on one of these occasions, writes:

> "Tents are prepared in the palace-garden for the accommodation of visitors, and every luxury which a profuse outlay can secure is provided for the company; the tables are sumptuously spread, the viands and the wines are alike excellent. Upon these grand occasions, the Begam usually honours the guests by presiding at the table; but she does not partake of any food in their presence. Not only are the numerous visitors entertained in this magnificent style, but the whole host of their followers and train are also feasted and féted, in a manner equally sumptuous in proportion to their condition." (Bacon, ii. 51-52.)

During and after the dinner in the evening nautch-girls sang and danced for the amusement of the company. There used to be also a display of fireworks.

> "She was particularly affable to European ladies, and seldom permitted them to quit her presence without bestowing upon them some token of her generosity, according to the native custom, either a Cashmere shawl, or a piece of silk, or a jewel, to the value of 20 or 30 guineas." (*Ibid*, ii. 46.)

Bacon writes with amazement:

> "When we recollect who the Begam originally was, the diabolical character of her husband, **** it is strange thus to find an enlightened British community, the victors of the soil, doing homage and seeking favour at her footstool, or even condescending to partake of her hospitality." (ii. 52.)

Although the Begam lavishly feasted and féted the visitors at her Court, she herself lived a very plain life and spent most of her time in looking after the State affairs. She was a resolute and untiring worker and managed all her affairs herself. Victor Jacquemont, who visited her Court in December, 1830, writes: "She is, in fine, a sort of walking mummy, who still looks after all her affairs herself, listens to two or three secretaries at once, and at the same time dictates to as many others." (ii. 247.) She did her duty with the utmost deliberation, carefully weighing the pros and cons of every action, and being seldom carried away by any impulse of the moment. She had confidence in herself and a great regard for justice; she usually displayed uncommon sagacity and masculine firmness, and her presence of mind was also remarkable. On 29th October, 1803, Lord Lake wrote to the Begam to come alone to his camp on some urgent matter which required her presence. The Begam getting into her palanquin hastened to the British camp, which was then situated at Pahesar, 13 miles west of Bharatpur. "Upon this occasion an incident occurred of a curious and characteristic description. She arrived at headquarters, it appears, just after dinner, and being carried in her palanquin at once to the reception tent, his lordship came out to meet and receive her. As the adhesion of every petty chieftain was, in those days, of consequence, Lord Lake was not a little pleased at the early demonstration of the Begam's loyalty; and being a little elevated by the wine which had just been drunk, he forgot the novel circumstance of its being a native female he was about to receive, instead of some well-bearded chief, so he gallantly advanced, and, to the utter dismay of her attendants, took her in his arms and kissed her. The mistake might have been awkward, but the lady's presence of mind put all right. Receiving courteously the proffered attention, she turned calmly round to her astonished attendants—'It is,' said she, 'the salute of a *padre* (or *priest*) to his daughter.' The Begam professes Christianity, and thus the explanation was perfectly in character, though more experienced spectators might have smiled at the appearance of the jolly red-coated clergyman, exhibited in the person of his lordship." (Skinner, i. 293-94; Pearse's *Memoir of Lake*, pp. 252-53.)

Sir W. H. Sleeman was informed by men capable of judging character, who had known her for more than fifty years, that "though a woman and of small stature, her *ru'h* (dignity, or power of commanding personal respect) was greater than that of almost any person they had ever seen." (Sleeman, ii. 288.) It so happened that "on her excursions to Delhi, during the latter part of her life, she did not pay the usual tribute of homage to the resident, of a visit, which, as the representative of the British Government he had a right to expect from all persons of inferior rank." (*As. Journal*, 1834, Sep.-Dec., p. 148; Bacon, ii. 53-54.) The vanity of the official was wounded, and he went to the length of reporting the matter to the authorities. In the same year a misunderstanding also arose between the Begam and the Emperor Akbar Shah [acc. 1806], the successor to Shah Alam II, on a point of etiquette. "Akbar Shah, being pre-eminent by birth, the pure stock of the ancient Mughal dynasty, and being upon his own ground in the city of Delhi, insisted upon receiving homage from all of an inferior degree who met him," and the proud Begam although not one of his subjects was compelled "to have her elephant kneel down to the Emperor when passing him. This her vanity would not brook, and having been more than once compelled against her will thus to do reverence to a higher prince, she had for several years refrained from visiting Delhi" (Bacon, ii. 53-54), which had once been her favourite residence, rather than put her self-respect in danger of further affront.

The curtain has long been rung down and the actress has passed away from the scene of her activities into the abode of bliss. But the stage is still in evidence; Sardhana is yet to be seen with the Begam's palace and the splendid edifice erected by her as a place of worship. But she who at one time reigned supreme there—the friend of the poor and their never-failing fountain of hope and delight—is no more; her dust has returned to dust, but her name endures for ever in her noble deeds.

BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI

THE GLOW-WORM

Knowing the pain of this perpetual shade,
  Which deepens with the onward-bearing years,
  I strive to build within a mist of tears
The glories of my inmost self betrayed
Upon the soundless dark. All undismayed,
  A soul enwrought with voiceless gloom appears,
  Rending the darkness with unceasing spears,
Hurl'd on a vague, illusive palisade......

Beyond my barrier'd sins I may not send
  My soul. But is the Grace shut out from sight
  That the lost soul, centred within its light,
A glow-worm spark, alone, may comprehend
  Its God-lent beauty in a God-sent Night?......
Who knows where Light begins, where shadows end?

SANKARA KRISHNA CHETTUR

THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IN MARWAR

(1532 TO 1619 A. D.)[1]

No detailed study of the Rajput System of Government has yet been attempted. The materials for it are no doubt scanty, the State records are in Marwar available only from the reign of Maharaja Abhey Singh well in the eighteenth century. By that time, the system of government had undergone many modifications and was more and more approximating to the Mughal standard. The chronicles, Persian and Marwari, do not usually concern themselves with matters of administration; it is only by chance that they happen to make some statement which may throw light on the administrative activities. It is yet possible that a careful examination of the Sanads, Farmans or letters which may have survived in private hands may throw some light on the question. But the work requires a great deal of labour and till that is done, we have to be content with a few details only. In the period under review, administrative machinery in Marwar underwent many revisions. When Maldev became Rao in 1532, the only machinery of the state was that of a large Jagirdar. The state like its contemporaries in the east and west did not undertake any works of public utility, nor did it interfere much with the lives of its citizens. It let them alone and came into motion only for the purpose of either war, or sometimes of police or also of squeezing taxes in the form of octroi. When he conquered the neighbouring districts, Maldev seems to have reproduced the old system on a larger scale with this difference that his contact with Muslim neighbours at this time made him establish a Persian Secretariate. His policy was to dispossess the former ruler and to send his own representatives. The Jagirdar who submitted peacefully may have been allowed the possession of his district with the stipulation that he was to attend Maldev when summoned. But the rulers of the districts that had to be conquered by stubborn fighting were altogether dispossessed—in some cases as in Merta and Pohkarn all vestige of old rulers was swept away by demolishing the old forts and building new ones. The machinery for holding these newly conquered districts was simple. A Fojdar or Sikdar was sent who was the commander of the fort as well as the civil officer of the districts.

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[1] The period chosen represents that stage of the evolution of Marwar state when it was transformed from a mere Jagir into a great principality.

The next revision of administrative machinery came when the Mughals conquered and occupied Jodhpur. Here we must make a distinction between incorporated and unincorporated districts. Incorporated districts, most of them Maldev's conquests from his Muhammadan neighbours in Nagor, Jalor and Didwana, were governed just like other Mughal districts. Then there were other districts that had been under the Rathors for good many centuries. These were left to their old customs and the presence of a Rajput in the person of Rai Singh as a governor at Jodhpur means that Akbar did not want the system to be much disturbed. Of course Persian may now have been used to a larger extent and Maldev's Persian secretariate expanded. The Mughals, however, without actually disturbing the old machinery may have engendered the habit of looking at it from a new point of view and thus a change in ideas may have taken place.

This was followed by the restoration of Udey Singh. This restoration, however, did not mean that the old order was to reign unchallenged. Udey Singh had himself been a Mughal Jagirdar in Gwalior before he became the Raja of Jodhpur. Whatever he may have thought of his position as a Jagirdar, it is certain that he must have carried his ideas of it to Jodhpur and used them as a help in interpreting the position of Rajput Jagirdars. The tradition asserts that he began the custom of realising Pesh Kash from the Jagirdars[1]—they had to present a Nazar when they first got the grant. Sur Singh's accession in 1595 completed the process. By that time not only the Mughal system of Mansabdars was well established but different Rajput chiefs also had had a good deal of experience in it. The machinery was again revised. The Rathor Raja attempted to be to his Jagirdars what emperor was to him. Necessarily a stricter definition of rights and duties from both the sides followed. Hitherto grants of land had only specified the place granted. What was given away was a Jagir and not a revenue. But the Mughal idea ran counter to it. What the emperor granted to the Mansabdar was an assignment of revenue and not the Jagir itself. The same change was introduced here. The grants now come to specify not only the place given away, but also the revenue that went with it. This made the taking of the next step easier and soon after it was ordained that an heir when he came into possession should pay Zabti. This meant that until the heir paid the stipulated sum, he did not get his Jagir renewed. Sometimes the state officials were sent to administer it for some time, usually a year, and pay the proceeds to the treasury. The idea was that on the death of the last occupant it reverted to the Raja as the supreme landlord and it was his to give it on any conditions. Practically it meant the payment of a certain sum. Thus the Raja was exalted at the cost of the Jagirdar. This was made apparent in the fact that the old intimacy between a Raja and his chiefs, an intimacy that was due to the old idea of their being his companion in arms, disappeared and more formal relations were substituted for it. This transformation was made easy by the familiarity with the Mughal system.[1]

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[1] History of Jagirdars, p. 4.

But these modifications apart, the position of Jagirdars in the Rajput state remained essentially that of clansmen. That was the one mark which distinguished them from the Mughal grandees on the one hand and the mediæval baron on the other.

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[1] Marwar (MS.); Sur Singh, p. 25, see above.

There were three kinds of Jagirdars. The first and the very limited class got Jagirs from their being near relatives of the reigning Raja. Another class got it as their due for fighting the battles of their chief, Mund Katai—as it is still called. The third class was that of Inamdars who received Jagirs as a mark of the Raja's favour. Besides these there were Bhumias whose title to the land in their possession was as old as that of the Rajas. The secretariate establishment was usually paid by grants of land and as some of the offices became hereditary, the land in possession became a family Jagir. We know that when Maldev established the Persian secretariate, the man who was put in charge of the work was paid by a grant of land and the family continued in possession till quite recent times.[1]

In the reorganisation of the state that Sur Singh undertook the grades of the Jagirdars were also fixed being indicated by the form in which the Raja returned their salutations and the place they occupied in the open Durbar.[2] The Pradhan, or the Premier chief had the hereditary claim to lead the van and since Maldev's time it remained in the hands of the Jetavat branch of the Rathors. The premier or the prime minister was a separate functionary and had the charge of the civil administration. Usually he was paid by the grant of a Jagir but there is at least one instance in which Sur Singh appointed his prime minister on Rs. 7,000 a month.[3] Mughal subordination necessitated another office that of Tan Diwan or personal assistant. This was the officer who had the command of the Raja's contingent when he was serving out, and he also served as his adviser there in the field.

Internal administration was not complex. The villager was not much disturbed by the central government except when he had to provide free quarters or free board to any of the

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[1] Administration Report of Marwar for 1883 and 1884, Part III, p. 772.

[2] The regulations are yet in force theoretically. But an open Durbar being now rare, they have lost their importance. See History of Jagirdars, pp. 6-17.

[3] Joshi Dev Dutt Nensi (Jodhpur), p. 152.

Raja's functionaries who might happen to come to his village. He settled his disputes in the Panchayats. Civil law in the case of inheritance and the like was derived from the codes of Manu and Yajnavalkya,[1] while other disputes were settled according to custom. Of criminal jurisdiction, just as in the mediæval state in the thirteenth century, there was not much. The state had not yet come into being and such offences were counted mostly as personal offences. It fell upon the family or the particular branch of the clan to avenge its offences against its members. The case of Bhati Gobind Dass is one in point. Theft and robbery were the two forms of crimes most common. The proximity of the Bhils made robbery significant. Justice was rough and ready as befitted those times. The Raja was also the judge. Not much taxation was resorted to as the Raja had his own demesne lands. There was the income from transit dues and some customary offerings made up the whole taxation.

In theory succession was by primogeniture. But it had not yet been exalted into a divine right. The state was personal to the reigning Raja, he could alter succession.[2] The cases of Chander Sen and then of Sur Singh can be cited in proof of this assertion.[3] In one case, the third son and in the other, the sixth son succeeded. Yet the very fact that in the former case the two dispossessed brothers actually fought for their rights and in the other throughout their lives they kept up the memory of their wrong, goes to prove that the eldest son had a presumptive title to succeed. The death of the reigning Raja was followed, as now, by an inter-regnum of twelve days, during which his successor remained engaged in performing the last rites of his predecessor. On the thirteenth day, in the usual fashion, the new Raja was acknowledged by the elders of the clan and the coronation Tika given to him by the chief of Bagri who had earned this privilege in the reign of Rao Ganga. In the reign of the last two Rajas imperial investiture also became necessary in order to establish the Raja's title against any imperial favourite. The imperial connection came in two ways. First of all a robe of bereavement was sent to the heir-presumptive ; this being followed by the regular investiture robe and the Farman.

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[1] Pt. Gauri Shankar Ojha's note to the Hindi Translation of Tod's Rajasthan, Part II, p. 169.

[2] We should also add, generalising from the experience of the inter-regnum, that the chiefs could, in cases of emergency, ignore the claims of the eldest son and appoint a younger son to succeed.

[3] We should also add the case of the succession of Kala, son of Ram Singh of Shivana. He was not the eldest son. See above.

This brings us to the question of the relation of the Rajas to the emperor. Every kind of evidence that is available goes to show that the Rajas were reduced to the position of mere hereditary Jagirdars. And hereditary title did not extend to all the Jagirs of a Raja. Raja Udey Singh held some districts in the Punjab; these never formed a part of his successor's holdings. Raja Sur Singh held some districts in Gujrat and in the Deccan and his charge in Rajputana proper too was large. Yet when Gaj Singh succeeded him, not only were the Gujrat and the Deccan districts not given to him, he did not get all the districts that his father held in Rajputana. The fact was that Akbar's policy was to dispossess rulers of their old hereditary possessions and then to give them Jagirs elsewhere. Now when he departed in the case of some Rajput Rajas from this principle, the departure was as small as possible. Their old hereditary possessions were of course left to them as hereditary, while any new additions at once relapsed to the emperor at the death of the first assignee. In the case of Jodhpur the matters were complicated by two considerations. When Akbar came into collision with Jodhpur in 1556, Maldev had aggrandised himself at the expense of most of his neighbours. This made it difficult to decide what hereditary dominions Rathors of Jodhpur had. Again Jodhpur was really conquered bit by bit and the Restoration did not take place soon after the conquest. When Akbar restored Jodhpur to Rathors in the person of Udey Singh, eighteen years had elapsed since its conquest. This made it easy for him to decide what to give and what to keep back, while the earlier civil war complicated the matters by leaving three distinct branches of descendants of Maldev. Thus it happened that Akbar had a freer hand in Jodhpur.

The position of the Rajas of Jodhpur as Mughal grandees is again brought home to us when we remember that every bit of territory that was given to them came in the shape of higher rungs in the official ladder. If Sur Singh became a grandee of five thousand, he must have an increase of his Jagirs. And every increase almost always came in the shape of a rise in the official grade. Similarly of decreases. If Gaj Singh got less at his succession than his father had held it was because he got the grade of 3,500 rather than that of 5,000.

Another proof is provided by the constant employment of these princes in the imperial service. There was no better method of reminding them constantly that they were imperial grandees rather than subordinate princes. And by making their imperial charges relative to their position the emperor gained a not too unwelcome service. These campaigns satisfied the Rajput's natural love of ambition; so far so good. There was, however, a constant exile from home which made them eager to return to their native land. Any how there was no difference between an ordinary official grandee and a hereditary Raja in their respective ranks. The Rajas had to serve the emperor with the usual contingent of horse and foot.

So far we have considered the position of the Raja in his external aspect only—we have considered him as a Mughal grandee alone. But he was a Raja too, hereditary governor of certain districts. This made him maintain a representative of his at the imperial court. This Vakalit was an office of great dignity, we have one of the premiers of Sur Singh being sent as a Vakil to the imperial court.[1] He was in charge of the Raja's interests at the imperial court generally. Besides this, the Raja had to keep another representative of his at the court of the provincial governor.[1] This Subadar was generally in charge of the imperial districts proper as well as the "State" territories. He could ask the Raja for his usual contingent if he needed it for work in the province itself. Many imperial orders were transmitted to the Rajas through him.[2] He exercised some power of supervision over the administration in the State.[3] His interference here was of course much less than in the territories directly under his own Fojdars, but it was none the less real though restricted by the fact that he could not see to the execution of his policy. Difficulties rose of course when grandee of a lesser rank was the governor.

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[1] This was Joshi Dev Dutt who in 1619 went to the imperial court as the representative of Jodhpur. Nensi (Jodhpur), p. 152.

The imperial power of interference was large. It was, however, not institutional but personal. Theoretically, imperial ordinances were co-extensive in their operation with the empire. There could be otherwise no point in issuing such an ordinance as about forced Sati. It was enforced against a Raja[4] too. Aurangzeb's later attempt to levy Jaziya from the Rajput states as well was a practical application of the same theory. Raja Rai Singh's protest against it assumes the applicability of imperial orders to Rajput states.[5] Practically, however, it must have been impossible to govern Rajput states in that way. Consequently much latitude must have been allowed to the Rajas. It seems safe to assume that normally there was not much interference but that the emperor could, when he liked and when he was able to enforce his orders, interfere.

The largest instance of imperial interference comes in the case of succession. The necessity of an imperial sanction in the shape of the robe of investiture and the royal Farman conferring the Mansab provided the occasion for exercising it. In the case of Marwar we are not certain but that the imperial discretion may have been used in the case of Raja Sur Singh. Here, however, the interference was not great as Sur Singh was also recognised by Raja Udey Singh as his heir. We have, however, other instances[1] in which this discretion was used to override the decision of Rajas themselves. It seems certain that this power of deciding as to who should succeed resided ultimately in the emperor though its exercise may have been limited by the practical exigencies of the case. But we have no means of judging how the dispossessed looked upon this exercise of his powers and what view others took of it. The emperors, however, maintained that it belonged to them;[2] whether as wielders of a large army which could enforce the decision, or as a matter of course, the right came by virtue of the emperor's position as a sovereign lord is not certain.

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[1] A letter of Hadi Rani (wife of Maharaja Jaswant Singh) to her Vakil at Ajmere s in possession of Munshi Devi Prasad.

[2] Vir Vinod (pp. 779 and 891) quotes some such correspondence.

[3] The letter referred to above answers certain allegations against the administration of Marwar. We have also a letter of Hosain Quli Khan to Raja Udey Singh asking him to restore certain rights of a Jodhpur Qazi.

[4] Akbar Nama in Elliot, VI, p. 69. Names given therein are wrong.

[5] Todd's Annals, Vol. I, p. 353 note.

We thus see that the Rajput states though internally free to a large extent came in contact with the imperial power at various points. Marwar lost its position of an independent state that it had gained under Maldev. But it never fell into the insignificance which had generally characterised the reigns of his predecessors. As a subordinate principality, with its rulers as virtual servants of the emperor, it gained much power; but that was simply the reflection of the imperial grandeur.

SRI RAM SHARMA

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[1] Other instances are—

(i) Rai Sur Singh, son of Raja Rai Singh of Bikaneer, was not allowed to succeed his father by Jahangir.

(ii) Sur Singh, grandson of Man Singh, was not allowed to succeed his grandfather. Succession was altered in the interests of one of his uncles. He was, however, compensated for this loss by the grant of Jagir in Bundelkhand.

[2] Masar-ul-Umra, Vol. II, p. 154.

There is a question from the Memoirs of Jahangir in which he is made to assert his power.

THE BUDDHIST ANALOGUE OF A BENGALI STORY

(*A Supplement*)

Mr. Kalipada Mitra's reference on pp. 480 ff. of the *Calcutta Review* for December, 1924, to the story of Chandrahaṁsa, or Candrahāsa, in Kāśīrāma's Mahabhārata, with its Buddhist analogue, is a welcome contribution to the study of folklore ; but we are not, I think, justified in looking upon it as belonging peculiarly to Bengal. The theme of the so-called "Letter of Death" is widely spread over Europe and Asia. A summary of most of the versions, from the time of Homer down to the present day, written by the late Dr. Crooke, will be found on pp. xliv of "Hātim's Tales," collected by Sir Aurel Stein and edited by me in the Indian Texts Series. At least three of the tales in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* are based on this theme[1] and in the *Kathākōśa,*[2] the story of Candrahāsa is given in all detail, except that, in this Jain recension, the hero's name is changed to Dāmanaka. In the *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. X (1881), pp. 190-1, Tawney has given a number of European parallels to this version.

In the *Bhakta-māla* of Nābhā-dāsa (*chappai 5*) Candrahāsa is specially mentioned as one of the forty-two saints beloved of Bhagavān, and the commentator Priyā-dāsa here gives the whole story at length. A translation from my pen will be found in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1910, pp. 292 ff. I have there mentioned that the story is to be found in Wheeler's *History of India,* Vol. I, p. 525, and that the India Office contains two anonymous versions of the legend, one called "Chandrahāsa, an ancient Indian Monarch," Madras, 1881 ; and the other "Chandrahāsa, or the Lord of the Fair Forger," Mangalore, 1882.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON

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[1] See Mr. Tawney's translation, Vol. I, pp. 27, 162 and 388.

[2] Tawney's translation, p. 172.

A BEAUTIFUL PERSIAN TETRASTICH

My mother who died many years ago at the age of over ninety quoted to me a beautiful Persian tetrastich which, she said, had been addressed by the Calcutta Pundits to Sir William Jones. It was:

> "On Parents' knees a naked new-born child
> Weeping thou satst,
> When all around thee smiled
> So live that sinking to thy last long sleep,
> Calm thou mayst smile
> While all around thee weep."

Sir William published it in volume two of the Asiatic Miscellany and remarked that it was almost word for word a translation of the Persian. He also gave the original Persian.

Some have supposed that the original was also by him. But against this we have his remark that the Persian was "a beautiful tetrastich." It is hardly possible that he would have said this if the Persian was also his own. But so far I have not been able to find the Persian. Possibly it occurs in a Persian *Devan* called the Bostun-i-Khazel but this *Devan* is not in the British Museum.

H. BEVERIDGE.

P. S.—There is a similar doubt about the original of Parnell's Hermit. See Chambers's Cyclopædia of English Literature, II, p. 249, where we have the remark that the apologue is "apparently of oriental origin." But this idea seems negatived by a statement of Lord Teignmouth in his *Life of Jones*. See Vol. II, pp. 168-169, where his Lordship says—"I explained to Seraj-ul-Haq (evidently a Maulvi) the gist of Parnell's poem and he put it into Persian." According to my note, Lord Teignmouth's exact words are—"He, that is Seraj-ul-Haq, composed a Persian poem on the same subject. As it has been frequently transcribed, it might, perhaps, without this explanation at some future time, be considered the original of Parnell's poem." See Jones's Works, London, 1807, Vol. II, and also Jones's *Letters to Dr. Russell* of Aleppo, September, 1785, and, to Chapman. I am unable to explain fully what took place, but it seems that Jones heard that Seraj-ul-Haq's version had been frequently transcribed, and that Jones asked for a copy.

H. B.

"SHE IS GONE"

She is gone!
My children, she is gone.
No eye can see, no ear can hear,
Nor heart conceive her peace in God.
Sweet hope alone can raise us there.
The image of that peace descends
On air she breathed, on earth she trod.
May we feel in heart and life
A new-born bond of love with God!

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

THE SHIPWRECK OF LIFE

Ere the ship of thy life went down,
And thou shook'st in the on-rushing tide,
Did a thought of the fast-closing heart
Flit out o'er the waters wide?

Ere the ship of thy life went down,
And thou heard'st the swift pace of thy doom,
Did a glance of the fast-closing eye
Thrill right through the nerves of the gloom?

When the ship of thy life went down,
It was dark—it was dark like a night.
When the smile of the stars is quenched
By the tread of the stormy blight.

When the ship of thy life went down,
The shriek that arose from the soul
Was hushed in the bosom of the deep,
And rocked from pole to pole.

NALINIMOHAN CHATTERJEE

FATIGUE AND ITS PREVENTION

To the brain worker the problem of the prevention of fatigue is, or should be, of absorbing interest. The recent discoveries on the subject, however, promise to benefit as much not only the man who uses his mind, but also the man who uses his muscles, to earn his daily bread.

The problem has both a physical and a spiritual and mental side. In both these spheres considerable progress has been made. The advance on the spiritual and mental side has not been so pronounced as on the physical, but the progress achieved has, nevertheless, been substantial. Both Coué and Professor Baudoin have made noteworthy contributions to the subject. On the other hand, the discoveries on the physical plane, if the reports on the subject are to be relied upon, are little short of remarkable. A brief review of some of them may prove of interest.

Most important of all is the announcement by Sir Robert Armstrong Jones of the discovery of a vaccine to enable people to go through all forms of exertion without fatigue. This vaccine, it is said, is being tested in the laboratories, and will soon be available for use by the man in the street.

Another very important statement is to the effect that common or ordinary salt has been found to be of great efficacy in the prevention of fatigue in certain cases. Professor K. Neville Moss, speaking to members of the Institution of Mining Engineers at Burlington House is reported to have said that by persuading miners to drink a solution of salt, 20 per cent. can be added to the efficiency of those working in heated atmospheres. Miners working in hot, dry places drink large quantities of water and perspire freely. This often causes cramp and fatigue. In such cases a solution of salt in water given to balance the loss of the salt has often remarkable results. In one instance a miner of poor physique, who drank eight pints of water during the shift, by taking salt each day for three months showed, during this time, no signs of cramp or fatigue. His appetite improved and he felt quite fresh after work, whereas formally, owing to excessive fatigue, he was obliged to stop work at 12-30 P.M. His life at home also underwent a great change. From being lazy and sleepy he became alert and full of energy.

Our factory and mine managers might do worse than make a note of these experiences. The best solution to use in such cases, it is said, is one which contains 60 per cent. of sodium chloride and 40 per cent. of potassium chloride.

Dean Inge, that remarkable figure among contemporary English Churchmen, has made a very interesting statement on the subject of fatigue, which I quote in full :—

"How many persons in England know that a dose of seven grammes of acid Sodium Phosphate increases a man's capacity for prolonged muscular effort by about 20 per cent. and probably aids in prolonged mental work? A group of coal miners in Germany took it for nine months on end with very great effect on their output. The Germans gave it to their shock-troops in the war; and it may become a normal beverage, as it is said, to be followed by no reaction."

The most recent announcement comes from Paris. According to Le Temps, as quoted in the Literary Digest, two Frenchmen, Messrs. Livet and Roger, have discovered certain drugs which not only retard the process of fatigue, but give new energy to the body. These substances, it is said, belong to the family of the "polymethlic cyclanols," and are applied in subcolloidal solution as ointments to the skin.

These measures, however remarkable, appear to be only expedients for temporarily increasing the supply of energy available in the human system, and do not teach us to employ the natural forces, both physical and mental, which are inherent in us in a manner which would enable us to stave off fatigue, Yet it would be interesting to know the experiences of those who have experimented on these lines.

The series of experiments carried out by Professor Mosso of Turin, and the conclusions arrived at by him, though not of a very recent date, are still of the utmost value. In addition to furnishing important *data* for further investigations they help us to understand the present position in the matter. The two main conclusions arrived at by him may be summarised as follows:

(1) that fatigue is caused by poisons produced by effort, or work, and

(2) that "work done by a muscle already fatigued acts on that muscle in a more harmful manner than a heavier task performed under normal conditions."

The conclusion that fatigue is due to poisons caused by effort, or work, would seem to mean that if we work we cannot hope to escape the inevitable consequence, namely, fatigue. But this is not always so. In this dilemma a knowledge of physiology comes to the rescue and furnishes at least a partial means of escape. From the following extract from Charles Richet's "Physiologie des muscles des nerfs" it will be observed that there are conditions under which work performed by the body does *not* cause any fatigue whatever:

"In reflex contractures there is no perceptible fatigue. In hysterical patients such contractures may last for an indefinite period without the patient being aware of any feeling of fatigue."

The conclusion has, therefore, been arrived at that the cause of fatigue is *voluntary* or *conscious* effort, and that if effort is unconscious or involuntary there will be no fatigue. The fact is of outstanding importance, as it shows how we may avoid, or at least minimise, fatigue. It follows therefore that the less conscious effort we use in work, the less will be the fatigue. This is not an "invitation to laziness," as someone has said, but a statement of one of nature's own laws.

It has also been observed that one immediate effect of conscious effort is tension both of body and mind, and further observation has proved that whatever produces tension of mind and body produces also fatigue.

These facts explain why it is that work done while the body and mind are in a state of relaxation, which is the opposite of a state of tension, results in little or no fatigue, as Professor Baudoin points out in his book "Suggestion and Auto-suggestion." They also afford grounds for further deductions and speculations, but space forbids entering into these.

As regards the second main conclusion arrived at by Professor Mosso the following extracts from his classic work on "Fatigue" will prove illuminating and helpful:—

"When the body is fatigued even a small amount of work produces disastrous effects"......"The workman who persists in his task when he is already fatigued not only produces less effective work, but receives greater injury to his organism.

"The intervals of repose between one effort and another should be longer when one is tired."

From the above statements it appears that it is advisable, if we would maintain our energy to the end, to take short spells of rest while at work.

That the attitude of the mind is an important factor in the prevention of fatigue is an admitted fact, and demonstrably true. Our own experience confirms this. With that acumen and simplicity which characterise his utterances Monsieur Coué says that if, in accomplishing a task, we would escape fatigue, we must think that it is easy. The reason for this is not far to seek. If we think a thing easy we put forth little or no effort to do it; and, as it has been pointed out, it is conscious effort that produces fatigue.

The question then arises, what are the states of mind which favour the retention of energy, and which dissipate energy and produce fatigue. From what has been said it will be evident that states of mind that cause us to use effort, or produce tension, namely, states such as anger, anxiety or worry, hurry, want of faith and confidence in ourselves, will eventually produce fatigue; while the opposite states of mind, such as peace, faith, confidence, leisureliness (as opposed to hurry, *not* slowness) which help to relax the mind, will help to conserve energy and prevent fatigue.

Apart from the question of the prevention of fatigue is the question of the increase and control of energy. To achieve these ends, right thought, right diet, and right physical exercises are essential. No one, for instance,. who has not experienced it, can realise the increase of energy which follows from a purification, even in part, of the blood stream. Those interested in the subject and desiring further information are referred to Mr. Eustace Miles' thought-inspiring book "Economy of Energy", which will well repay a careful perusal and study.

C. A. SHAVIER

LIFE'S DREAM

Ah! all thro' life I dream a dream;
  I feel on hill-top placed—
Blasted, barren, befogged that hill,
  Girt by chasms, death-enfaced.
Cold snakes upcreep along my back,
  Foul worms slither on my face,
An unburnt corpse clasps me round
  In stinking, wet embrace.
My feet, betied with stony weight,
  My hands benumbed, hate-bound—
All—all are dead but feeling lives
  A life, unknown, unfound.
I try to dream 'tis but a dream,
  To wake from misery,
I scream—'tis real, not a dream—
  In dream I feel, dream-free.
But what avail my thought and strife?
I swear it is not dream but life.

Our sages say my life is dream—
  So loathsome and so dark,
They bid me wake and find my God,
  Of Him I but a spark.
O blessed they, their words live true,
  May they wing unto my soul
And wake me from this dream, called life
  To life, not part but whole!

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

PARLIAMENTARY PRIVILEGE

(*Freedom from arrest and its application to the Legislatures of India*)

The arrest of Mr. Anil Baran Ray and Mr. Satyendra Chandra Mitra, two members of the Bengal Legislative Council, under Regulation III of 1818 and their detention in jail even on the occasion of the meeting of the Legislative Council on the 7th January last, raises several very important constitutional issues. In England, as well as in the British Dominions, such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, the members of the Legislatures enjoy what are known as the "Privileges of Parliament." These Privileges include, among others, right of freedom of speech and debate in the legislative chambers, freedom from arrest or molestation of members of the Houses, the right of expulsion possessed by the Houses to discipline and punish their own members, and lastly, the right to arrest and commit to prison disrespectful outsiders. Of these the two privileges of freedom of speech and freedom from arrest are of great practical importance and confer rights, not only against the crown, but against the public. The history of the origin and development of Parliamentary Privileges in England is very interesting and at the same time is of immense constitutional importance. The privileges of the House of Commons are now claimed at the commencement of every Parliament by the Speaker on behalf of the House of Commons as their "ancient and undoubted rights." But English kings did not all at once recognise these claims of the House of Commons. Some of them, notably, James I, on the other hand held that their "privileges were derived from the grace and permission of their ancestors and of them, for most of them grow from precedents, which show rather a toleration than inheritance." The reply of the House of Commons was clear and emphatic. They drew up the great "Protestation" of the 18th December, 1621. This was no petition to the king, but an unqualified declaration: "That the liberties, franchises, privileges and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England." Sending for the journals of the Commons James no doubt, in the presence of his Cabinet tore out the obnoxious Protestation with his own hand. But it was impossible to prevent the storm by smashing the barometer; the great Protestation remained engraved on the heart of the nation. Since then partly as the result of various Acts of Parliament passed from time to time, and partly as the result of the Glorious Revolution of 1688, Parliamentary Privileges in England have secured a definite statutory recognition and they can no longer be invaded either by the inconsiderate public or by the unsympathetic and unimaginative exective without an open and even glaring violation of recognised statute laws.

Again, by virtue of diverse statutes, imperial as well as local, Colonial Legislatures have taken powers that are pretty much the same as those of the Imperial House of Commons. Such legislation is not only possible under the general legislative power of the Colonies, but is often expressly conferred in the Constitution Acts, where it is normally given as a power to confer by legislation on the two Houses of the Parliament, and on the members of those Houses, powers equal to or less than those of the Lower House of the Imperial-Parliament: this is the case, for example, in the constitution of Victoria, of Western Australia, of South Australia and of Natal. In the case of the Commonwealth of Australia the privileges of Parliament are to be such as are appointed by Parliament by legislation; until then they are to be those which are enjoyed by the Imperial House of Commons from time to time. Thus the House of Commons privileges are to be the minimum which the Commonwealth has; and it may increase these privileges by ordinary legislation. In the Cape of Good Hope and Newfoundland the Constitution Acts contained no hint as to privileges at all, and the privileges of the Houses there rest on ordinary legislation. In the case of the Union of South Africa the privileges of the Parliament of the Union have been defined by an Imperial Act of 1911, which has imposed on the future Acts of the Union Parliament the constitutional obligation that the privileges exercised must not exceed those of the House of Commons from time to time. In the Transvaal and Orange River Colony the constitutions allowed each House to take by legislation the privileges of the House of Commons from time to time, or any less privileges, and this privilege was availed of by the Transvaal by the Parliamentary Privileges Act, 1907. When legislation has been passed there is no doubt of its effect, provided of course it does not infringe the constitution. In Canada, the Dominion Parliament was given by Section 18 of the British North America Act of 1867 such privileges as might be appointed by law, but so as that such privileges should never exceed those enjoyed by the House of Commons in England at the date of passing of the British North America Act. This Act was subsequently amended and the Imperial Parliament in 1875 altered the provisions of Section 18 of the British North America Act by making the limitation on the power of the Dominion Parliament merely that of not passing any Act which gave privileges greater than those enjoyed by the House of Commons in England, not in 1867 but at the date of the passing of the Act of the Dominion Parliament, defining the privileges thus taken. In the case of the provinces the Legislatures of Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia, Manitoba, Nova Scotia, New Burnswick, Prince Edward Island, Alberta and Saskatchewan have at various periods passed Acts conferring on these bodies the privileges enjoyed by the Canadian House of Commons. The validity of such legislations has been finally recognised by the Judicial Committee of the British Privy Council in the celebrated case of Fielding *v.* Thomas in 1896.

The privileges enjoyed by the Colonial Parliaments may be now summarised. The Assemblies may compel the attendance of any person before them, and the production of papers, and the serjeant may issue a warrant or subpoena to enforce attendance. Any committee may examine witness on oath, and in exercising the powers conferred, all persons acting under instructions are indemnified, and all sheriffs, constables, and others are bound to help them. No member shall be liable to any civil action or prosecution for things done before the Houses, by petition, motion, or otherwise. Except for a breach of the peace, no member shall be liable to arrest, detention or molestation during the session, and for twenty days after and before the session. During the same periods all members and officers of the Houses and witnesses summoned before them or a committee are exempted from serving on juries. The Assemblies are made courts and authorized to punish summarily (*i*) assaults, insults, and libels upon the members of the Houses while in session ; (*ii*) obstruction or intimidation of members ; (*iii*) assaults upon or interference with officers of the Assemblies in the discharge of their duties ; (*iv*) bringing an action against, or causing the arrest of members for anything done by them in the Assemblies; (*v*) causing the arrest or molestation of members for civil suits. The punishment to be awarded is imprisonment during such portion of the session as the Legislative Assemblies may award, and the determination of the Houses is to be final and conclusive.

In India, however, even after instituting a diligent search into the entire Government of India Act, 1919, we find hardly any reference to such a thing as the "Privileges of Parliament". Sub-section (8) of Section 72D of the Act provides that "Subject to the rules and standing orders affecting the Council, there shall be freedom of speech in the Governor's Legislative Councils. No person shall be liable to any proceedings in any court by reason of his speech or vote in any such Council, or by reason of anything contained in any official report of the proceedings of any such council". Again sub-section (7) of Section 67 of the Government of India Act ordains: "Subject to the rules and standing orders affecting the Chamber, there shall be freedom of speech in both Chambers of the Indian Legislature. No person shall be liable to any proceedings in any Court by reason of his speech or vote in either Chamber, or by reason of anything contained in any official report of the proceedings of either Chamber." These are the only provisions of what may be called, Parliamentary Privileges, made by the Government of India Act, 1919, for the Indian Legislatures. Both the sub-sections, above referred to, relate merely to the right of freedom of speech of the members of the Central as well as of the Provincial Legislatures. We do not absolutely find even the slightest mention of the very important Parliamentary Privilege of Freedom from Arrest which is enjoyed equally by the members of the British House of Commons as well as by the members of the Colonial Legislatures, in the Sections and Sub-sections of the Government of India Act.

The topic of freedom from arrest is, no doubt, connected with that of freedom of speech, but it is wider. Not only do members of the British and Dominion Parliaments claim that they are not to be arrested, or in any way impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliaments for words spoken in the Houses, but they claim a general immunity from the ordinary law. In England, the members of the House of Commons have claimed from a very early time this liberty during the session of Parliament and for forty days before and after the session—a period reasonably necessary for their coming and going. The object of the privilege was doubtless to secure the safe arrival and departure, and the regular attendance of members on the scene of their Parliamentary duties. The privilege itself had existed from the days of the Saxon assembly which had possessed it in common with other Teutonic sasemblies. Thus, the recognition of freedom from arrest has been dated back to a law of Æthelbert, the first christian king of Kent, at the end of the sixth century; while king Cnut also extends his special protection over those going to and from the "gemot." But the extent of the privilege was most indeterminate. It was formally recognised by Henry IV in 1403 on a petition being presented to him by the House of Commons. A Statute under Henry VI in 1433 gave some sanction to this privilege and further regulated and extended it. The privilege was invaded in Thorpe's case (1453), and the invasion was sanctioned by the House of Lords but the Judges who were consulted, expressed themselves very positively as to its existence, and further made a declaration which was to be of great importance in the future, to the effect that the Courts of law could not measure the Privileges of Parliament, these being matters which could only be determined by Parliament itself. The House of Commons by degrees carried the principle further and further. Hitherto, members of the House of Commons arrested, could be only released from custody either by a special Act of Parliament, or by a Writ of Privilege issued by the Lord Chancellor for which, of course, the House had to make an application to the Chancellor. The first occasion on which the Commons acted independently of any other power in the vindication of their privilege was in the important case of George Ferrers, a member, who in 1543 was arrested by process issuing out of the court of King's Bench. On hearing of the arrest, the House sent their serjeant to demand the release of the imprisoned member. The serjeant being resisted by the gaolers and sheriffs of London was obliged to return empty handed. Whereupon the House "would sit no longer without their burgess, but rose up wholly and repaired to the upper House, where the whole case was declared by the mouth of the Speaker, before Sir Thomas Audley, Knight, then Lord Chancellor of England, and all the Lords and Judges there assembled, who judging the contempt to be very great, referred the punishment thereof to the order of the Commons House. They returning to their places again, upon new debate of the case, took order that their Serjeant should eftsoons repair to the Sheriff of London, and require delivery of the said burgess, without any writ or warrant had for the same, but only as afore. And yet the Lord Chancellor offered there to grant a writ, which they of the Commons House refused, being in a clear opinion, that all commandments and other acts proceeding from the Nether House, were to be done and executed by their Serjeant without writ, only by show of his mace, which was his warrant. But before the Serjeant's return into London, the Sheriffs having intelligence, how heinously the matter was taken, became somewhat more mild, so as upon the said second demand, they delivered the prisoner without any denial. But the Serjeant having then further in commandment from those of the Nether House, charged the said Sheriffs to appear personally on the morrow, by eight of the clock before the Speaker in the Nether House, and to bring thither the clerks of the Compter, and such officers as were parties to the said affray, and in like manner to take into his custody the said White, which willingly procured the said arrest, in contempt of the privilege of the Parliament.

Which commandment being done by the said Serjeant accordingly, on the morrow the two Sheriffs with one of the Clerks of the Compter together with the said White, appeared in the Commons House, where the Speaker charging them with their contempt and misdemeanour aforesaid, they were compelled to make immediate answer, without being admitted to any counsel............. In conclusion, the said Sheriffs and the same White were committed to the Tower of London, and the said clerk to a place there called Little Ease, and the Officer of London which did the arrest, called Taylor, with four other officers to Newgate, where they remained from the eighth and twentieth until the thirtieth of March, and then they were delivered, not without humble suit made by the Mayor of London and other their friends. ....The King (Henry VIII) then being advertised of all this proceeding, called immediately before him the Lord Chancellor of England, and his Judges, with the Speaker of Parliament, and other of the gravest persons of the Nether House to whom he declared his opinion to this effect. First commending their wisdoms in maintaining the privileges of their House (which he would not have to be infringed in any point) he alleged that he being head of the Parliament, and attending in his own person upon the business thereof, ought in reason to have privilege for him and all his servants attending there upon him. So that if the said Ferrers had been no burgess, but only his servant, yet in respect thereof he was to have the privilege as well as any other. For I understand (quoth he) that you not only for your own persons, but also for your necessary servants, even to your cooks and housekeepers, enjoy the said privilege............And further we be informed by our judges, that we at no time stand so highly in our estate royal, as in the time of Parliament, wherein we as head and you as members, are conjoined and knit together into one body politic so as whatsoever offense or injury (during that time) is offered to the meanest member of the House, is to be judged as done against our person, and the whole court of Parliament. Which prerogative of the court is so great (as our learned counsel informeth us) as all acts and processes coming out of any other inferior courts must for the time cease and give place to the highest............ Whereupon Sir Edward Montacute, Lord Chief Justice, very gravely told his opinion, confirming by divers reasons all that the King had said, which was assented unto by all the residue, none speaking to the contrary." (3 Holinshed's Chronicle, 824-26.) So even an autocratic and obstinate king like Henry VIII had to recognise the existence of this important privilege. Gradually by degrees the privilege was claimed not only for the persons of the members of the House of Commons, but also for their servants as well. Until 1853 the Speaker claimed immunity even for the estates of members, but the Commons subsequently waived the right and the word was for the future omitted from the demand. The privilege of freedom from arrest and imprisonment was also withdrawn from the servants of members saving it only for the persons of the members themselves.

The assertion of a privilege was of little use unless it was backed up by adequate means of protection and enforcement. In the past, the House of Commons generally relied on a writ of privilege issued from the Chancery. In the exceptional case of Thomas Thorpe (1453), the Commons called in the assistance of the House of Lords. But in 1543, as we have already observed, in the case of George Ferrers, the Commons asserted their own authority, refused a writ of privilege offered them by the Chancellor, and through their serjeant successfully demanded the prisoner's release. Before the end of Elizabeth's reign occur several cases which unmistakably prove that the Commons had finally asserted for themselves not only the privilege of freedom from arrest but the means of enforcing it. Nor did they stop here; for, in order to safeguard it, they began the custom of appointing a standing Committee of privileges at the opening of each session of Parliament. But even these precautions proved insufficient and it was in the celebrated case of Sir Thomas Shirley (1603) that the privilege was finally secured by the first distinct legislative acknowledgment of the right of freedom from arrest. Sir Thomas was elected M.P. in James I's first Parliament. Before Parliament met, he was arrested on an execution of debt and was imprisoned in the Fleet. On the first day of the session the attention of the House of Commons was called to this arrest. The Speaker issued a warrant and the Commons sent their serjeant to demand his release. This being refused by the Warden of the Fleet, he was committed to the Tower for contempt. But the Warden still remained obdurate although the Commons committed him "to the dungeon known by the expressive name of the Little Ease." At length owing to the intervention of the King himself, the Warden gave way and Sir Thomas Shirley was released. The Warden, however, was not released till four days later, and then only after a humble apology at the bar of the House of Commons and after a reprimand. An Act was now passed which fully admitted and gave statutory sanction to the existence of the privilege. The Act of 1604 together with a subsequent declaration of the Commons in 1625, "that the House hath power when they see cause to send the Serjeant immediately to deliver a prisoner," made a writ of privilege from the Chancery altogether unnecessary; and it has become enough for the House merely to issue its warrant or order for the release of an arrested member. By the effect of this enactment the freedom of members from arrest has become not so much a Parliamentary privilege as a legal right.

In 1626, Charles I ordered the arrest of two members of the House of Commons, Sir John Eliot and Sir Dudley Digges, for things said in their speeches in regard to the impeachment of Charles's most trusted and favourite Minister, the Duke of Buckingham, and they were immediately committed to the Tower. The Commons very much resented this outrage and they at once resolved that they would do no further business till they were righted in their privileges, or in other words, until their members were released. Even an obstinate king like Charles I had to yield; he admitted that he was mistaken, and released both their members. We do not know if the members of the present Bengal Legislative Council gave notice of a resolution on similar lines—a resolution like that which was adopted by the English House of Commons in May, 1626, and which ultimately effected the release of the two members arrested by King Charles, Sir John Eliot and Sir Dudley Digges.

But it may urged that neither in England nor in the British Dominions was the privilege of freedom from arrest ever held to protect members from the consequences of treason, felony, or breach of the peace. Even at the present day this immunity from arrest is not claimable for a member committed for any of the above-mentioned crimes. But the case of England as well as of the Dominions is quite different from that of India. In India there do not exist the same constitutional safeguards which prevail in Great Britain and in all the self-governing Colonies. In England, an Act of 1870 (33, 34 Vict. C. 23, S. 2) has provided that any person "hereafter convicted of treason or felony, for which he shall be sentenced to death, penal servitude, or any term of imprisonment with hard labour, or exceeding twelve months, shall become and (until he shall have suffered the punishment to which he shall be sentenced or such other imprisonment as may by competent authority be substituted for the same, or shall receive a free pardon from Her Majesty) shall continue thenceforth incapable of being elected, or sitting, or voting as a member of either House of Parliament." A member convicted of misdemeanour, or sentenced to a shorter term of imprisonment, without hard labour, than twelve months, is not thereby disqualified. It rests with the House to deal with such cases, if necessary by expulsion, though expulsion does not disqualify or prevent the constituency from re-electing the expelled member. Now, if a member of the House of Commons is convicted of treason or felony, then in that case in accordance with the Act of 1870 referred to above, the member becomes "incapable of sitting or voting in the House." The House of Commons then can deal with such a case as it thinks necessary. It can expel the convicted member from the House itself and can order for a fresh election in regard to the vacancy thus created. The right of expelling its own members for grave offences or misconduct is a privilege which the House of Commons has exercised from the earliest times and it is a real and effective privilege which is possessed by the House even to-day. Thus as soon as a member of the House of Commons is adjudged guilty of treason or felony, the House proceeds to expel the convicted person and the result of an act of expulsion is that a vacancy occurs in the House and a fresh election has to take place. Thus the constituency does not remain unrepresented and it can at once exercise its franchise of electing another member for the vacancy thus caused. The recent case of Horatio Bottomley who was a member of the House of Commons is an instance in point. He was found guilty of felony and sentenced to penal servitude by the court of justice. Therefore, according to the Parliamentary Statute of 1870, Mr. Bottomley became at once "incapable of sitting or voting as a member of the House of Commons" and the House brought forward a motion for his expulsion which was carried and a fresh election was ordered for the vacancy created thereby. Thus when the privilege of freedom from arrest does not protect a member of the House of Commons from the consequences of treason, felony or breach of peace, the electorate or the nation at large, does not thereby suffer at all. The constituency is not certainly prevented from an effective exercise of its franchise in such a case and it can at once and undoubtedly elect some other representative in the place of the expelled member. Of course, it must be remembered in this connection that the mere expulsion by the House of Commons of a member unconnected with any of the above-mentioned crimes, does not disqualify or prevent the constituency from re-electing the expelled member.

In the self-governing Dominions, the rules in cases like these are much more specific and elaborate. We have already observed what "Parliamentary Privileges" the members of the Colonial Legislatures enjoy. Here also the privilege of freedom from arrest does not extend to members convicted of treason, felony, or breach of the peace. But the provisions in the Constitutions of the Dominions for such cases are better than those of the English Constitution. Thus, in the Commonwealth of Australia, by the Commonwealth Electoral Act, 1902, *a seat in the Lower House is vacated* if a member thereof is attainted of treason, or has been convicted for any offence punishable under the law of the Commonwealth. In New South Wales, under Act No. 32 of 1902, and No. 41 of 1906, *a seat is vacated*, among other reasons, if a member is attainted of treason, or is convicted of felony or any infamous crime. Similarly in Victoria, Queensland, South Australia and Tasmania, under diverse statutes, *a seat is vacated*, among other grounds, if a member is attainted of treason, or is adjudged guilty of felony or any infamous crime. In New Zealand, under Section 24 of the *Consolidated Statutes*, 1908, No. 101, the seat of any member of Parliament shall become *vacant* on different grounds, one of which is:—If a member is a public defaulter or is convicted of any crime punishable by death, or by imprisonment with hard labour for a term of two years or upwards, or is convicted of a corrupt practice. In Natal, in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony a member has to *vacate his seat*, if he is attainted of treason, or is sentenced to imprisonment for an infamous offence, becomes insane, or accepts any office under the Crown. Under Sections 53 and 54 of the *South African Union* Act, 1909, (9 Edw. VII, C. 9) a seat in the House of Assembly in South Africa becomes *vacant*, among other reasons, if a member has been convicted of any crime or offence for which he has been sentenced to imprisonment without the option of a fine for a term of not less than twelve months. So in almost all the colonies, there exist adequate provisions for safeguarding the interests as well as the franchises of the electorate. If a member of the Colonial Legislature is arrested and then convicted of treason or felony or any other infamous crime, his seat in the Legislative Chamber, becomes *vacant* under the law, and the constituency can at once proceed to elect some other member in his place.

But what is our experience in India? Here, in Bengal, we have seen that two members of the local legislature have been arrested and what is more, they have been prevented from attending the meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council on the 7th January last, although they are still members of the Legislative Council and although they received official summons as good as that of others, to attend the Council. The action of the executive in the detention of these two members raises a grave constitutional issue. The Government of India Act, 1919, as we have already noticed, makes practically no provision for the "Privileges" of the members of the Legislatures in India. That perhaps, explains the recent action of the Bengal Government in the arrest and continued detention of the two members of the local Legislative Council. Apparently it seems that the Government has acted according to law, but the constitutional difficulties involved in the whole procedure are not solved at once. The most vital question that demands an answer at the present moment is: What has been the offence of the two imprisoned members of the Bengal Legislative Council? If the charge levelled against them is really a charge of sedition or treason, we have no grounds for complaint. For, even in England and in the British Dominions, the privilege of freedom from arrest does not apply to a member adjudged guilty of treason, felony or breach of the peace. But we must observe very carefully at the same time that in those countries crimes connected with treason or felony can be only punished by the law-courts. It is only when a member has been actually convicted of treason or felony by the judiciary that the British House of Commons proceeds to expel the guilty member from the House and a bye-election takes place. In the self-governing Colonies, of course, the seat of a member adjudged guilty of treason, or felony or any other infamous crime, becomes at once vacant in the legislative chamber under the law. So there are ample provisions in the

British Constitution and in the Constitutions of the Dominions, for safeguarding the rights and privileges of the members of the Legislature as well as of the electorate. Here, in Bengal, so far as we know, the two arrested members have not hitherto been convicted of treason by the law-courts. For the sake of justice and fair-play, therefore, they ought to have been allowed to be present at the meeting of the last Legislative Council and exercise their right of vote there which is truly speaking, a sacred trust lodged with them by their constituencies.

Again, assuming hypothetically, that the two members are really guilty of treason and that they should not be released on any account, even in that case the Government has no right to deprive their constituencies of their legal and undoubted franchises which they are perfectly entitled to exercise without any hindrance or molestation from any authority whatsoever, under the Government of India Act, 1919. In England, as also in the Dominions, the seat of a member attainted of treason becomes at once vacant and the constituency elects without delay some other representative in his place. Here, curiously enough, the Government of India Act has not provided for such contingencies at all. In India, according to Sub-section (1a) of Section 64, Sub-section (4a) of Section 72A, Section 80B, and Sub-Sections (1) and (2) of Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1919, casual vacancies can occur in the Council of State, in the Indian Legislative Assembly, and in the Provincial Legislative Councils only "by reason of absence of members from India, inability to attend to duty, death, acceptance of office, or resignation duly accepted or otherwise," Under the above-mentioned circumstances, "a member's seat in the Council shall become vacant." We have, therefore, no remedy here like that existing in England as well as in the self-governing Dominions, that the seat of a member convicted of treason shall always become vacant *ipso facto*. The Government of India Act does not absolutely contemplate any other method by which a seat in the Council becomes vacant. This may, perhaps, be the reason why the Government of Bengal in the recent cases could not declare the seats of Mr. Anil Baran Ray and Mr. Satyendra Chandra Mitra in the Council, vacant, because the Government of India Act does not in any way provide for the vacation of seats on the Council in cases like these to which we have just referred. The Act is thus extremely faulty and its provisions are very inadequate and disappointing. But simply because the Government of India Act has not made a provision in regard to a most important matter, it is no reason, and further, it is no justification that the constituencies of Mr. Ray and Mr. Mitra, two members of the Bengal Legislative Council, should continue to remain absolutely unrepresented in the Council Chamber. Those two constituencies certainly possess their rightful franchise under the Government of India Act itself and they can be deprived of their franchise which is virtually their property, only by the performance of acts of a disqualifying nature, and that again, after a proper decision of the law-courts. In fact, there are now two and only two properly constitutional courses before the Government of Bengal. It can either release the imprisoned members and thus enable them to attend their duties in the Legislative Council, or, if the Government is really determined not to set them at liberty on any account, it must intercede with the British Parliament so that the Act may be so amended or changed as to permit the vacation of these two seats in the Legislative Council. To do neither is flagrantly unconstitutional, if not illegal, for the constituencies cannot go unrepresented under the law for an indefinite length of time. If the Government of India Act does not provide for such vacancies it does not, at the same time, provide also that two constituencies may remain unrepresented in the legislative chamber for an indefinite period. On the contrary, Sub-section (2) of Section 72A of the Government of India Act, 1919, expressly requires that "the number of members of the Governor's Legislative Councils shall be in accordance with the table set out in the First Schedule to this Act; and of the members of each Council not more than twenty per cent. shall be official members, and at least seventy per cent. shall be elected members." The First Schedule to Section 72A of the Act provides that the Bengal Legislative Council shall contain 139 members. Now, this requirement of the Statute is mandatory; but how is this provision of the Goverment of India Act strictly and honestly observed if the Bengal Government prevents two elected representatives of the people who are still members of the Council by legal rights, from attending their functions in the Council Chamber? The two members of the Bengal Legislative Council have got an inherent right to attend; the constituencies which they represent undoubtedly possess the inherent franchise to be represented in the Council, under the Government of India Act. The two members, in spite of their arrest are still members of the Council and their names also appear on the official list and on the last occassion they received summons as good as that of other members, to attend to their place of business in the Council. Was not the action of the Bengal Government, therefore, in forcefully obstructing the two members of the Council to transact their lawful business in the legislative chamber, a most preposterous and at the same time, unwarranted assumption of power which the Government of India Act, 1919, does not at all justify?

Moreover, such an intolerable usurpation and cynical violation of legal rights by the executive should not be allowed to pass unchallenged and thereby acquire the stamp and authority of a precedent, on other grounds also. We know that the Bengal Ordinance Bill was defeated in the Council by a majority of nine votes. But under the existing system, the Government can very well arrest and imprison a sufficient number of members of the Bengal Legislative Council and thereby secure a Government majority in the

Council Hall. Members of the Legislatures in India do not enjoy the salutary Parliamentary Privilege of Freedom from Arrest, nor do their seats in the Council become vacant even if they are imprisoned by the mere order of the executive for an indefinite period. The present state of things is thus fraught with the gravest consequences. Under it the executive is virtually arrogating to itself complete and undiluted legislative and some sort of judicial functions also; because the Government can in its executive capacity arrest, and then sitting in a quasi-judicial role imprison for any length of time, a sufficient number of members of the Legislative Council so as to procure the required Government majority there, and finally proceed to the Council with full confidence for carrying through all Government measures, however injurious they may be to the people's interests. Of course, at the present time the Governor of a province can, according to Section 72E of the Government of India Act, 1919, "certify any Bill relating to a reserved subject notwithstanding the Council have not consented thereto," and such a Bill shall, on signature by the Governor, become an Act of the local legislature. But this power of the Governor applies to Bills relating to reserved subjects only; this power of certification does not extend to Bills relating to transferred subjects. Under the present circumstances, however, a resolute and determined Governor can introduce violent and revolutionary changes in the laws with regard to transferred subjects also by securing the desired official majority in the Council Chamber through a policy of indiscriminate arrests of obnoxious members of the Legislative Council.

It is the paramount duty of the country now to protest against this executive high-handedness and this glaring violation of the Constitution. The issue raised is of supreme constitutional importance and it is necessary that a fair solution of the present difficulties should be reached at an early date. Whatever might be the injustice, whatever might be the impolicy of the action of the Government, the legal right of the executive to arrest persons under Regulation III of 1818 is indisputable. But it is one thing to arrest two members of the Legislative Council; it is quite another thing to detain them in custody even on the occasion of the meeting of the legislature and thus prevent them from performing their lawful duties and their constituencies from being represented in the Council. The first lies, no doubt, within the province of the executive alone: but the second can only be done by an Act of Parliament. The present action of the Bengal Government has virtually annulled or suspended for the time being at least, rights of the two constituencies which Mr. Ray and Mr. Mitra now represent. So against this dangerous invasion of the constitution we must emphatically maintain that to send representatives to the Council Chamber is the common and undoubted legal right of all the constituencies in Bengal, created under the Government of India Act, 1919, and that incapacities suspending, abrogating or annihilating this franchise can only be created by Act of Parliament. It is high time, therefore, that an earnest and resolute attempt should be made for defending the cause of the constituencies. The danger inherent in the action of the Government is of the gravest kind; if their claim is allowed to pass unchallenged, it may extend to the complete subversion of the constitution. "Where Law ends, tyranny begins," said Lord Chatham. The attempt of the executive to suspend or to extinguish the franchises of the constituencies and thereby to place itself in the discharge of functions above the law of the land is an act of treason against the constitution. On the occasion of the famous Middlesex Election of 1768, it was contended in the British House of Commons, as well as in the British House of Lords, by several distinguished members of those bodies, such as Lord Shelburne, Sir George Savile and others, that the proceedings of the Parliament without the presence of the single lawful representative of the County of Middlesex were invalidated. Arguing on similar lines, it may be possible for us to assert that all the transactions of the Bengal Legislative Council on the 7th January last, are also vitiated, because of the forcible detention in custody of the lawful representatives of two constituencies who were not allowed by the Government to attend the Council.

Lastly, we have one humble suggestion to offer. In many of the self-governing Colonies, legislation in regard to the Parliamentary Privileges of their legislatures was possible under the general legislative power of the Colonies. In the case of the Cape of Good Hope and Newfoundland, the Constitution Acts contained no hint as to privileges at all, and the privileges of the Houses there rest on ordinary legislation. Now, the question is: Is not such legislation possible in India under the general legislative power of the legislatures here? From a perusal of Sections 65 and 80A of the Government of India Act, 1919, it appears that the legislatures of this country "have powers to make laws for the peace and good Government" of the land, provided such laws are made subject to the provisions of this Act and they do not infringe the Constitution in any way. We, therefore, venture to submit that legislatures all over India should, at once, direct their whole-hearted attention and energy to the very important task of framing and carrying through the Councils, Bills that must embody the wholesome Privileges of the British and the Dominion Parliaments—Parliamentary Privileges that should be made applicable to the legislatures of India. If the Viceroy or the Provincial Governors do not give their assent to such Bills, that would be another matter. In any case an earnest endeavour ought to be made.

TRIPURARI CHAKRAVARTI

SOME CURRENCY LESSONS OF THE WAR

III

War time experience confirms the prevailing notions of economic theory relating to the effects of a gradually depreciating or a slowly rising exchange. A rising exchange is often liked by politicians and import merchants regardless of the fact that it leads to a disastrous fall in prices. Ever since the time of Sir Thomas Gresham the idea of continuous forcing of the exchange value of the country's currency has been favoured as it would lead to the importation of gold and silver.[1] They knew full well that an unduly high exchange cheapens imports but did not recognise that it might act as a prejudicial factor on internal industrial development and ultimately bring about a restriction of exports from the country. A falling exchange has long been thought of as conferring a bounty on exports.[2] Both these crude notions prevailed down to the beginning of the twentieth century. People generally believed these doctrines to be true in their mistaken belief that the possession of gold is a distinct advantage to the nation. It is the economists who have shattered this belief. This they succeeded in doing by the following methods of reasoning. Firstly, they have shown us that gold is not a thing to be consumed but is only a thing to facilitate trade. As one economist says "economic prosperity does not lie in having a large per-capita holding of gold possessed by the country." Secondly, they have shown us that the rates of exchange are the effect rather than the cause of changes in price levels. This is how Prof. Taussig puts it "a comparatively slight disturbance of international payments leads to a flow of specie and sets in motion a train of forces, either in the market, in the narrower sense or in the general price market which tend to check the flow of specie and bring about a new equilibrium."[1] Suppose England is heavily indebted to France and suppose gold is exported from England in liquidation of this international indebtedness. The depleted gold reserves in the English Banks will force them to contract credit and the augmented reserve situation in the French Banks would lead to the granting of more loans in France. If the English still persist in buying from France, the effects would be spread all over the country by a restriction of the money lent by the banks. The general price level falls in England and the country becomes an attractive one to buy goods on account of the low price level. Exports are encouraged and there is the flow of gold back to the country.

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[1] Sir Thomas Gresham says, "with the raising of the exchange, we do without doubt rob all Christendom of their fine gold and fine silver and after once brought into the realm it doth still remain and thereby all foreign commodities and ours with all manner of kind of victuals doth fall to a reasonable price and daily like to be better cheap if the exchange do rise higher as it like to do if it be well in time.". See his Letter to Cecil—

Quoted in the "Economic Journal", Dec., 1924, p. 600.

[2] The fall of 1*d.* in the exchange value of the rupee gives the Indian spinner an advantage of about $\frac{1}{10}$*d.* per ℔ of cotton. "When the rupee falls 1*d.* India can export wheat to England at a reduction of 1*s.* 6*d.* per quarter, measured in English money." See A. L. Bowley. "England's Foreign Trade in the XIXth century," pp. 100 and 115.

But during the war, the levying of embargoes on gold exportation from the European countries had a very adverse effect on the exchanges already deranged to a great extent by adverse trade balances. The effect of this influence was strengthened to a certain extent by their depreciating currencies. Gold was massed in the hands of the Central Banks to support the "bladder of credit" which was blown out till it was like "Falstaff and his lies, gross as a mountain"[2] and this had to be done to finance the war requirements of the States. It disappeared completely from circulation from the channels of trade and paper took its place.[1] Under these circumstances the rates of exchange began to register not only the current flow of international payments but also the state of the nations' currencies. Suppose Germany's paper currency was depreciated by about 100% while that of England remained at its parity with gold. It can be seen that a bill of exchange on London, which represents to Germany the approximate equivalent of gold, will sell in Germany at a price determined by the price of gold in German Paper. Thus the exchange rate that prevails registers the depreciation of the German currency. In normal times the rates of exchange register the state of international payments. In such abnormal times as the recent war, the " dislocated exchanges " reflect the state of currencies in the trading countries or indicate fairly the state of depreciation of the paper money, thus proving the solid truth of Goschen's theory. As he says, "Fluctuations which actually take place in the foreign exchanges are at once the necessary result and the certain index of the inequalities which exist in the indebtedness of different countries—inequalities either in the amount of their liabilities or in the time within which payment must be made, or in the relation of the currency of one country to another."[2]

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[1] See F. W. Taussig's article "International Trade, under Depreciated Paper" Quarterly Journal of Economics, May, 1912.

[2] Dr. O. P. Austin calculates that the paper circulation of the fifty principal countries of the world with a value in July, 1914, of $7,500,000,000 had increased by Nov. 1920 to a value (on a pre-war basis) of 81,000,000,000. He did not reckon the vast issues of Bolshevik currency in this estimate. Quoted in Dr. T. H. Boggs, "The International Trade Balance in Theory and Practice," p. 32.

Just as the nineteenth century people believed that the falling exchange conferred a bounty on exports, so do some of the twentieth century people believe that a depreciating currency confers a benefit on the country by stimulating exports and checking its imports. This fallacious statement is explained in the following manner. Suppose England's Paper Currency has depreciated. The English exporter obtains payment for his goods in the form of a bill of exchange payable in gold. This he can sell in his own country for a larger quantity of the domestic currency as it is depreciated in terms of gold. Though this reasoning appears to be logically faultless the matter is not so easy a thing. Everything depends on the price-level of the country. If the premium attached to gold in England is higher than the level of prices, exports can be stimulated as the export bill realisable in foreign gold can be sold for more of the English paper money. If the specie premium is lower than the level of prices it discourages exports as the English goods are worth less abroad than at home. Imports are stimulated under these conditions as the importer can pay easily for the foreign goods. Thus the real influence "depends on the divergence between the gold premium and the actual depreciation of the paper which may be in either direction."[1] Again another condition has to be noted. Even if inflation really produces an exchange premium constituting a bounty on exports as we have seen it to be possible in the above example it tends to be counteracted by increased production costs which result out of inflation. Even this stimulus to imports or exports would be removed if the depreciation becomes stable and stands fairly uniformly for a large number of years. The only consequence of this depreciation is a higher price level in the country. So it would be hasty reasoning to conclude that a depreciating currency always acts as a stimulus to exports. As Prof. Taussig would say "it may run either way and may stimulate or depress exports" and in the long run it has no such stimulating influence on the exports.

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[1] See Hartley Withers, "Bankers and Credit," Ch. on "The War-time Bulge."

[2] See Goschen's "Theory of the Foreign Exchanges," pp. 4 and 5.

The war-time experience and the after-war history of the European countries' trade relations enable us to dispose of the mercantilist notion once for all.[2] The supreme importance which they attached to a favourable balance of trade is no longer considered as a cause for great anxiety. As one economist says." the old shibboleth of the balance of trade has been put out of court." A country may enjoy a favourable trade balance, yet the exchanges might be against it. The country of France presents an admirable example of a country possessing a (visible) favourable trade balance yet the rate of exchange is very unfavourable and is quite contrary to the law of the supposed "favourable balance of trade." Some of the neutral countries like Sweden, Holland and Switzerland had an "unfavourable balance" but still they had all the exchange rates in their favour. The lesson that this experience teaches us is a valuable one. The rates of exchange are subject not only to the influence of trade conditions but they are susceptible to the influence of several other factors. It is not necessary that there should be a complete equivalence between exports and imports. It is altogether an unessential matter. It is the balance of payments that matters and this is subject to several influences. Prof. Bastable[1] and other writers have shown clearly how the various items enter into the balance of payments or accounts. It is not the influence of exports and imports alone that is important but the influence of shipping, interest charges and the nature of the currencies are no less negligible and in the long run the payments to and from the country must balance and if they fail to do so, certain forces are automatically brought into operation to restore the equilibrium. This is tersely expressed in the economists' language that "a high exchange or low exchange always tends to correct itself. Balance of payments and favourable exchange are in fact self-corrective provided that debtors always pay their debts. Exchange quotations always sooner or later return to purchasing power party." It is not the economists alone who are aware of these cardinal facts but even intelligent speculators guide their operations according to the above theorems. The speculators also know the full course of the normal cycle of exchanges in peace-time and the different phases of this normal cycle can be shown in the following order. An excess of imports causes an adverse exchange. An adverse exchange causes an excess of exports and an excess of exports causes a favourable exchange and a favourable exchange causes an excess of imports. No devices of banking, note regulation, production or borrowing can control these forces. The effects of the fluctuations in the rates of exchange have been considered by all the pre-war economists as having only a transitory effect and that they do not continue beyond the period necessary for wages and other elements for cost to adjust themselves to the new conditions. War-time experience and post-war experience reveal to us that this matter cannot be considered of trivial importance. This process of adjustment would involve grave social consequences and place serious difficulties in maintaining stable conditions of production.[1] With every fall in the exchange value of the domestic currency unit the price of foreign commodities would rise and domestic producers generally take advantage of this rise and raise the price of their own commodities. Thus the fluctuations of the exchange gradually begin to exercise a dominating influence on the domestic price-level and carries it away with it. When there is no confidence that the domestic currency unit would not further depreciate, it is the speculators who still further depress the falling exchange value of the currency unit by their unwise commitments. The further the exchange value falls the more important becomes its influence on the domestic price-level. This is the thing that has happened in Austria and Germany. If we take the exchange conditions of Austria in the first eight months of the year 1922 and note their influence on domestic price-level in Vienna, the truth of the above remarks would be amply demonstrated. Till 1920, inflation in Germany was due to budgetary deficit and this was primarily responsible for bringing exchange down and with the commencement of reparation payments the exchange value of the mark began to fall still further and further.

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[1] See Taussig's article, "International Trade under Depreciated Paper," Quarterly Journal of Economics, May, 1917.

[2] The mercantilists regarded the admission of imports from abroad as a concession at the expense of the importing nation, only to be made when necessary to obtain a similar concession or when forced by a stronger power. Trade was not regarded as beneficial to the purchaser. The merchants were the first to realise the fallacy of it and Adam Smith was the first economist to remove the international prejudice marring the trade relations between the different countries. See the "Petition of the Merchants" which actually commenced "the Battle of Free Trade" in 1820.

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[1] See Prof. Bastable, "Theory of International Trade," "The Equation on International Indebtedness."

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[1] See the Report of the Babington Smith Committee, pp. 15 and 16, para. 34.

It is only when the exchange conditions play such havoc and carry away the domestic price-level with it, when the price of imported necessities of life become prohibitive due to adverse exchange rates and when exchange rates rule everything else in the economic sphere,[1] that the cry for the stabilisation of exchange arises and there is ample justice and enough reason in the governmental control of exchange at such times. Stabilisation of exchange really means the restoring of confidence once more, the loss of which brought speculation into operation and made the exchange rates fall so rapidly. Confidence is " the boundless capital of hopeful augury " which has to be secured at any cost. Credit is only another name for confidence and national credit can create several things. As a recent writer says " credit moves mountains, whether of debt, poverty, hunger, unemployment or of more solid things such as earth, rock, railway trains, steamships or merchandise. " National credit has to be employed to secure enough credits to stabilise the exchange value at a definite level. This stable exchange rate conduces to stability of prices of foreign goods as well as those of domestic manufacture. With less violent fluctuations in the price-level economic life can be reconstructed.

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[1] The unsettling effect of extremely fluctuating exchange rates would make traders revert to barter and unsettle even the international market for securities. The following instances can be quoted in support of this statement. " France traded coal from the Saar Basin for a variety of German products. Similarly Belgium and Roumania traded coal for corn, Great Britain and Czecho-Slovakia traded coal for enamelware. No monetary unit was taken into account. A specific quantity of one commodity was exchanged for a specific quantity of another commodity. See Dr. E. M. Freidman, " International Finance and its Reorganisation," p. 343.

With the necessary pruning in government expenditure, state deficits can be wiped out. Foreign capital can once more flow into the country and stimulate trade, commerce and industries. This raises the taxation receipts of the state and public accounts, in spite of the abnormal interest that has to be paid for the war-time loans, can be balanced.[1]

It is now sufficiently clear why all economists emphasize on the supreme importance of stable exchange rates and they are no doubt correct in their insisting on this fundamental step for disorganised exchanges restrict the freedom of economic intercourse between the different countries and makes it impossible to establish continuous and friendly co-operation between the trading countries. It is the lack of this condition that is lowering the standard of life in the European countries. The mere restriction of population would never enable the European countries to regain their high standard of life. No European country, specially in Central Europe, is economically self-sufficient and as boundaries have been drawn purely on racial lines, the impelling necessity for greater economic intercourse should be realised and this can never be secured without restoring confidence in monetary stability. The lost fortune of the continental countries can never be regained if only liberty and peace are established or parties and the people become reconciled to each other or states and the spirits become disarmed but the fundamental condition is to facilitate exchanges. The modern European States are suffering not only on account of "too much arms and too much power" but their is too much money in their hands. It is this that is hindering real reconstruction. Like water, money is a good thing if it is to be had in the right quantity. "Too little water makes us parched and thirsty and too much drowns us." The same is the case with money.[1] A stinting of supply means starvation of industry and a demoralisation of population. A plethora of money would rob it of its entire value. It is desirous then that there should be neither too much nor too little of money.

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[1] Sir Henry Strakosch says that the League of Nations' plan in stabilising the Autrian Crown was mainly due to this factor. "Confidence in the ability and determination of Austria to keep her currency stable quickly raised her to the proud rank of a centre of safety for all the adjoining centres to send their savings to the place of refuge which is free from the depredations of monetary inflation. This steady stream of foreign savings into Austria enabled the Austrian State to balance the public accounts earlier than was anticipated under the League's plan." See his introduction to Dr. S. W. DeBorde's book entitled the "Austrian Crown."

So long as the fluctuations in exchange rates are moderate their influence on domestic price-level, etc., is not of much importance and as the Quantity Theory and the doctrine of purchasing-power parity tell us the rates of exchange are the result and the effect and not the cause of the price movement. While this statement can be accepted as a broad truth to be realised in normal peace times it, however, needs qualification to a certain extent. During times of disturbed confidence it is the rates of exchange that rule the diverse phases of human activity in the economic sphere. Under normal conditions exchange depreciation measures the internal price inflation. Both increase by proportionately the same percentage. Suppose inflation is caused by some reason or other and prices rise. When prices rise, exportation is checked and other countries import their goods and so long as this inflation exists, the goods of other countries have to be paid and the exchange value of the domestic currency falls in due proportion to domestic inflation. But war-time and post-war experience refutes this theory and if we take a concrete example from German currency history we find that although the volume of German currency increased by 42 times its pre-war value, Germany's internal prices have risen only by 25 times as much of the currency was exported out of the country and the American gold dollar whose internal purchasing power has depreciated 30 per cent. had become 75 times as expensive in terms of marks.[1] This dollar appreciation or exchange depreciation of the mark is not proportionate to the external rise in the price level and this external as well as internal distrust of the mark is the primary cause for the abnormal fluctuations in the German mark. This is not the only cause that can explain the vagaries of the mark exchange. Political causes, rumours of loans, rumours about the granting of moratoria and even cancellation of debts—all these and many more had their influence sometimes in accelerating the depreciation or at other times in arresting the downward course of the exchanges.

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[1] I am indebted for the illustration to Major E. Powell. See his "Present Deadlock in Finance."

Even international manipulation of the exchanges, as has been suggested recently,[2] can be justified on proper grounds. Each state to favour its own nationales generally controls exchange in their favour but the economic necessity for an international manipulation of exchanges by an international commission is this. The action of one solitary government, say France, in stabilising its exchange by manipulating its foreign loans and raising its exchange towards the desired level might be defeated by the action of another Government and no improvement in the French exchange can be effected. This is not mere theoretical reasoning but a concrete instance can be quoted in support of this statement.[3] Although there is much justification for international regulation of the exchange conditions still it is not a practicable measure owing to the lack of mutual goodwill and harmonious understanding between the different governments and when this co-operation is lacking such schemes are worse than useless.

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[1] This illustration is taken from L. B. Angas, "Reparations, Trade and Foreign Exchange."

[2] Prof. G. Cassel was the first exponent of this idea of restoring stability in international exchanges by stopping all inflation by joint agreement and conserving gold for liquidating the balance of payments only. See his second memorandum to the League of Nations on the "World's Monetary Problems."

[3] When England floated aloan on October 22nd, 1919, in New York, to pay its own liabilities and bring about an improvement in the external value of the pound, its intentions were defeated by the action of the Swedish Government which sold out sterling in London and with these proceeds it obtained dollars and these dollars were lent in New York, *i.e.*, the isolated action of one Government in the field of finance might be unconsciously defeated by the action of another Government and no improved exchange conditions can be realised out of an isolated action of single Government unaided by the other Governments.

The real meaning of the proposal for the international regulation of exchange is that if one solitary country adopts "sound money" while the surrounding countries still use depreciated paper and show no signs of repentance there is positive danger to this country. Take the case of the currency legislation of Tchecho-Slovakia. In 1922 the crown was rapidly appreciating in terms of foreign money, *e.g.*, Germany, Poland and Austria. The establishment of "good money" was not liked by the captains of industry and commercial magnates as the foreign buyers were scared away from the national market and orders were sent to Germany on account of its "depreciated currency." Textile factories were forced to work half-time and the Government was advised to "let exchange alone." Attempts to stabilise currency were not liked. No one appreciated this "good deed in a naughty world."

If the currency of one important trading country is depreciated it acts prejudicially on the trade position of the whole world. This is fully understood by the English industrialists who point out that the abnormal depreciation of German currency would give a bounty to German exporters and enable them to ultimately compete with their own goods and bring about unemployment in the long run. Some of these join hands with the far-seeing economists of the stamp of Prof. Keynes and argue against the exaction of reparation payments from Germany. This would only force the German Government to inflate its currency and the consequent depreciation of the German mark would affect not only the German nation but the other countries that receive the reparations payment or indemnity. The demand for certain types of their domestic production declines on the unanticipated arrival of cheap German goods. Half-time working has to be resorted to and by repercussion the slump extends to other industries also. Credit becomes restricted and the slump extends to all the industries in the country. Hence the necessity for simultaneous and united action in restoring stable monetary conditions.

The best method to secure the stabilisation of exchange in any country is to create some central agency with ample resources at its disposal, to act as an important factor in the market. Sufficient foreign credits should be amassed in its hands and be made available for ready use till a favourable balance of accounts can once more prevail. This is the lesson that the recent exchange conditions of France enable us to grasp.[1] So long as individual French merchants obtained foreign credits and imported goods approximating two billion francs per month, these private bills coming on the exchange market under varying conditions had no effect on the exchange conditions. Large national credits can better fill the void when commercial bills of exchange would not be forthcoming than the unorganised and individual credits of merchants. This principle is fully understood by all governments and when acted upon is known as "pegging" the exchange at a certain level by governmental action. The needed foreign credits can be created by several methods as has been done by the English government.[2] The improvement in the exchange value of the Austrian Crown and its stabilisation was due to the very same reason.[3] Stabilisation of exchange by itself does not mean much. It leads to settled currency conditions and this conduces much towards economic stability than before.

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[1] After the armistice the franc began to fluctuate differently in the different countries. For example on December 19th, 1919, the pound sterling was quoted at 45·15 francs, the dollar at 11·20 francs, the peseta at 2·45 francs and the Swiss franc at 2·35 francs. Now the French franc has fallen still further and loans are being negotiated in New York for the purpose of stabilising exchange.

[2] See Dr. E. M. Friedman, "International Finance and its Reorganisation." See ch. on British Foreign Exchange, pp. 415-430.

[3] The Austrian Crown was stabilised purely by the action of the League of Nations. Firstly, a foreign loan was floated and the Austrian Government was supplied

But it must be realised that a single economic movement regulating exchanges would never produce order out of economic chaos and disordered state of finances resulting out of war. This movement should be coupled with other economic measures as reducing the volume of imports by cutting down luxuries, the prohibition of industrial uses of foodstuffs such as potatoes and barley, other courageous fiscal measures as increasing the activity of the tax-gatherer and balancing the budget. Stabilisation of exchange is but one plank in the platform of reconstruction that has to be promulgated to restore economic equilibrium. The Wirth Government of Germany failed to do this and the Cuno Government which succeeded it summarily abandoned these artificial regulations of exchange. The Government of Czechoslovakia persisted in adopting stringent measures for

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with the necessary means to balance the budget and along with this step, drastic measures of retrenchment and reform were undertaken at its suggestion. Secondly, the political and economic independence of Austria was assured by a protocol signed by Great Britain, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, and these governments undertook to guarantee a portion of the long-term loan granted to Austria. The following figures show the contribution made by the different countries to the long-term loan floated by Austria :—

London	... 14,000,000 £
New York	... 25,000,000 $.
Vienna	.... 13,000,000 $
Paris	... 170,000,000 francs.
Rome	... 200,000,000 lire
Switzerland	... 25,000,000 francs.
Stockholm	... 13,110,000 crowns.
Belgium	... 25,000,000 francs.
Amsterdam	... 3,000,000 florins.

The programme of economic reforms forced on the Austrian State insisted on the creation of a new bank of issue, cessation of government borrowing from the bank of issue and the appointment of a Commissioner General to see that the entire programme of economic reforms is carried out and that no portion of the loan can be utilised without his signature.

See Chapter I, Dr. De Bordes'—" Stabilisation of the Austrian Crown."

the economic reform of the country along with the stabilisation of their exchanges and hence its success. So long as the government did not adopt any of these stringent economic measures the mere attaining of a favourable (visible) trade balance in 1919 and 1920 did not prevent the fall in the exchange rates. It was only after the drastic reduction of the currency and the attainment of budgetary equilibrium that exchange has improved and prices have fallen. Hence a recent French writer preaches this economic advice, "Seek ye first equilibrium of your budget and all these things shall be added unto you"[1] with almost a religious fervour.

It is not impossible to find the link between the two things—the budget and an improved exchange situation. The attainment of budgetary equilibrium would produce a 'psychological influence' inspiring confidence in the minds of the industrialists. It checks speculation. It attracts foreign capital. It is true that there is a great gap between economic advice and its practical application. But those countries that have applied this economic remedy to the prevailing economic diseases of the body politic, have completely recovered their financial health. If such countries as Germany, France and Poland[2] wish to recover their former economic prosperity it is not stabilisation of exchanges alone that can bring about the desirable consummation but budgetary equilibrium, currency reform, reduction of loans and the retrenchment of public and private expenditure should proceed hand in hand with each other.

So long as some causes operate to bring about a general rise in prices, any attempt on the part of the government to cleanse the Augean stable by stabilising the exchange and regulating all traffic in bills of exchange proves a miserable failure as seen in the case of Germany. The primary cause for the inflation of currency is the necessity to finance the war. But the economic disorder resulting out of depreciated currency is heightened to a great extent by the forcing up of prices by the heavy metals industry and agriculture. This contributary cause towards the rise in prices is often overlooked by currency reformers and any failure to check this would not make their plan succeed. The currency inflation in Germany in the year 1922 [1] was solely due to this contributary cause and so long as the currency depreciation lasts the profiteers, the farmers and the industrialists conceal their incomes in a thousand and escape the vigilance of the most ideal machinery of taxation. Industrialists, farmers, stock-brokers and speculators would be the real beneficiaries and usufructuaries of the economic prosperity. Those who actually save and hold mortgages or state bonds, savings bank deposits would be "bled white" and the whole middle class income [2] would become completely expropriated so that the *nouveaux riches* and the poor alone remain to hate each other. The richer producing classes know how to exploit the poor and even the farmers join hands "in this capitalistic foray" and try to squeeze the skilled working classes who suffer in spite of their enhanced nominal wages, unskilled workers, people following the "free vocations" as doctors, savants, barristers, and writers, dividendearning classes and pensioners and force them to overcrowd in barrack-like quarters and lower their standard of living by taking up malnutritious food. Hence the prices of such commodities as are under the control of these monopolists have to be regulated and this thing has be carried out simultaneously with the attempt to control exchange and affect any real economies in the public expenditure of the state.

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[1] See Prof. Rist, "La deflation en pratique"—quoted in Economic Journal, December, 1924.

[2] See the "Report on Financial Conditions of Poland" by the Right Honourable E. Hilton Young.

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[1] There were huge monopoly profits extending to uncounted milliards according to Horten, the Manager of the Thyssen Works in the iron and steel industry alone. The price of coal was raised from 900 to 22.000 marks per ton in 1922. Iron and steel were raised 3,000 times the pre-war price. The price of rye rose 1,500 times the pre-war price. Even wheat whose price was controlled rose to 1,000 times the pre-war price. The price of cattle, milk, butter, eggs and vegetables also rose in price. The agriculturists freed themselves from all mortgages and they possess enhanced purchasing power they never knew before. All commodities manufactured from materials to be obtained in German rose in price along with those products whose raw materials had to be imported. Wages rose only 400 to 500-fold and the general cost of living rose 1,000-fold. See H. S. Strobel, "The German Revolution and After," pp. 290-295.

[2] See Keynes, "Tract on Monetary Reform," Ch. on Effects of Inflation.

(*To be continued*)

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

BARTER

What will you give me in exchange for my dreams?
Dreams, light as thistle-down and dew;
Dreams, born of perfumed dusk and dawning;
Dreams, hanted with mystery and foreboding;
Dreams, opalescent fragments of wistful longing;
Dreams, intangible and ineffably sweet.
Have you anything to weigh in the balance
Against my frail and evanescent dreams?

LILY STRICKLAND-ANDERSON

THE HERITAGE OF MODERN RELIGIONS

(*From an Anthropological point of view*)

I

It is a most difficult task to explain in words what is actually meant by the term 'Religion.' The proper sense of the term and the ideas that it conveys can be much more adequately imagined than expressed in so many words.

Man is an imitative being. He learns to imitate from his very infancy. It is absolutely through imitation that he learns even to walk and speak. As he grows up, he goes on imitating the people he mixes with. Some he imitates in their mode of living, some in their fashions and fancies. Even the ideas held by him are often the outcome of imitating some one or other. The different Religions are all human institutions and in the formation of these institutions too we must expect to find expression of this peculiar characteristic of human beings. And, in fact, when we closely study the Religions of the world we are surprised to find many common underlying principles, modes of worshipping, forms of rituals, etc., in quite different religions as they are called. Truly speaking, there is hardly any Religion which is absolutely pure in form and character and does not contain any such characteristics which may be safely said to have been borrowed from different Religions.

Now, we shall try to find out a Religion which is absolutely pure and free from any admixture. In order to find out such a Religion we must go some millions of years back when 'man' first appeared on the surface of the earth. The earliest and the purest forms of Religion can only be found when we study the Anthropological Ethnology of this earliest man.

From most careful examinations by experts of the various remains of bones and skulls at different places, it has been proved conclusively that those early men were both physically and mentally much inferior to any of the modern races of mankind. By careful examination of the skull cavity and the brain-impressions left on the inner surfaces of the skulls it has been definitely determined by anatomists that the brains of these primitive people were less in quantity and were less capable of high thinking than those of any modern men. From these inferences we may safely guess that these primitive people were so lacking in civilization that we shall do them no injustice if we call them savages. But, at the same time, we should bear in mind that in comparison with the modern civilizations though their civilization was nothing—still, this is the foundation on which the whole superstructure of modern civilisation has been built up. Mr. Boas says, "We must bear in mind that none of these civilizations was the product of the genius of a single people. As all have worked together in the development of the ancient civilizations, we must bow to the genius of all, whatever group of mankind they may represent—Hamitic, Semitic, Aryan or Mongol."

It is generally believed that the Pygmies were the first of the human race. They are supposed to have been inhabitants of Africa and the propitiation of the superhuman powers which prevailed amongst them must, therefore, be recognised as the earliest form of human worship.

These Pygmies were quite ignorant of Science and the Laws of Nature. They could not possibly realise the true cause of thunder or storm or any other such thing. They being quite in the dark as to the true cause of such natural phenomena began to worship such superhuman powers of thunder, of storm, but not the thunder or the storm itself. If we analyse carefully we are sure to come to the conclusion that at the basis of such worship there is one predominating factor and that factor is nothing but Fear. Mr. Frank G. Speck writes "Savage Religion is no less rich in forms of worship than in ideas of philosophy. Through a maze of practices in idolatry, human, animal and object sacrifice, cannibalism, invocation, expiation and bribery, we gain an insight into the attitude of worship of the savage which might lead us, as it has some others, into the feeling that the worship of the Primitive Man is the outgrowth of the emotion of Fear, while Fear is unquestionably an element in the religious activity of Primitive Man at large, I feel that it would be unfair to exclude from consideration instances evidencing higher feelings, such as those of gratitude, of reverence and affection for supernatural beings, occurring in the worship of some primitive peoples. Savage worship is at bottom characterised by emotions, so far as we know them, remarkably like those underlying modern worship."

We cannot get back further in the origin of Religion, its meanings and true interpretation than the Pygmies for the Pygmies were the first human beings in evolution from the anthropoid apes. Here, then, we find the origin and Dawn of all religions and religious ideas.

The Pygmies were pre-totemic. They possessed no magic or witchcraft but most certainly they did possess religious ideas.

II

The next stage of Religion and Religious ideas was evolved by the Nilotic Negroes. The earliest form of human society was brought into existence by the Nilotic Negroes under what may be called Totemic Sociology.

It is rather difficult to explain what is Totemism and how it originated. Different authorities have suggested different theories for its origin. But there is not a single theory which has escaped criticism. "A totem" says Sir J. G. Frazer "is a class of natural phenomena or material object most commonly a species of animals or plant between which and himself the savage believes that a certain intimate relation exists. The exact nature of the relation is not easy to ascertain; various explanations of it have been suggested, but none as yet won general acceptance." Whatever may be the true relationship, it is generally a custom with the most primitive people or with the savage to refrain from killing or eating his totem provided his totem happens to be a species of either animals or plants. Moreover, a group of persons who are supposed to be knit to any particular totem by this mysterious relationship, generally bear the name of the totem and it is a common belief among them that they are all of the same blood and they always stick to the principle of not sanctioning the marriage or cohabitation of members among themselves if they belong to the same totemic group. This prohibition to marry within the group is now known as the "Principle of Exogamy." Thus totemism has commonly been treated as a most ancient system of both Religion and Society. As a system of Religion it embraces the mystic union of the savage with his totem.

In modern civilizations also we meet with instances of the existence of the animal-worshipping and plant-worshipping cults. The principle of exogamous marriages is also strictly observed. We thus find that the principles of true Totemism are even now observed by the so-called civilized people and it is apparent that though the primitives had no civilization still they did much for the growth and development of the modern civilizations.

For about half a century, totemism was known as something exclusively of American origin. It was in the year 1841 that Grey pointed out the existence of wholly similar practices in Australia. MacLennan was the first who undertook to attach totemism to the general history of humanity. He set himself to show that totemism was not only a religion, but something from which a multitude of beliefs and practices were evolved, and these beliefs and practices are to be found even in much more advanced religious systems of to-day. He even went so far as to make it the source of all the animal-worshipping and plant-worshipping cults which are found among ancient peoples.

"Students of American Totemism had already known for a long time that this form of Religion was most intimately united to a determined social organisation, that its basis is the division of the social group into clans. Fison and Howitt established the existence of the same sort of social system in Australia as also its relations with Totemism."

At the bottom of the social system we find in the Dravidian religion of India, a large body of tribes and castes, each of which is broken up into a number of totemistic septs. Each sept bears the name of an animal, a tree, a plant or of some material object, natural or artificial, which the members of that sept are prohibited from killing, eating, cutting, burning, carrying, using, etc. Well-defined groups of this type are found among the Dravidian Santals and Oraons, both of them still retain their orginal language, worship Non-Aryan Gods and have a fairly compact tribal organisation. The Hos of Singhbhum and the Mundas of the Chota Nagpur plateau have also exogamous septs of the same type as the Oraons and Santals, with similar rules as to the totem being taboo to the members of the group.[1]

The totem was first eaten by members of the group as their own special food, but afterwards this was changed and the totemic food was only very sparingly eaten by the tribe with that Totem——it became taboo or sacred to them. The tribe was appointed its protector and cultivator and curiously enough was named after it.

The totem primarily was given to a girl when she attained her puberty by which she and all her children were always known. Thus if her totem was a lizard, all her children would be known as lizards or if a crocodile all her children would be young crocodiles and very often when we come across in books that women are bringing forth snakes, crocodiles or any other zoo type, we are to understand that the Totem of the mother is a snake or a crocodile or a lizard and her children are obviously named accordingly. From this fact it is evident that the totem represented the maternal ancestor.

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[1] (The People of India—Risley)

The feminine type was prior in origin because Motherhood could be known much before Paternity could be recognised under the Totemic Sociology and truly speaking Mythology was founded on this. The tree was producer of fruits, so was the female. The serpent changed itself periodically, so did the female.

III.

There is no religious system, ancient or recent, where one does not meet, under different forms, two religions as it were, side by side, which, though being united closely and mutually penetrating each other, do not cease nevertheless, to be distinct. The one addresses itself to the phenomena of nature, either the great cosmic forces such as winds, rivers, stars, or the sky, etc., or else the objects of various sorts which cover the surface of the earth, such as plants, rocks, animals, etc. For this reason it has been given the name of Naturism. The other has spiritual beings as its object, spirits, souls, geniuses, demons, divinities properly so called, animated and conscious agents like man, but distinguished from him, nevertheless, by the nature of their powers and especially by the peculiar characteristic that they do not affect the senses in the same way: ordinarily they are not visible to human eyes. This religion of spirits is called *animism*.[1]

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[1] (Emile Durkheim).

It was a common belief among the primitive people that body and soul were quite different things. Body was destructible but the soul was not. During dreams it was the soul which went out of the body and roamed about hither and thither, often to far remote places and then again it used to come back within the body which it had left. Death to them was nothing but a final separation of the soul from the body. The soul left the body not to come back again. They also thought that these souls since they were not destructible, could remain alive, so to say, for indefinite period of time. During dreams when souls were supposed to go out of the body, they might often meet with those souls which had left their respective bodies for good. The primitives used to believe that the souls though they had left the bodies for good yet had a great desire to come back and enter into the bodies. They were equally subject to hunger and thirst as the living men. It was for this reason they used to keep foods and drink with the dead bodies so that if the souls would come, they might get their foods and drinks.

Mr. E. B. Tylor writes " the theory of *Animism* divides into two great dogmas for parts of one consistent doctrine; first concerning souls of individual creatures, capable of continued existence after the death or destruction of the body; second concerning other spirits, upward to the rank of powerful deities. Spiritual beings are held to affect or control the events of the material world, and man's life here and hereafter; and it being considered that they hold intercourse with men and receive pleasure or displeasure from human actions, the belief in their existence naturally and it might also be said inevitably, sooner or later, leads to active reverence and propitiation. Thus Animism, in its full development, includes the belief in souls, and in a future state, in controlling deities and subordinate spirits, these doctrines practically resulting in some kind of active worship."

Tylor and Jevons derived the animistic concept from the transitional character of beliefs regarding the soul (made conscious to the primitive mind through dreams), and those concerning supernatural spirits. The doctrine is based upon an assumption of primitive man's inability to distinguish the animate from the inanimate. Spencer modifies Tylor's original concept by denying the latter assumption, showing, that since animals can distinguish the animate from the inanimate it is an injustice to attribute a lower stage of discriminating intelligence to man.

Later researches, however, show animism to be more than what the older conception embraced, that it is based on the concept of magical power believed to be inherent in the phenomena of nature whether animate or inanimate. A more recent characterization of animism have been given by Doctor Boas. According to him "The fundamental concept bearing on the religious life of the individual is the belief in the existence of magic power, which may influence the life of man and which in turn might be influenced by human activity. In this sense magic power must be understood as the wonderful qualities which are believed to exist in objects, animals, men, spirits and deities and which are superior to the natural qualities of man. This idea of magic power is one of the fundamental concepts which occur among all Indian tribes. It is what is called 'manits' by the Algonquian tribes; "Wakanda by the 'Sioxan tribes' 'Orenda' by the Iroquois." Objects in nature which are conceived also to be imbued with some of this spiritual force also come to be classified as incipient deities. This stage, called the pre-animistic stage, in which rites are addressed to impersonal forces has been classed by some religious theorists as one of the earliest phases of human religion. Human beings who through the possession of magic power become able to impress their fellows with their ability to work miracles in healing disease or in controlling the action of spirits are likewise regarded as possessing some of these supernatural forces. Hence we find in all primitive groups individuals to whom are attributed supernatural powers who are known as medicine men, magicians or witch-doctors.

We have seen that the primitive people used to attribute some sort of supernatural powers or spirits to some natural objects or natural phenomena to animate them and then they used to pay their reverence and gratitude to those objects. Now the question arises, whether this spirit which animates the inanimate objects such as plants, rocks, rivers, etc., is the same as the soul which gives life to human bodies. The most important characteristic of the soul is that it is conceived as the internal principle which animates the organism. It is that which moves it and makes it live, to such an extent that when it withdraws its action from the human body, life ceases or is suspended. It has its natural residence in the body itself, at least so long as life exists. But it is not thus with the spirits assigned to the different things in nature. The God of the sun is not necessarily in the sun, nor is the spirit of a particular rock in the rock itself which is merely its principal place of habitation. A spirit undoubtedly has close relations with the body to which it is attached, but one employs a very inexact expression when he says that it is its soul. Mr. Codrington says "there does not appear to be anywhere in Malanesia a belief in a spirit which animates any natural object, a tree, waterfall, storm or rock, so as to be to it what the soul is believed to be to the body of man." Thus we find the soul is essentially within the body, the spirit passes the major portion of its time outside the object which serves as its base.

The belief that all things in nature are animate and that they possess immortality and other mysterious powers has developed in the mind of the primitives an attitude of reverence and worship. Fetishism is the doctrine that objects, either natural or artificial, possess essentially a magical power which converts them into such objects as capable of responding to acts of influence such as invocation, sacrifice, flattery, bribery etc. Accordingly, various objects in Nature, which appeal to the imagination of superstitious human beings either by their curious appearance, or through supposedly supernatural associations, become regarded as abodes of such animœ. Such objects are cherished as material helpers, guides or protectors or are held in fear as malevolent forces which have to be appeased by various means of cajolery which man since time immemorial has known and practised to deceive supernatural beings in his own favour.

"Fetishism was first brought into prominence by Charles de Brosses, President of the Parliament of Burgandy. He did not, however, invent, nor was he even the first to use, the word fetish, which is a variant of the Portuguese *fetico* or *fetisso*, an amulet or talisman derived from the Latin *factitious*, 'artificial,' 'unnatural' and hence 'magical.' It was employed, naturally enough, by the Portuguese navigators of the sixteenth century to describe the worship of stocks and stones, charms and a variety of queer and unsavoury objects which struck them as the chief feature of the religion of the Negroes of the Gold Coast."[1]

Ancestral worship which is found so prevalent amongst modern Religions had its origin from the Nilotic Negroes. The idea that the soul was indestructible and continued to exist even after it had left the body, led those Negroes to believe that the soul after leaving the body for good used to come back and live in some trees and hills near by. And they used to believe that the soul was subject to hunger and thirst exactly as it had been before leaving the body. So they used to offer foods and drinks to this departed soul. Often they thought that if they had not given the departed souls foods and drinks, those departed souls might get angry with them and do them harm. So here also we find some sort of fear at its root.

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[1] The people of India—Risley.

The Ka image was first fashioned by the Nilotic Negroes and they still do this in whatever part of the world they are found. It is an image made to portray or represent the spiritual body of Man to which they offered food and drink, as a propitiation, in the first place to do them no harm; later it became a custom of love and affection and supplication to assist them in their lives and wants. The primitive practices of offering food and drink to the dead, more especially to the Soul of Life in blood, was based upon the postulate that the so-called dead were living in spirit form. Obviously enough the sustenance of life was offered to feed the life of those who were held to be living because seen to be existing in the likeness that was represented by the human figure of the Spirit Ka. The Ka image is the double of the dead. It is a figure of the ghost. It was and is an image of the only soul or spirit that could be seen outside the human body.[1]

In modern Religions also we find Ancestral worship, Fetishism, Animism and all such propitiations which are undoubtedly very primitive.

KSHITIS CHANDRA GHOSH

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[1] Churhcwood.

HARISCHANDRA

(A Dramatic Poem in Seven Acts; after a tale in the Mahabharat.)

Personae dramatis.

Harischandra—King of Kośala.
Shaivya—his Queen.
Their son.
Biswāmitra—a Hermit.
Five celestial Fairies.
Devis in Temple.
Slave Trader.
Merchant.
Merchant's wife.
Chandāla.
Servant.

ACT I.

[*Scene.*—A forest grove. Five beautiful fairies move about in it. They weave garlands of flowers and put them on one another.]

1st Fairy—

All sweetly bloom the roses in this place.
The crystal river murmurs its soft tune.
Almost it seems like homeland's sunny groves.

2nd Fairy—

May we forget this bright day all our wos.
The fragrance of the violet fondly vies
With that of jasmin, lilac and of rose.
Forget-me-nots on silver streamlet's bank
Waft memories of days and love that were
And bring past tenderness to life again.

3rd Fairy—

The crystal pearls dream on the lotus buds,
And dance the leaves in sunshine and delight.

4th Fairy—

The casuarinas and the breeze make mirth
Each swaying tassel laughs and chants of love
Come, sisters, let us blend our song with theirs. (*They sing.*)

Song.

I

In this fair dell
Where beauties dwell
Beneath the golden ray,
Where flowers sweet
Grow 'neath our feet
Here may we fondly stay.

II

Soft breezes blow
Bright waters flow
Within these sunny bow'rs.
All free from fear,
No foe is near,
How sweetly pass the hours.

5th Fairy—

There may we dwell as in fair Swarga's fields

(*Enter Biswamitra.*)

And in our dream forget our exile.

Biswamitra—

Aye?
Here would ye dwell? But who dwellers, pray
Who dare to desecrate my sanctuary?
Who are you, rude intruders? stand and speak;
How dare ye violate a holy Law?

A Fairy—

No rude intruders we; we pray thee, Sir,
Have pity on us in our sore distress.

Biswamitra—

Distress? I see naught but sheer idleness.
The ancient Law protects a hermit's rights.
Unholy feet dare not profane his place.
I charge you, rash intruders, stand and speak.

A Fairy—

A curse fell on us, Sir, a bitter curse.
We are five denizens from Indra's realm.
There spent we our fond days 'mid song and flowers,
In festive halls where light and mirth abound.
But once, when feast was held and all the Court,
With Indra heading it, beheld our dance,
Our thoughts strayed and our tripping steps went wrong,
The dancers were confused, the music stopped.
The harmony of the great feast was marred.
This roused to anger Indra, and he cursed,
Sent us in exile to the world of men.

Biswamitra—

Exile indeed! Methinks your loss was small
And left ye not your wits in Heaven behind
To choose the fairest spot the earth does yield.
Who gave you passport unto this my dell,
Than which in Swarga there is none more fair?

A Fairy—

Sir, Indra, our great King, did choose it so.
For, he is kind, and when his anger waned,
And he thought o'er the sore thing he had done,
He sadly did relent, was ill at ease,
But could not take back the spoken curse.
Still would he mitigate our misery.
Therefore he sent us to this sylvan bow'r,
That we might feel a touch of homeland yet.
And knew we not, indeed, whose place it was.

Biswamitra—

And did he therewith give his orders too
That ye lay desolate my sanctuary,
To tear the trembling lotus from the wave,
And break the sighing rose in early bloom,
Work such destruction that the breaking dawn
Shed tears of sorrow, and the after-glow
Hide her rose face in sadness 'hind the hills?
Ye have a hermit's holy shrine profaned
While he was absent on a pilgrimage.
I need not ask you where my flowers are;
I see them sadly drooping round your forms,
But who has stilled my feathered singer's throats?

A Fairy—

We did not mean, Sir, that it should be so.
But sang we tunes that erstwhile we had sung
In Indra's mansions on fair festal days,
And lo, the songbirds hushed and sang no more.

Biswamitra—

Fine work ye did! Indeed it had been well
Ye had remained within those gaudy halls
Than that ye came and work your mischief here.
And with it all, ye dare to speak of curse?
Well, I will teach you yet what curse does mean.

(*The fairies rush in fright to the centre, and cling to one another, Biswamitra walks round them.*)

Biswamitra—

Come forth, creeping vine
From your earthy bed,
Twine your tendrils twine
Round each form and head.

Bind these intruders where they stand
Wind around each arm and hand,
Twine, ye creepers twine.
Now stand, ye wanton breakers of the law
That dared a hermit's holy shrine defile.

(*He walks off. The fairies sob and wail.*)

[CURTAIN.]

ACT II.

[*Scene.*—As before. The fairies stand in the centre. Creepers with large leaves are twined round them.]

A Fairy—

Oh evil stars, oh bitter, bitter day!
Was it thus written on our hapless brows?
Curses are curses, and where they pursue
There's no escape; they make the breeze their steed.
They bridle the frail trembling violet's scent;
Desert and grove alike become their slave.

Another Fairy—

I thirst and hunger, and my feet are faint.

Another Fairy—

We shall be drooping soon like summer rose
When ruthless winds have broken her frail stem.

(*They sigh and sob. Enter Harischandra. He is in hunting dress and carries bow and arrows.*)

Harischandra—

Aye,—what is this, and whither have I strayed?
I did not come to send my arrow forth
On quarry such as this; nay by my word,

Nor had imagined, e'en in wildest dream—
To meet five damsels where I chased the hart!
Speak, fairy ladies, how came this about?
How came ye hither, and why fret ye so?

A Fairy—

Ah, woe is us; we are five hapless maids;
Exiled from Swarga, we came to this grove.
But the grim owner of this dell returned,
Beheld us with great wrath and spake a curse.

Harischandra—

Why not flee hence and leave this dreaded place.

A Fairy—

Ah, Sir, we cannot; we're chained to the spot;
These creepers hold us in relentless grasp.

Another Fairy—

And twine our forms like iron serpents round
Thus stand we here for days all motionless
By thirst and gnawing hunger sorely plagued.

Harischandra—

Your sad plight touches me; but 'twere small task
To break these shackles.

(*While saying this, he cuts the vines with his sword and the fairies shake them off.*)

Several Fairies—

Ah, behold, we're free.

Harischandra—

Then now return to homeland's sunny fields.

A Fairy—

We may not, Sir; we may not ere we meet
A pious King who in Kośala rules
Named Harischandra. For thus Indra spake,—
'Whenever on earth ye meet this holy man,
Who won great power through his piety,
Then be your exile ended, ye return,
His purity will send you heavenward.

Harischandra—

Then, ladies, is your exile ended now.
He, Harischandra called, Kośala's King,
Is he who cut the tendrils from your arms,
Ye see him stand before you even now.

Faries—

Hail, Harischandra, hail, oh faultless king,
The hour of our release has come through thee.

(*A golden chariot descends, wreathed in clouds,*
The fairies enter it and sing.)

Song.

I

Then fare thee well, oh earth and sadness.
We now return to Swarga's fields.
Where day of song and mirth and gladness
To eve of silent worship yields.
On clouds of joy we float on high
To realms of beauty in the sky.

II

Hail our redeemer, whose pure power
And kindly hand wrought our release.
May friendly Fates upon thee shower
Life's fairest gifts of joy and peace,

On clouds of joy we float on high
To realms of beauty in the sky.

(*The chariot rises slowly, while the fairies sing. Enter Biswamitra. Harischandra looks smiling after the ascending chariot, then walks off without seeing Biswamitra.*)

Biswamitra—

Behold another meddlesome intruder!
I bound these damsels with a *Mooni's* craft,
And wouldst, young stripling, thou show greater art,
And thereon boast perhaps that virtue own?
I shall avenge myself, and thine own word
Shall pass the sentence that shall shape thy doom.
And more; it's time a little test be put
Upon those virtues all, of which one hears
In all the land and e'en in heaven itself.
We'll see if that heralded love of truth
Be genuine or just an artful ruse
A pretty shield, 'hind the knave may hide
Ho, Harischandra, watch thy day has come,
We soon shall know the man that is in thee.

[CURTAIN]

ACT III

[*Scene.*—A large drawing room. In it are Shaivya the Queen, and her five years old son.]

Shaivya—

Come little one, the sun has gone to rest.
The baby birds sleep in their feathered nest.
My own sweet little bird must do as they.

The boy—

Nay, mother, nay; I do not want my bed.

Shaivya—

But it is time for little boys to sleep.
Come, listen now to mother and be good.

The boy—

Yes, mother,—but I long so for the woods.

Shaivya (*laughs*)—

Why this desire, my boy ? Thou art our heir.
Thou wilt some day sit on thy father's throne.

The boy—

Nay, mother mine, speak not like this to me
I do not wish for throne and land to rule.
I wish to go far, far away from here
Out to the forest, sleep 'neath God's vast sky,
Come let us go, father and thou and I.

(*While still the boy speaks, Harischandra enters unnoticed by Shaivya and him. He remains standing, watching the scene tenderly. Now the boy sees him and runs towards him*).

The boy—

Oh father, father, there at last thou art.
Come with me, let us go far, far away.
(*He lifts the boy up tenderly. Enter a servant.*)

Servant—

A *Mooni* waits to see Your Majesty.

(*Enter Biswamitra, Harischandra lets go the boy and goes towards him. Exit Shaivya and boy.*)

Harischandra—

Welcome, great *Mooni*, in my palace gates.
What lucky star has brought thee unto me ?

Biswamitra—

Sad luck alas ; it is an evil star
That guides my steps unto thy house to-night.
I came to thee that I might justice find.

Harischandra—

Full sad I am to hear this. Art thou wronged ?
Then frankly speak, and I shall never rest
Until I see thy case put right again,
See justice in full mesure meeted out
Speak frankly then, have confidence in me.
Thou shalt have justice on my word as King.

Biswamitra (sighing)—

Ah, Maharaja, I dwelt peacefully,
A quiet forest grove was my retreat.
Here did I sit in worship, performed rites
And none disturbed me in my chosen place.
But one day five intruders rudely came,
Despoiled my dell, and robbed me of my peace.
No more could I in quietude repose
And give my heart to worship and to rite
This vexed me sorely and as last resort
I bound these guilty ones with tendrilled vine,
Twined creepers round them, bound them to the spot.
Now was the dell with all its verdure mine.
No one had right to trespass on my place ;
Not by the law could one my rights defy.
Yet one day, while I absent was, one came,—
Obtrusive knave,—he cut my costly vines,
Set free those five offenders, who too well
Deserved the chains that I had made for them.

Harischandra (*raises his hand to silence him*)—

I know thy story, *Mooni*, it was I
Who cut those chains from the imprisoned maids.

Biswamitra—

And speak, what right hadst thou for such a deed.
Thou call'st thee King, but is it kingly work
To enter where thy duty called thee not ?
Thou hast done wrong now art thou man enough
To say as much, admit thy grievous wrong ?

Harischandra—

Wrong ? Duty calls to action the true Knight.
'Twere churlish, cowardly to stand aside
When innocence and helplessness appeal.
Would I be guilty of an act so base
To turn away in calloused negligence
When they of holy motherhood's fair sex,
Whom ev'ry man by law divine is called
To shelter and protect,—call in distress ?
Nay, *Mooni*, nay, ask me not to debase
The heart of Kingship and of manhood both.
Our Vedic Dharma were outraged thereby
Which I, as King and man, am sworn to keep.

Biswamitra—

Aye clever play of words and subtle wit
Does Dharma teach thee to play trickery ?
Just now thou swore that should justice find.
But since thyself the culprit is,—Ah then—
Justice may wait, 't 'twas duty led to deed
Methinks one who can't stand by his sworn word
Can't carry into action his own law,
Who calls guilt innocence to find a sham,
He's all incapable to rule a land.

Harischandra—

No King can ruler be by his own choice,
A Higher Power calls kings unto their place.

Biswamitra—

It seems that "Higher Power" is poorly served
A worthier one might have received the call.
It were at least thy duty to say this,
Though thou wouldst hide thy wrong in other place.

Harischandra—

If there be one who'd better service give
To God and man—upon this ancient throne
Than I have done, am capable to do,
To him were I by law and honour bound
To step aside, resign the place to him.
Kings are but vassals of a greater King,
A *Mooni's* insight goes past mortal sense.
Hast thou by meditation's aid received
Orders from Higher Courts to challenge me?

Biswamitra—

Art thou then ready to give up the throne?

Harischandra—

I'm ready e'er in all things to be just.
I'm not the owner of this realm and throne.
'T is but a stewardship, a sacred trust
Placed in my keeping. God alone is King,
And Law demands I yield it unto him
Whom he would see best fit to rule and serve,
One in whom faithfulness and wisdom dwell
In greater measure than my share has been.
Speak, *Mooni*, hast thou found that better man?

Biswamitra—

I am the man ; I am more fit than thou
To rule Kośala for Kośala's good.
But who will listen, who will understand ?
Yes, men may speak and use high-sounding phrase,
But let it come to deed—then—a mere joke,
'T was but a jest,—the King played you a prank!

Harischandra—

Honour is honour, and my word is giv'n.
No power on earth shall make me take it back.
Teach not the ancient scriptures of our land
To take from God with grateful heart each gift
He measures out,—or be it wealth or fame,
Or be it but the direst misery ?
This is the time of our probation ; here
Time's wheel controls us, nothing steadfast is.
The lasting life of Truth is elsewhere found.
My word is given and past all recall.
The gods bear witness to it. From this hour
King Biswamitra rules Kośala land.

Biswamitra—

Still have I yet just one more claim to make.
Thou know'st full well no bargain is complete
Without the earnest money,—where is mine ?
I want a thousand pieces of hard gold.

Harischandra—

My treasurer will give it unto thee.

Biswamitra—

Thy treasurer ? Indeed,—and where is he ?
The treasury is property of state.

The realm is mine, hence too the coffers all,
Touch not my treasury, I warn thee, don't.

Harischandra—

Oh yes, I see. I made indeed mistake.
Grant me some time, and I shall pay the debt.

Biswamitra—

Nay worry not, I shall let go the claim
If thou but say that thou regret thy act.

Harischandra—

Nay, Biswamitra, never! I did right
And I would do it o'er a thousand times
I will not trade my honour for base coin.

Biswamitra—

And how wilt thou a thousand gold coins get?
I give thee six moon's grace, then I demand.

Harischandra—

The mighty God will help me in my plight.
Unto Benares will I wend my way,
To holy Kashi, where the gods abide.
To-morrow with the dawn I wander forth.

(*Biswamitra looks at him in surprise and defiance, then walks out shaking his head.*)

Harischandra (*alone*)—

The Forces speak, the Heavens themselves are calling.
On one side beckon kingdom, wealth and fame,
And on the other truth and honour call.
Vain idle spell of wealth and earthly power,
Too soon our bodies mingle with the clay.

The cross-roads of my life to-day have met.
Help me, Ye Powers Divine, to tread the path
That leads unto the purer streams of being,
To vales beyond the shadow play of life.

[CURTAIN.]

ACT IV.

[*Scene.*—Benares; in the centre is a temple with doors wide open, displaying the interior. Beside the temple is a low hut. Leaning against its wall stands a tall figure, clad in a loose black hood, that hangs from its head down to its feet; the face is grim and wrinkled. Shaivya is temple, in the attitude of prayer].

Shaivya—

Dark are the waters, black is the night,
Lonely the wanderers pine.
Threaten the storm clouds from dark gloomy height.
Never bright beacon stars shine.
Where shall the pilgrims find peace and redress?
Where find a balm for their untold distress?
Where—but in Thy sacred shrine.
Oh, holy Mother, I kneel at Thy feet
Where streams of Time and Eternity meet.
Give of Thy strength, ah, Thy touch is so sweet,
Let my frail heart blend with Thine.

(*While Shaivya speaks, a devi appears and takes her place behind Shaivya, holding her hand over her. Now there is silence for a while, then the sound of bells is heard. Many celestial beings have meanwhile appeared in the background. They sing.*)

Song.

I

Peace, gentle pilgrim, peace to thy heart,
We will watch over thy sorrow.
Soon will the shadows of anguish depart
Fade in a happier morrow.

II

Only a few more hard steps on the road.
Thorny the path thou hast taken.
Courage, march forward, blend strength with thy load
We will not leave thee forsaken.

Devi (standing behind Shaivya)—

True perfect wife, noblest of woman thou
The holy Mother knows thy golden heart.
Wifehood is sanctified through such as thou,
Therefore the sign of wifehood be thrice blest.

(She touches the golden wedding chain on Shaivya's neck.)

By mortal eye this chain shall not be seen
Henceforth it be invisible on earth
That no unholy eye may covet it,
Only thy husband shall behold the sign
And seeing it, shall know thee, and therewith
The trials of thy life be ended all.
Only a few more hardships and then peace.
Stand well the test; time's wheel turns round and round,
From shade to sunlight. Now go, duty calls.

(Shaivya rises and leaves the temple. Harischandra steps out of the hut. She goes towards him.)

Harischandra—

My sun has set; my stars are dark fore'er.
Oh noblest woman, why didst thou forsake
Thy home and peace to follow up my fate?
Thou hadst had friends yet in Kośala land
Who would have sheltered thee,—thee and the child
The burden would have been less hard to bear
Had I but borne it singly. Oh the curse
That I have brought thee into this sad state.
The time of grace goes with to-morrow's dawn.

Shaivya—

Nay, nay, my husband didst not thou entreat
That I remain behind in opulence.
But that were shame upon a woman's head.
I've followed but the impulse of my heart.
Home, comfort, wealth,—without thee they were dust.
It is my happiness to share thy fate.
But cheer thee and look heavenward. All night
I stayed in prayer in the Mother's shrine.
And now, towards early morn I found response.
Sweet, heavenly voices spake unto my soul.
Only a short spell and our woe is o'er.
Look up, have courage, let the man, the King
Show all his manhood and his dignity.
Now I must go, the day is on the wing,
Perchance I find employment before eve.

(*She walks away quickly. Harischandra seest the tall black figure of Debt approaching him and shrinks.*)

Harischandra—

Who art thou, evil midnight shape, flee hence,
Why dost thou haunt me, dreaded spectre?—Off!

Debt—

Aye, Harischandra, know me, I am Debt.
My voice is fear, my step is misery.
My chilling breath brings haunting nightmare dreams.

(*He goes near and bends his face down to Harischandra's.*)

Hey, know'st me, Harischandra, I am Debt.

(*Harischandra moves away in fright; Debt laughs hoarsely.*)

[CURTAIN.]

ACT V.

[*Scene.*—As before. Time early morning. Enter Biswamitra. He goes to the hut and knocks at the door.]

Biswamitra (*in loud voice*)—

Hey, Harischandra,—art asleep? step forth.
We have a little pact to settle yet.
(*Harischandra comes out. He looks weary and nervous.*)

Biswamitra—

Art thou prepared? a thousand coins of gold,—
That is our contract, and this is our day.

Harischandra—

My stars have been against me these six moons,
They've failed me, and I stand with empty hand.

Biswamitra—

My business here is not with stars to-day,
I want my deal in gold, hard clicking gold.

Harischandra—

But where am I to get it, *Mooni*, pray.
Have mercy on me; art thou not a man?

Biswamitra (*in a confidential tone*)—

I am a man, and thou wilt find me so.
But men have their ideas, as thou know'st.
A man's been wronged, well, he wants wrong undone.
No bargain yet without condition was.
Come, now, be man and frankly do admit
That thou didst wrong within my dell that day,
And all the pact is ended.

Mooni, nay !

Harischandra—

That one word never shall escape my lips.

Biswamitra—

Oh, haughty man, it is thy vanity
That makes thee cling to foolish nonsense thus.
It is thy pride, because the world has said—
(*sarcastically*) King Harischandra of Kośala land
Is purest among mortals and the best.
And ranks in honour with the highest gods
Will not do this, not that, and oh what not !

(*He goes closer to Harischandra, and speaks with a husky voice.*)

But here, my man, thy honour is at stake
And thine alone ? That business were but thine.
Nay, think of thine ancestral race of kings.
Think of thy fathers, of thine ancient house,
Art thou not bound in honour unto them ?
That ancient house will soon become extinct.

Harischandra—

Vishnu, protect me. *Mooni,—Mooni*—stop !
Take thou my life, my heart-blood drop by drop,
But spare the ancient lineage of my race.

Biswamitra (*laughing hoarsely*)—

Ah, whimp'ring knave, lies it wth me to save?
Methinks the whole affair is thy hands.

(*Harischandra stands with bowed head. Biswamitra looks triumphant. Shaivya who has in the meantime come out of the hut steps forward.*)

Shaivya—

Mooni, why torture thou a mortal so?

Biswamitra—

No torture, madam, he is but to say,—
'I have done wrong'; this little sentence will
End all his debt, restore him land and crown.

(*Harischandra shudders. Shaivya places her hand on his shoulder.*)

Shaivya—

Have faith, my husband, have I not the word
Even of the *devas* that all will be well?

(*To Biswamitra*)

Nay, *Mooni*, nay; thy challenge is in vain.
My lord, Kosala's King, is not the man
Who will trade honour,—whatsoe'er the price.

(*She looks heavenward*)

Oh, holy Mother, help me, lead me on,
That I may help him,—take—I give my life.

(*Biswamitra steps closely up to her and whispers. Two men appear at the further side of the temple,—slave-trader and merchant.*)

Biswamitra—

If thou in truth then art all eagerness,
The way is open; seest thou yonder men?
They're on the round, a-seeking for a slave.
One is a merchant and a rich man he.

Shaivya—

Great God—yes—I will go. But, oh, my child!

Biswamitra—

Fear not on that account; they will take both.
(*He gives a sign to the men and they step forward.*)

Biswamitra (*to Harischandra*)—

Come, step inside; a word between ourselves
May bring us yet to understanding,—come.

(*They step into the hut. The boy comes out and runs to his mother.*)

Slave-trader—

But will this woman do? She looks so frail.

Merchant (*eyeing her pompously*)—

I want a slave to wait upon my dame.
I own a garden-mansion some miles off.
But canst thou work? Thou lookst to me like one
That were more used to being waited on
Than to serve others. Didst thou work before?

Shaivya—

Oh, Sir, I am quite strong and fit to work
And I know household duties manifold.
I am accustomed to such services
As would thy lady need and shall indeed
Try hard to please my mistress in all things.

Merchant—

But why this eagerness to sell thyself?

Shaivya—

My husband is in sore distress; he needs
A thousand gold pieces to pay a debt.

Merchant—

A thousand gold coins? That's beyond the mark.

Shaivya—

I pray thee, noble Sir, have pity, do.

Merchant (*to Trader*)—

I pity this poor wench, she stirs my heart.
(*To Shaivya*)
Hark, woman, I will give thee half that price,
Five hundred, say, which is a deal too much.

Shaivya (*pointing to her son*)—

And he, my son?

Merchant—

Well, take the brat along.
But tell thou not my dame the price; she'll rave.
Still do my coffers suffer not thereby.

(*He draws out a bag heavy with coins, clicks them and hands the bag to Shaivya in a haughty manner.*)

Take this; now come along, the sale is made.

Shaivya—

Only a minute's grace. (*She goes to the door of the hut.*)
My husband, come.

(*Harischandra and Biswamitra step out of the hut. Shaivya hands the bag to Biswamitra.*)

Shaivya—

Here are five hundred gold coins; they are thine.
Now wait in manly spirit for the rest.

Biswamitra—

It's wait and wait and only half is paid.

Harischandra—

And where didst thou five hundred gold coins get?

Biswamitra—

She sold herself as slave, man, canst thou see?

Harischandra (*staggers*)—

As slave,—as slave?—Shaivya!

Shaivya—

Be strong, my lord.
He is no bondslave whose strong-soul is free.
My aspirations soar beyond the stars.
My soul is one with all eternity.
Duty and honour called me, and I gave,
Gave that which of the earth is, the cold clay.
The body is but shackle to the soul,
A few short rounds of years, and all is o'er.
Quail not in sorrow, look up to the skies.
In yonder height freedom eternal waits.

Merchant—

Why loiter'st, slave? Along,—waste not my time.

(*Shaviya goes quickly towards him, taking the boy by the hand. They walk away together, Harischandra has all along stood with his face buried in his hands*; *now he starts and looks after her bewildered. Biswamitra looks at him in pity, then walks out.*)

Harischandra (*alone.*)—

Shaivya, where art thou? God—the curse has fall'n.
I dreamt not that it would have come to this.
Stars of my life, have ye in anger turned,
Called forth the Fates in all their bitter hate,
And conjured hell's dread dwellers from their caves
To put their fiery touch upon my heart,
Pour lava heat into my coursing blood,
And turn to ashes my hot, throbbing brain?
My head swims, oh ye gods, where am I? Say,
Where is she, where? Shaivya, where art thou gone?
The morning light is rising,—Where art thou?
Shaivya, where art thou?—Oh Ye Powers on High!

(*He looks upward in silence.*)

"Be man," the voice says? Hollow mockery.
I want no more of manhood and of strength.
The darkest ocean cave may call for light.
But I want none, I want but misery.
Shame, serfdom and contempt come on my head
Tear open wide the wounds that rent my heart
And pour your poison deep into my flesh,
That ev'ry step I take be gnawing pain
And ev'ry breath cut my sore lungs like knife.

(*Enter a Chandalah, owner of a burning ghat.*)

Chandalah—

I'm looking for a man to work for me.
Hard job to find one, working men are scarce.
Since Harischandra in Kośala rules
All labourers rush thither; there it seems
A wage-worker might live like half a prince.

Harischandra—

Why not take me, I'm looking for employ.

Chandalah (eyes him with scrutiny)—

Thee man? How came thou to this plight? Methinks
Thou'rt fitter for a crown than for the spade.
I want a man to feed the funeral fires.
To burn up corpse, thou art not the man.

Harischandra—

I am the very man; is not the flame
The thing that burns all differences away?
Here beggar, prince, priest and philosopher
All take their place in silence side by side.
And 'tis the one place no one can escape.
Yes, I would go, that were the work for me.

Chandalah—

But are my wages small: I give but food.

Harischandra—

Enough for me is that.

Chandalah—

Then come, we go.

[CURTAIN.]

ACT VI.

(*Scene.*—Stage divided; on one side is a corner of a richly furnished boudoir, on the other a garden. Shaivya's son plays in the garden. The merchant's wife, richly dressed, reclines on a couch in the room. Shaivya stands beside her.)

Merchant's wife—

Speak to me, wench; thou art so very dull,
And walk about like martyr in my house.
Canst neither do thy work, nor entertain.

Shaivya—

Dear lady, do behold the blushing sky.
The afterglow fondles the dreaming clouds,
And look they ready to drop down to earth,
Like Alpine rose that clings to precipice
And nods its fragrant head to the abyss.

Wife—

Thy silly prattle well nigh drives me mad,
I've had six moons of it to my disgust,
I never hear a single word from thee
That is worth hearing. And let me but ask
A service from thee,—well like mighty dame
Thou mov'st about, obeying in such way
As sets one's blood on fire, tell who thou art
And why my husband ever brought thee here.

Shaivya—

Forgive, dear lady, if I did offend.

Wife—

Such talk does lead to nothing. Stand aside
And act as a slave should. And then that boy
With all his high-born manners, who is he?
He vexes me,—can't stand the sight of him.

(*The boy gives a loud cry. Shaivya runs into the garden, the merchant's wife following. The boy lies outstretched.*)

Shaivya—

A serpent,—oh a serpent bit my child.

(*She kneels down beside him.*)

Wife—

Thy child and *thou*! I have enough of this
It's nothing but '*my child*' the live-long day

(*Enter Merchant.*)

What means this noise, has a mishap befall'n ?

Wife—

Mishap indeed, it came the very day
Thou brought'st that wench and brat into my house.

Merchant—

It seems the boy is bitten; is he dead ?

Wife—

The better for him, he's but in the way.

Merchant—

That is a great misfortune; come, be kind,
Feel for a weeping mother in her grief.

Wife—

Aye—pretty words—it's well enough for thee
To make fine speeches, tell me what to do,
But I have the affair on hand all day.
Who gave thee orders for such work as this,
To bring the like of her into my house ?

Merchant—

She looks like one who has known better days.
We might at least a word of comfort give.

Wife—

Be off with thee ; I want no more of this
That woman brings ill luck into my house,
And thou wouldst prate, while I must face it out.

(*Merchant walks away quickly.*)

That's well, take to thy heels, and woman, thou
Be off at once and take thee to the road,

Carry away that boy; I want no corpse
To bring misfortune on my house and me.
Depart at once.

Shaivya—

Lady, the night is near.

Wife—

Off, say I; talk no nonsense. What doest mean?
Dost mean thou wouldst keep the dead boy all night
Under my roof, bring ruin on my head?

(*She goes as far as the door of her boudoir, then looks back.*)

If thou aren't off the place within an hour,
I'll have thee driven off, now mark thee that. [*Exit.*]

Shaivya (alone with her child)—

I

The hour has struck, the cruel Fates are calling,
Then take, then take the last I have to give,
The night is near, the heavy dews are falling,
The night, the night—and I? must I still live?

II

Still, still my heart, why wouldst thou yet be throbbing?
My blood has tinged the sky; see the red glow
'Mid yonder clouds? The winds,—the winds are sobbing.
And thou and I, my child, where shall we go?

III

The night is near. Come, little one, art sleeping?
Canst not see mother? Why so cold and still?
The dark, dark night,—ah, the gray fogs come creeping
The ghostly fogs,—I dread their deadly chill.

IV

Tears? Tears for me? The tears of heav'n are falling
I see them tremble on yon darkling rose.
Hark, hearst the wind through sobbing branches calling?
"Go," say they? Where? "Go" Where the river flows?

V

Yes, I will go where Ganga's streams are flowing,
Will carry thee, my child, my priceless load.
And Thou, the pilgrim's shelter, the All-knowing,
Guide Thou my falt'ring steps on their last road.

[CURTAIN.]

ACT VII.

(*Scene.*—A burning-ghat, on one side a river. There is the sound of rushing waters. The boy is lying on an elevation near the river. Shaivya kneels beside him. Harischandra does not as yet see them.)

Harischandra—

I

Midnight draws near, and the night air is chill,
But what is it all to me?
The storm clouds may roar, or the sky be still,—
I live all in Thee, Oh, Thou Infinite Will
That draweth all life unto Thee.

II

Eternity broods o'er the countless years
The river of life flows on,
And singeth its song of mirth or of tears,
That mystic song, that the heart only hears.
But who has lost, who has won?

III

Men lose but to win and win but to fail.
Loud cries the owl through the night.
But raven or owl or nightingale,—
The song is all one in that mystic vale
Whence all emotions took flight.

(*The sound of the waves becomes louder.*)

IV

My heart is as still as Himalayan snow
That rests upon a moon-lit peak.
The waves will rush on in their restless flow,
But th' soul wants no more of life's flick'ring show
When voices of silence speak.

V

The clouds lean in silver upon the curved moon
The stars smile in vaulted height.
All become notes in an eternal tune,
When hushed the heart and the silence commune
With planets and suns in their flight.

Shaivya—

Oh Mother of all beings, hear my woe.

Harischandra (*turning toward her*)—

Here a poor woman ? 'tis my daily lot
To hear those groans. Come, poor, sad mother, speak.
Hast lost thy child ?—It was the will of God.

Shaivya—

The last sweet flower of my life is gone.
Ah, thou, good man, behold my bitter plight,
Have pity on my poverty and him.
Lay him upon the pyre and light the flame;
I have no coin to pay thee.

Harischandra—

That is sad.
I'm not the owner of this burning-ghat,
And am accountable for ev'ry piece
I use as fuel. Is thy case so bad ?
It takes but a few coppers for this work.

Shaivya—

I have but mine own wretched self, no more,
A slave driven from service, help, I pray.

Harischandra—

I'm helpless all; but, tell me, speak thou truth ?
I see a glitt'ring chain around thy throat.
And that were worth the price a thousandfold
That I for this poor service ask.

Shaivya—

Great God !
Who art thou speak, who dare behold that which
The gods themselves had made invisible
To ev'ry eye, save his,—my husband's.

Harischandra—

Shaivya !

Shaivya—

Ye Pow'rs divine, and here at last we meet !
Behold the child,—*thy* child, Kośala's pride,
Lie cold and lifeless.

Harischandra—

The last work is done.
The Hunter now has thrown his final shaft.

Koŝala's hope, like stricken hart, lies dead.
No more for me, for thee, the world of men.
Look up to yonder stars, there freedom lies
Hark, hearst the rushing waves? The Ganga calls.

Shaivya—

Yes, we will go,—thyself, our child and I,
Through Ganga's cooling flood to other shore.

Harischandra—

Through Ganga's flood,—unto the earth return,
To water, sun and air that which is theirs,
Give back the atoms that built up the form
That life may blend with life eternal, come.
Receive us, Mother Ganga! hear our pray'r,
Koŝala's race this night dissolves in Thee.

(*Enter Biswamitra*).

Harischandra—

Ask me no more, oh *Mooni*, not to-night.
The silver moon plays on the river's wave
But make bright our final path. We go
This night forever from the world of men.
Nor go we with sore heart, or thought unkind.
The world and all its element are vain
All is illusion by illusion wrought.

Biswamitra—

Nay, Harischandra, I came not to curse,
The hour of thy deliv'rance is at hand,
The test is o'er, thy virtue has prevailed.
The highest heavens all rejoice in thee,
In thee and her, who was thy guiding star,
And fair Koŝala land waits thy return.

Harischandra—

Too late, Oh Biswamitra, all too late.

(*He points to the boy.*)

Behold Kośala's ancient house extinct.

Biswamitra—

There is an asp whose poison chills the blood,
But does not kill. The boy here is benumbed
He is not dead, and I have simples brought,
That will drive off the stupor and bring back
The energy into his half-dead veins.
Show me the wound.

Shaivya—

Behold it on his foot.

(*Biswamitra puts a leaf upon it and pours water on it from a jug he carries. The boy rises.*)

Boy—

Where am I? father, mother,—where?
(*He runs towards his parents who take him by the hand.*)

Harischandra—

Thou art with us, my son, and all is well.

Biswamitra—

Then now return unto thy realm. The land
Has been but poorly governed these twelve moons.

Harischandra—

I owe thee all, Oh Biswamitra, all.
Thou gav'st my son to me, I want no more,
The throne is thine; do thou remain as King.

Biswamitra—

Nay, I am all unfit to fill the place.
The people call for thee and for their queen.
I was an instrument in Higher Hand
To test thy virtue, and thy virtue won.

(*The golden, cloud-wreathed chariot descends and halts in mid-air. In it are the five fairies, they carry wreaths and flower-baskets. They sing.*)

The Song.

Hail to the victors, hail.
  The work is done,
  Pure virtue won,
And honour did prevail,
  The heavens, bring
  Their offering
Unto the victors,—Hail!

(*They scatter flowers on the group below.*)

[CURTAIN.]

A. CHRISTINA ALBERS

MEDICINAL SCIENCE IN ANCIENT INDIA

The object of the present article is to trace the genesis and development of the Medicinal Science in Ancient India based on the study of very scanty materials that are available to us—materials that are practically confined, so far as the ancient literature on the subject is concerned, to the texts of Rik and Atharva Vedas, and the monumental treatises of Charaka and Susruta. The Vedic texts give us the Science in its rudimentary stage, while Charaka and Susruta exhibit to us the Science in its full-fledged development, its practical consummation. At the present state of our knowledge it is not at all possible to supply any satisfactory explanation of the transition of this Science from its rudimentary stage in the Vedic texts to its final consummation in the Charaka and Susruta, and we are left to vague conjectures and inferences. Whatever the process of the transition may have been, it is evident that this useful Science did not undergo any further progress since the time of Charaka and Susruta. The later contributions on the subject, rich as they are in quantity, do not represent any improvement in quality nor a single step of advance in the theoretical aspect of the Science as Science. Necessarily, our attempt will be confined to indicate the direction taken by the Science from its inception onward to its fullest development.

The first medical utterance of man is to be found in a text of the Rik Veda, namely, in the Ausadhi Sukta[1] of the 10th Mandal which gives us a description in detail of the variety of the use to which plants used to be put. One hundred and seven applications are mentioned, but the number must not be taken literally, but as a vague statement of plurality.

The hymn which is too long to be quoted here together with the one which follows it, namely, the hymn[2] addressed to a plant used against a rival wife and the Sukta 18 of Mandal VII constitutes practically speaking the whole of the Science or Art, or both Science and Art of Medicine as revealed in the Rik Veda.

These three hymns together give us in a nutshell a world of ideas—a whole science in a few words. We get here the names of certain plants with Soma the King of plants at their head, and Aswavati, Somavati, Urjayanti and Udojasha and possibly also Aswahtha (*Ficus religiousa*) and Palāsha (*Butea frondosa*) as powerful agencies of cure against diseases. Innumerable applications of plants are referred to though not definitely named. We are told that plants used to be applied as medicines, both singly and in combination against diseases natural and supernatural against bodily infirmities as well as against curses and the like. The genesis of the whole body of medicine is given as Divine, and the nature of the cure is clearly characterised as radical, permanent and comprehensive. We are given in brief either the condensation, a scientifically nice epitome or the germ of the Science of Medicine, of the art of cure, of demonology and classification of plants or botany at once. I say condensation or germ because it can be either the one or the other, although it is quite probable that it is more probably the condensation. Why? Because the tone of the whole hymn, the method of its statement and the perfect mastery over the art of condensation it displays, does not indicate the infancy but a very advanced state of the Science. Behind the wealth of poetry we get solid scientific facts, pithily stated, and if brevity be the soul of wit, the Rik-Vedic thinkers are certainly the wits of the first water. The whole thing has the air of a modern summary distinctly presupposing more elaborate statements, a knowledge of details; for there is no vagueness, but freshness of the original revealed to us in an unmistakable language. Where are the details gone? They are either lost altogether to all intents and purposes or they existed in popular memory and were handed down by tradition from generation to generation till at last they came to be synoptically recorded in some treatise; and the Vedic texts quoted may be the synopsis of a synopsis. It will not be irrelevant to note in this connection that to the Ancient Indian mind brevity of statement was natural, intelligible and very convenient—convenient to an extent beyond our comprehension, so much so that systems of philosophy which would have occupied many ponderous volumes at the present day are lucidly recorded in a couple of pages or so; and the Vedic texts may come under the same categories under those systems. But this like those systems might also be thought to be deduced from an elaborate popular explanation which must be regarded as lost, dying a natural death, yielding up their essence.

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[1] Sukta 97, Mandala 10.

[2] Sukta 145, Mandala 10.

Curiously enough we have a harvest of details, bearing on the subject of medicinal plants, their utilities, their classifications, the diseases against which they were applied, the association in which they have to be applied and the rest in the text of the Atharva Veda. These details beyond all possibility of doubt look like elaborate descriptions of what we get in a synopsis to the three hymns of the Rik-Veda just mentioned. There are points of similarity between the two; nay, there is essential identity. The latter seems to be only an elaborate edition, a vast popular commentary of the former. How are we to explain this phenomenon? Only two hypotheses are possible here. Either the details of the Atharva Veda must be a development from and a lengthy explanation of the things we get in the Rik, or the Rik hymns give us a summary of the things universally known as briefly as possible. We must examine the merit of the hypotheses and accept the more valid of the two.

In favour of the hypothesis that the Atharva-Vedic hymns are posterior to the Rik, may be pleaded the orthodox view that the Atharva Veda is far inferior to and came long after the Rik embodying popular notions, savage beliefs rationalised and given an Aryan stamp, and that their later acceptance by the people was due to prejudice both eastern and western-prejudice pure and simple. Against this hypothesis stands—what we have already noted—the air of a fresh summary, the evident and unmistakable reference to details in the Rik-Vedic texts together with the fact that the Rik-Veda being mainly a book of devotional songs had primarily to deal with man in relation to his natural and spiritual environments, and not with the solution of his material or the medical problem which constitutes the theme of Atharva Veda. The reference to the Medical Science here is purely incidental, although this incident has yielded us a good deal of historical results.

In favour of the other hypothesis, it may be said that its validity rests on logical, historical as well as on physical and common sense basis. The Rik-Vedic thought undoubtedly marks a state of advancement, a superiority of thought and an advancement of learning which cannot but have a prior state of culture. The Rik is thoughtful, reflective and philosophical, it is so to say analytical and scientific. But, logically, thought presupposes things, reflections the objects on which to reflect, the philosophising the materials on which to philosophise. Science presupposes data and analysis, objects to analyse. And the Rik-Vedic analysis and reflection on philosophy logically indicate elaborate materials out of which the analysis, etc., have been reduced.

History here comes to our aid. It is common knowledge that the aborigines of India specially the Dravidians whom the Aryans supplanted, enslaved, and conquered, possessed a system of culture which though inferior in some respects to the culture which the Aryan produced, is in some respects superior too; it is inferior in the idealistic, spiritual and abstract side, whereas it is immensely superior in the practical, material, concrete and solid side. The Dravidians dreamt lessfancifully than the Aryans, sang less melodiously than they did and speculated less daringly than what they did, but they governed better, acted better and managed their household and domestic affairs better. This is abundantly testified by the fact that the Municipal Government and the Science of Medicine also were of purely aboriginal conception upon which the Aryans might have refined and polished, but certainly, they did not create it. And the hypothesis does not seem to be unwarranted that the Atharva-Veda which has its vogue in the South now as a Veda and which unmistakably represents a monumental compromise between high philosophy and plain common thinking, a compromise between the philosophical and the popular mind; a combination of polytheism, pantheism and monotheism on the one hand, witchcraft, sorcery, serpent worship, tree-worship and the devil worship on the other, is really a synthesis between the Aryan and the Dravidian thought in which the Dravidian element predominates, and the rudimentary Science of Medicine which we get in detail there is of Dravidian origin, is prior to the Rik-Vedic hymn referred to in point of time and those hymns really represent an incidental synopsis of the whole Science there. It may be pointed here by the linguist that the texts of the Atharva compilation as we get it now is of later date than the Rik. This compilation undoubtedly testifies to the existence of an earlier stage or rather scattered materials from which it was compiled. We need not quarrel over this matter which is peculiarly the province of historical researchers. Suffice it to state for our purpose that we have examined the two probable hypotheses out of which we have rejected the one and accepted the other on account of its being more satisfactory. And there is no earthly reason whatever to give our hypothesis up unless and until a better one has been found. The descriptions of the Science of Medicine as we get in the Atharva is going to be summarised below which is, as it has been maintained above, an elaboration of the incidental synopsis we get in the Rik, and which will serve to prove more emphatically the validity of our hypothesis.

We have seen in the Rik-Vedic hymn that the medicinal use of plants together with the mention of some plants are given, classifications of plants are indicated, and the diseases supernatural and natural are referred to as being within the province of perfect and radical cure through the applications of plants as drugs. For the sake of convenience and nicety, we may classify the medicinal plants of the Atharva Veda under the following heads :

1. Those that cure physical maladies brought about by purely physical agencies (Kāyacikitsā).
2. „ „ supernatural maladies brought about by supernatural agencies (Bhutavidyā.)
3. „ „ help in the procreation and protection of children (Kaumārabritya).
4. „ „ are used for curing minor and serious wounds, etc. (Surgery).
5. „ „ against the venom of snakes, and other insects (Toxicology).
6. „ „ for securing the prosperity and prolongation of life (Rasāyana).
7. „ „ for virility and erotic success (Vājikarana).
8. Miscellaneous.

Plant against each of the maladies mentioned above are mentioned together with their application. In almost all cases, plants as drugs have not to be used by themselves alone but in association with some incantations or invocations of the divine, for to the Indian mind, the material was never conceived apart from the spiritual, the human apart from the Divine. And very naturally the diseases were never thought to be pure affairs of the body, and their cure to be perfect and radical had to be both bodily and spiritual. And hence the invocation of the Divine agencies in medical applications.

I. Physical Maladies :

The medicinal plants that were used as drugs against diseases brought about by physical agencies are mentioned in the following hymns of the Atharva Veda.

Book I, Hymn 2.—Against injury and disease; 3. Obstruction of urine; 23 and 24, against white leprosy. Book II, Hymn 25, against abortion. Book V, Hymn 4, against fever and other maladies. Book XIX, Hymn 39, against disease takman.

The physical maladies against which cure is provided are leprosy, fever, obstruction of urine, head disease, evil of the eye, abortion and injury and disease in general. The medicinal plants are not all mentioned but some of them have been mentioned and have been identified with their modern representatives. These are Reeds, Haridra, Kustha, Māshaparni, etc. The genesis of the diseases in some cases are given and the method of the application of the drugs is nicely described. From the hymns containing cure against natural diseases, it is clear beyond all doubt that the Science of Medicine as revealed in the Atharva Vedic texts is not exactly in a state of infancy ; it presupposed a good deal of experiment and observation, and seems to be based on a wide generalisation. And the Science thus revealed is not concerned with tracing the physical cause of the disease. It goes from the physical to the spiritual and prescribes the remedy accordingly.

II. Supernatural Maladies :

Supernatural maladies brought about by supernatural agencies are mentioned in the following hymns of Atharva-Veda :

Book. II, Hymn 7, against curses and cursers ; Book IV, Hymn 17, against various evils; 18 against witchcraft, ; 20, to discover sorcerers ; 37, against various superhuman foes (against possession by evil spirits) ; Book V, Hymn 14, against witchcraft ; Hymn 15, against exorcism : Book VI, Hymn 85, for trelief from Yaksma. Book VIII, Hymn 5 (*verse 11*), against witchcraft, etc. ; 7, to the plants for some one's restoration to health.

As the title indicates remedies of supernatural diseases were exclusively directed against supernatural agencies such as demons, Yaksmas, ghosts, the curse of gods or the like. Plants used as drugs were sometimes applied by themselves, and sometimes in association with incantations, invocations, and magical formulæ. The essential mark of distinction of the eastern system of medicine is that it provides for the cure against the diseases of the spirit, which the West has left to the region of incurability. Of all supernatural diseases witchcraft seems to be the most prevalent one, and a very large number of plants are prescribed as remedies against it. While giving remedies against this disease in detail, the hymns of the Atharva Veda coming under this head throw a lurid light upon the contemporary state of customs and beliefs—a state of civilisation characterised by ferocity, superstition, envy and malice. Besides witchcraft may be mentioned obsession by Yaksma, Demon, Apsara, Gandharba, sorcery, curses, ghost, etc. All the plants prescribed are not, unfortunately, named ; only a few and a very few have been identified with their modern representatives, and they are Durva, Apamarga, Aswatthas, Banyan, Ajaçṛngi, Avaka, Varana, etc.

III. Plants that help in the procreation and protection of children :

It is a matter of unique pride that the most necessary act of human life, the act on which the whole creation hinges, *viz.*, procreation and preservation of children, received the thorough consideration of the ancient mind, and in this chapter we examine the art of procreation and preservation of children as noticed in the Atharvanic thought. Side by side with procreation had to be considered the hindrances, natural and supernatural; and consequently the requisite remedies. Plants constitute a substantial section of the remedies used for the purpose.

The plants used for these purposes are mentioned in the following hymns of Atharva Veda :—

> Book II, Hymn 25, against abortion with a plant; Book III, Hymn 23, for fecundity—" to procure the conception of male offspring." Book VIII, Hymn 6, to guard a pregnant woman from demons.

IV. Plants used for curing wounds, etc.:

It is abundantly evident from the hymns of the Atharva Veda dealing with medicines for wounds, etc., that the surgical treatment too was considerably developed in Ancient India. The hymns are very few in number, but they are enough to show us that the first surgeons of India, for so we must call them, knew a good deal of Anatomy, displayed a good deal of skill, in accurately examining the nature of the cases and in prescribing radical remedies against them. They also appear to be acquainted with a process of classification of plants. The hymns bearing on the subject are :—Book IV, 12; Book V, 5; Book VI, 109, and the plants prescribed as relieving drugs are:

Arundhati, Aswatha, Khadira, Dhava, Nyagrodha, Parna, Pippali, etc.

V. Plants used against the venom of snakes and other insects :

It is the proud distinction of the Indian system of medicine that it has provided for the treatment against poison of snakes and other insects—a provision which is absent in some of the most advanced systems of medicine to-day. Even in this rudimentary state of medicinal science with which we come across in Atharva Veda we find that the poison of snakes has received notice in detail. The kind of snakes from which men were in constant apprehension of danger are distinctly mentioned.

The hymns dealing with medicine for venomous bite yields a harvest of historical results giving us the important truths that there was a distinct class of people treating patients suffering from snake bites, that the Kiratas, perhaps a hilly tribe, were discoverers of these remedies. The very interesting thing in this connection is that the cure is not only all-comprehensive and radical but also vindictive, the agent of the mischief, the snake, being compelled by virtue of the remedy to take the poison of its own bite—thus the devil being hoisted with his own petard. This wonderfully useful but academically unrecognised Science of Cure against snake-bite is successfully practised by illiterate but skilful exorcists in obscure corners of this country. The germ of snake worship as represented by the modern "Vastu" and "Manasha Puja" may be traced in one of the verses. The historical importance of one of the verses is of great moment as it distinctly illustrates the fact that the ancients in India knew the physiological fact that heart is the centre of all vital activities; and that they did not think it beneath dignity to learn things even from animal teachers such as hedge-hog, eagle, etc.; the hymns referred to are :

Book V, 13; VII, 56; X, 4.

VI. For securing prosperity and prolongation of life with plants :

The ancient science of medicine deals with remedies both negative and positive, both preventive and curative. It takes into account man, not only in a state of disease but also in a state of health. It devotes attention to granting security to life as well as prolongation of life. And in some of the hymns of the Atharva, we find mention of plants which either by themselves or in association with incantations lead to longivity. Most important of these plants are Aparājitā, Parna, Palāsh, Aswattha, Tālisha and Simsapā. Prosperity is sought to be brought about by the defeat of foes, too, which curious as it might seem could be brought about by the use of plants possessing supernatural properties. The plant Aparājitā (*Clitoria ternata*) is, as its etymology shows, born to grant invincibility and the practice prevalent in Bengal of using it round one's upper arm on the great Bijoya day is a revival of the past practice. The dead past is still living in the living present.

The following hymns illustrate our remarks :

Bk. II, 27; III, 5, 6, ; VI, 15, 96, 129.

VII. Plants used for virility and erotic success :

The vital importance of the problem of virility was abundantly recognised by the ancients in India and their medical science has even in its infancy attacked the problem, and has found out remedies both for increasing man's virility on the one hand and for destroying it on the other. In harmony with the spirit of the time the aid of medicinal plants used to be called for in impairing the virility of opponents—a fact characteristically symptomatic of the then state of civilisation and culture. Very allied to the problem of virility is the problem of amatory success and we find a large number of plants such as madhuka, yashtimadhu, vana parni, kapithaka, arka, hemp and chorapooshpee, mentioned in the Atharvanic hymns applied for the purpose, of course with supernatural aid in the shape of invocations and incantations.

The hymns in Bk. I, 34; Bk. III-18; Bk. IV-4, Bk. VI-72, 101, 138, 139; Bk. VII-38, deal with these topics.

VIII. Miscellaneous uses of plants :

(*a*) Utility of plants in the growth of hairs.

Over and above the branches dealt with in the previous sections of the paper, the verse of the Atharva Veda contain a variety of use to which plants used to be put, we place this under the head "Miscellaneous uses of plants." One of these topics is "the growth of hair." It is the outstanding merit of medical science in India that even in its infancy it took a due note of the vital relation of the body and soul as also the vital importance of considering its æsthetic aspects and hence cosmatic consideration plays a part in the ancient medical science. The following hymns—VI, 30, 136, 137—of the Atharva Veda mention plants used for contributing to the preservation, growth, development and nicety of hairs.

Bk. X, 3. With an amulet of Varana—*Crataiva Roxburghii.*

This hymn gives us the use of a plant employed for encyclopædic purposes. The prevention of injury, atonement from hereditary sins, warding of foes, and the attainment of prosperity.

Bk. XIX. For various blessings with an amulet of Darbha—*Poa cynosuroides.*

The hymns 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, give us the variety of uses to which Darbha could be put for the purpose of the prolongation of life, for protection, for warding off enemies and for a variety of material blessings. The plant Darbha seems to be identical with modern Kasha and Kusha—which is still used for sacrificial purposes.

Bk XIX, 21, For various blessings with an amulet of Udambara (*Ficus glomerata*).

This hymn contains the multiplicity of blessings that the plant Udumbara yields—the blessings of progeny, material prosperity, protection against enemy and lordship over men and other animals.

The plants Jangida in verses 34, 35, Çatavara (*Asparagus racemosus* willd) in 36, and Guggula (*Balsamodendron mukul*, Hooker) in 38 of Bk. XIX are mentioned as remedies against diseases and for protection against witchcraft and various other blessings.

Later development of the Science of Medicine in Ancient India :

Technically, the first scientific treatise dealing with medical problems most comprehensively is the Ayurveda or the Science of life—a treatise which has now become almost a myth, being often quoted, referred to and verbally commented upon, although it is beyond the realm of physical existence. From the statements in the Charaka, Susruta and other medical treatises, it is clear beyond all possibility of doubt that there must have existed a monumental treatise of the name marking the intermediate period of transition between the Rik and Atharva Vedas on the one hand and the Charaka and Susruta on the other. Without the hypothesis of the existence of such a work, a hypothesis which is very valid, the unbridgeable gulf—a gulf of probably a thousand years or more according to Dr. P. C. Roy—separating the rudimentary science of medicine painfully gleaned out of the Vedic texts and the fully developed and scientifically accurate works of Charaka and Susruta cannot be explained. Some of the ancient authorities traced the origin of the lost work to the Atharva Veda and some to the Rik Veda but the following statement occurring in the Charaka seems to be decisive on the point—Charaka I, Chap. XXX, 8 and 9 :—

"If anybody enquires from which of the four Vedas—Rik, Sam, Yaju and Atharva, Ayurveda, *i.e.*, the Veda of life emanates? What is life? Why the treatise is called the Science of life? Is it transient or permanent? What are the subdivisions of the Science of life, to whom it is open for study and why? A physician when thus interrogated, of all the four Vedas should mention the Ayurveda emphatically as the Veda of life, *i.e.*, should point out the Ayurveda as a part of the Atharva for this reason that the Atharva Veda has prescribed treatment by gift, expiation, sacrifice, atonement and fast, as well as incantations, and has prescribed treatment solely as conducive to the welfare of life, etc."

"It is called the Ayurveda or the Science of life because it enables us to understand what Ayu or life is. If asked how it explains life, the answer is this:— It is called Ayurveda because it brings home to us the nature of Ayu by characterisation, by happiness, by misery, by good and evil, and by positive and negative proofs." The Susruta coming after Charaka precisely agrees with it in describing the same genesis of Ayurveda—Susruta, Sutrusthana, Chap. 1, 3.

Those who hold to the Rik-Vedic[1] origin of the Science of life point out to the repeated mention of Rudra as the father of the Science of Medicine in the Rigvedic texts (II, 7, 16). This view is echoed by later mythological literature and the traditional association of Rudra with the healing science has been systematically maintained. Whatever that may be, the Atharvanic origin of the science of life, the tracing of the genesis of the Charaka and Susruta to the Atharva seems to be warranted by the facts. The divisions of the Science of Medicine as occurring in the Charaka and Susruta[2] into eight divisions, *viz.* :—

1. Salya tantra (Major Surgery),
2. Salakya tantra (Minor Surgery),
3. Kayacikitsa (Medicine),
4. Bhutavidya (Demonology),
5. Kaumarabidya or the Science of Paediatrics,
6. Agada tantra or toxicology,
7. Rasayana or the Science that treats of prolonging life,
8. Vajikarana tantra, or the Science of Aphrodisiacs, *i.e.*, treatment to stimulate the sexual power, precisely correspond to the divisons of this Science in its rudimentary stage as we have deduced in a previous section of this paper from the verses of the Atharva.

The rest of the story of the Science of Medicine in India can be very briefly told. It is the story of monotony and stagnation—no development, no progress, no practical addition. The spirit of enquiry—the desire of explanation, a hankering after the solution of each problem, the motive of searching analysis and scrutiny are all gone. As in Hindu Philosophy, so also in the Hindu Science of Medicine, Mythology with its vast paraphernalia of gods and goddesses intrudes; and although the Science has been practised, and it is being practised still with wonderful efficacy, its progress has been arrested for good and all. The wonder of wonders is that the Indian Science of Medicine which was developed centuries before the modern Science of Medicine came into being, has stood so long the wear and tear of time, of revolutions and conquests and in all essentials is still as perfect as ' the most developed European system to-day' and considered from the point of utility—it is peculiarly useful and efficacious to the people of the land of its origin. The glory of it is that it can still cope with any other system of medicine and the misfortune and shame of it is that it has not received adequate attention and has not consequently undergone any improvement.

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[1] "Rikvedashyayurveda upaveda"—carana vyuha by Vyasa. (Mukerjee).

[2] Charaka 1, XXX. 15, Susruta I, i, 3.

GIRIJA PRASANNA MAJUMDER

THE MAIN CURRENTS IN GUJARĀTĪ LITERATURE

II

The Folk Literature of Sorath.

Sorath or Kathiawad had always been the land of chivalry and romance. The tales of love and truth and chivalry, of devotion and loyalty, of devotees and of saints were what every Kathiawadi used to hear from his mother's lips. They were imbibed by him from his earliest childhood and they formed a part of his life and education. These tales were in verse and in the strange-sounding, racy dialect of that province. These had been, till lately, only known by word of mouth and under modern conditions they were being rapidly forgotten. Luckily, there are still a good many old dames, who know these by heart; and the devoted labours of some scholars have rescued a good many of them from threatened oblivion, and it is hoped that all the tales available, as well as the folk-songs, fairy-tales, riddles and proverbs of that extremely interesting province of Gujarat will be completely recovered. Quite apart from the linguistic value of these, they will help to throw a good deal of light upon the ancient history, manners and customs of the people of Sorath.

9. *Islamic Writers in Gujarātī.*

These form a very small section in Gujarātī literature, and they are all very modern, belonging to the latter half of the 19th century and to the present time. In numbers these are not numerous. Though Moslems have been in Gujarāt since well over a thousand years, still in the days of Islamic rule they probably conducted their work in Persian. Gujarātī is, among the vernaculars of India, one of the most profoundly influenced by Persian. This influence has been threefold: (1) through trade with Persia from very ancient days, (2) through the Islamic conquest and (3) through Parsi and Moslem writers in recent times.

The two ports of Broach and of Surat, situated at the mouths of the only two great rivers on the west coast of India, have had extensive trade relations with the Persian Gulf since the dawn of history. In fact, Broach was well known to the Babylonians; and Surat had all through her chequered history maintained a brisk trade with Yemen and Arabia, especially in pearls. It was through these ports that Persian influences came in even before the Islamic conquest of India. And we find many Persian words quite thoroughly adopted in Gujarātī by the 10th century A.D. The Islamic conquest towards the end of the 13th century brought in a fresh wealth of words and phrases, and from that time onward Gujarātīs have always taken kindly to Persian studies. This partly accounts for the generally peaceful relations that have existed in Gujarāt between the two great communities, the Hindus and the Moslems. Dayārām, the last great classical writer, and Narmad, the first among the moderns, were both fine Persian scholars. So we find already at the beginning of the modern period that the language had made a good many Persian and Islamic words and ideas her own. And these are not the property of those learned in Persian alone, but are of everyday use in every household. The reaction of the Parsi writers against the ultra-sanskritic style of the Govardhanrām period we have already alluded to. So when Islamic writers began to come into prominence, they found a language quite fitted for their own special requirements. Among the foremost of Moslem writers must be mentioned the gentle Hāji Mohamad Allārakhia Shivji. He served his mother-tongue and ruined himself in her service. He founded the leading Gujarātī monthly the *Vīsmī Ṣadī*, and spent his all in conducting it through years of heavy loss. It stopped after his lamented death a few years ago. But Hāji Mohamad's work was done so well, that his name shall be immortal as one of the most devoted sons of Gujarāt. He wrote copiously himself and he had the power through his personal charm to call forth the best efforts in others. Many a rising author to-day has had cause to think of Hāji Mohamad with affectionate gratitude, because it was he who first brought them to notice of the public. Another notable writer among the Moslems was Professor Ispahāni. A Persian by birth, he settled down in Kathiawad and made Gujarātī his own. His translation of the *Qurān* from the original Arabic is an important literary production. The other Islamic of note are happily still living, so it would not be proper to speak about them.

10. *Parsi Writers in Gujarātī.*

About a hundred and fifty years after their empire was lost in Iran, a band of Zoroastrians decided to leave their motherland and to take refuge in India. The sister Aryan nations had had close relations with each other throughout their long history, and so the Zoroastrians naturally turned to this land in their hour of trial. And arriving in Gujarāt they settled down there under the protection of a Hindu Raja of the Jādava clan. These Pilgrim Fathers, while adhering to their religion, adopted the language and the dress of Gujarāt, and very soon became merged in the general population, becoming Gujarātīs in everything except religion. Even here there were more points of similarity between them and the Hindus than of difference. They prospered and they shared with the people their weal and their woe. At the time of the Moslem conquest of Gujarāt the Parsis fought and died by the side of their Hindu brothers. They, together with the rest of Gujarāt had to accept the Islamic rule and under it also by their peace-loving qualities they prospered. They were mostly engaged in agriculture and commerce, but in the centuries that preceded the British rule they had also produced some literary works. The first writer among the Parsis was Dastur Nairyosang Dhaval, who, about A.D. 1200, wrote a Sanskrit translation of the Sacred Books of the Parsis. His disciples and successors added to his translations and many of the Avesta and Pahlavi texts were rendered into Gujarātī also. These Parsi writings are the earliest genuine specimens of Gujarātī we possess. Their date is not quite certain in many cases, but the earliest of these Gujarātī versions would be about contemporary with Narasiṃha Mehtā, and possibly somewhat earlier. Their intrinsic value is small to a non-Zoroastrian. During the later ages we get Behrām Lakhmidhar, who wrote about the middle of the 15th century, and Ervad Rustam Peshotan who wrote about a century later. The language these early writers use does not differ at all from that used by other Hindu writers.

But Parsi literature really begins to develop an individuality of its own and to come into prominence after the advent of the British. Untrammelled by caste restrictions they were the first to mix freely with the English, to learn their language and to adopt the Western customs. So from about the thirties of the last century there began in the Parsi community a movement for reform and for adopting the new ideas from the West. The Parsis had another great advantage, namely, their small numbers. So very soon we find the whole community thoroughly imbued with Western ideas, and consequently we find the community gradually getting estranged more and more from the sister communities, the Hindus and the Musalmans. This estrangement seems now to have passed the climax, and to-day, though barely perceptible yet to the outsider, there is growing daily a stronger and stronger feeling for a *rapprochement*. With their innate good sense the Parsis are beginning to see that for better or for worse their destiny is bound up with all the other communities of India. And the whole history of the Parsi Literature in and after the 19th century is but a reflection of these changes in the status and in the outlook of the community.

At the beginning of the 19th century we find the Parsis again busy re-translating their scriptures into Gujarati, and we also find a few other writings of a theological import. The establishment of the first vernacular printing press in Western India (and probably in the whole of India) goes to the credit of a Parsi, Fardunji Marzban. He founded in 1822 the *Mumbainā Samāchār*, which still continues to be one of the leading papers in Bombay; and it has celebrated its centenary a couple of years ago. Fardunji also founded another paper, the *Jām-e-Jamshed*, which is also within a few years of completing its century; and it has in addition, the proud distinction of having been all during that time in the hands of the Marzban family alone for five generations, the present editor being the great-great-grandson of the founder, a record unique in the history of Indian journalism.

The early Parsi writers of the 19th century were, like their Hindu brothers, iconoclasts. But they went even further than the Hindus. They had nothing to fear from caste prejudice, at any rate not to the same extent, and so they took a sort of holy joy in their reform. The earliest writer of this set was Naoroji Fardunji whose name, with that of his friend and co-worker Sorabji Shapurji Bengali, is intimately bound up with the education of Parsi girls. The girls' school these two founded with the help of Dadabhai Naoroji, still flourishes and the present generation of its pupils are receiving education in the same place where their grandmothers had received theirs. Both Naoroji Fardunji and Bengali were prolific writers of essays on subjects connected with social reform, with education and the advancement of learning. Their language is simple and direct and though written with a quaint phonetic spelling, these essays express the yearnings of two noble hearts.

To a younger generation belong Kaikhushro Naoroji Kabraji, "Mansukh," "Kākā Kahāṇ" and J. B. Marzban. The first was perhaps the most virile as well as the most versatile writer among the Parsis. A man of fearless courage and almost brutal frankness, he had the courage to face evey difficulty for the sake of his convictions. He was the leader of "the reformers" of his day and at one time he was the best-hated Parsi in Bombay. As a writer he has created a forceful style of prose and he has written many novels depicting contemporary Parsi life. Many of his novels are adaptations from English originals, but they have the rare merit of being in many respects even better than their prototype. Kabraji was the father of Parsi dramatic literature, and every one of his dramas had a moral purpose. Himself an actor of consideraele ability, he helped to establish the Parsi theatre, which has been justly famed all over India. In some respects Kabraji may claim to be the first Gujarati dramatist of the 19th century. He strove to make the profession respected and sought to bring it to a higher level than that of the wandering minstrels and lewd jesters, who represented all the Gujarati drama in the old days. As a poet, too, Kabraji was distinctly good, but except the songs needed in his plays he has written very little other verse. As a writer of essays he was powerful and persuasive; as a journalist he was vitriolic. But whether hepraised or he blamed, he was all through the truthful sincere worker in the cause of his community, his language and his country.

"Mansukh" was another sturdy fighter, but he was Parsi in the narrow sense of the term, scorning to use sanskritic words as savouring of the "vāṇia" (bania). He gloried in his Persian and he has enriched Parsi literature with a very fair translation of the *Shāhnāmeh* in verse. He was uncompromisingly orthodox and did not mince his words when attacking an opponent. The fights between him and Kabraji on questions of reforms were a constant source of amusement and instruction to the Parsi community.

"Kākā Kahāṇ," another writer of the period, was an essayist of very high promise, unfortunately cut off in his prime. His essays are truly delightful reading, and one may mark in them the influence of Joseph Addison and the English Essayists of the days of Queen Anne. His whole outlook is English, his illustrative examples are from European history, his quotations are from European literature. But though so entirely un-Indian, one cannot help loving this gentle spirit who was so full of the "milk of human kindness."

I might not mention anything about J. B. Marzban, for he, the doyen of Parsi writers, is happily still alive and I do not want to break my rule of not offering any criticism upon the works of living writers. I have mentioned his name here because he is, in many respects, the very incarnation of the Parsi spirit as shown in literature. He is the author of close upon forty works and sketches innumerable, and even at the age of over 80 he has had vigour enough to produce more fiction.[1]

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[1] His latest work has appeared only about two monhts ago.

Among the Parsi poets of the 19th century we may mention two, J. N. Petit and B. M. Malabari. The first is typically and narrowly Parsi. His poetry, though often embodying high ideas, sadly lacks beauty of language. He tries to write in the persianised Parsi style, but even there he is not happy. He was one of the earlier poetical writers and hence deserves mention.

In Malabari we have another type of man altogether. Rising from abject poverty and entirely self-trained, he shows a mastery over both Gujarātī and English which is marvellous. Indeed, for some years many people refused to believe that verses written in such faultless sanskritic Gujarātī could be the work of a Parsi. He was a patriot and an indefatigable worker in the cause of the uplift of his sisters. As a writer his verses are flawless and the ideas are uniformly lofty. He has some lyrics, but most of his poems are didactic. His satires are very biting indeed. He also tried the "Parsi style" of versification, but those poems are distinctly of a lower order, for he was not at home in that style of language.

So far Parsi literature has flourished by itself quite independently of the general trend of literature of Gujarāt. There have been Parsi writers like Malabari in the past and Khabardar at the present day who have echoed the sentiments of the public of Gujarāt; but in most cases Parsi writers have confined themselves to purely communal matters or to fiction. They have created a healthy taste for reading and have firmly established the drama, the novel and the short story in Gujarātī. In the field of journalism their services have been invaluable. They have always resented the unrestricted use of sanskritised Gujarātī. The debt of Gujarātī to Sanskrit is certainly immense, but that would not justify the thraldom to Sanskrit which our pandit Gujarātī implies. And though the Sanskrit style is well adapted for serious argument, for religious and philosophical topics, to use it in ordinary novel, especially in a story of modern life, savours too much of pedantry. To the "purist" writers it is almost a sin to use a single Persian or non-Sanskritic word. Even a pure Gujarati word is often discarded in favour of a Sanskrit one. I have read some Gujarātī translations from Sanskrit done by such writers, and I would far prefer to read the original Sanskrit! It is against this artificial and pedantic style of writing that the Parsi writers have rebelled. Parsis have shown that they can write pure, forceful Gujarātī, which, but for the name of the writer, could not have been recognised as the work of a non-Hindu. Some have, indeed, descended even to vulgarity, but that is the fault of the lower class of writers; no great Parsi writer has been guilty of that. But above all it is the political differences between the two communities, that have kept the two streams of Parsi and of Hindu Gujarātī literatures separate. The communities have so long been living separate lives and have felt that their interests are separate, hence their literatures too have been separate. But Parsi novels, Parsi stories and Parsi essays in Parsi magazines are very eagerly read in Hindu families; and I have been told by a writer and critic of high repute in Bombay that among the Hindu circle of readers

Parsi writers like Kabraji and Dadi Taraporewala are more popular than even Govardhanrām. The reason is not far to seek; the reader feels that the Parsi writer is talking direct to him and appealing direct to him, whereas Govardhanrām and his school appeal only to the learned Sanskritist; and all pleasure of literature *as literature* is lost, if the reader has to stop every minute to unravel the meaning of each sentence.

And the Parsis have brought to Gujarātī the great gift of humour. Except in the Mehtā, and to a much greater extent in Premānand, this quality is conspicuously absent from all Gujarātī literature till the middle of the 19th century. Even Akho with his biting satires is lacking in true humour, and Sāmal also lacks it to a great extent. There are dozens of situations in the stories he tells, where this would have just given additional zest to the well-told tale. Humour is the one quality which the Parsis have inherited from their Persian ancestry. And I may add that this is the one quality which makes them get along seemingly so well with the British. Every Parsi writer has possessed it to some extent and Gujarātī literature is the richer and healthier for these writings, This is the greatest gift the Parsis have brought to their mother-tongue.

As hinted above, signs are already showing of a reuniting of all the Gujarātī-speaking communities. And the signs are seen even in the literature. On the Hindu side we see less of the thraldom to Sanskrit and a more judicious blending of the popular Persian element, and a marked tendency to use the pure *deśi* word even in preference to the Sanskrit. On the side of the Parsis we find less vulgarity, and a greater use made of sanskritic words wherever needed. The vulgar Parsi prejudice against the "Vāṇia" is wearing off, at least among the more thinking people. We are all beginning to realise that we are all children of the same land, the Hindu or Musalman, Parsi or Christian makes no difference to the pride we feel in speaking the language, which was spoken by the Mehtā, by Premānand, and by Dayārām, and which is the language of so many fine men and women today. The two, or rather the three streams—the Hindu, the Parsi and the Moslem—are rapidly coverging to what shall be the true *Triveṇī-saṅgam*[3] for Gujarātī. We all will then stand together on the banks of this great Gaṅgā stream of our Gujarātī tongue and will sing with one heart and voice the words of our poet:

अमे देशो, देशो, देशो,
ओ दिव्य अमारो देश.

I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA

TYPES OF INDIAN STATES

II

Later evidence shows that even when monarchy became omnipotent and the empire of the Mauryas was established, many of these republics existed. Of these may be mentioned the Licchavis, the Yaudheyas, and various others. Gradually, however, they sank into insignificance and were merged in the great states. But even then they retained their individuality and occasionally a certain amount of local autonomy.

After giving a short history of these states, we go on to discuss two important types of these republican states, *e.g.*? (1) the Confederation, (2) Tribal Democracies.

Under the head of confederations we include three states, *e.g.*, (1) the Yādava Confederacy, (2) the Licchavi Confederation, (3) the Kerala Confederacy.

A.—Yādava Confederacy.[1]

From the Epic we learn that the Yādavas[1] had a constitution similar to that of the Licchavis. The Yādavas were a confederation of several clans, of which the Bhojas, Andhakas, Vrişņis, and the Kukuras were the most important. Over the confederation we find an assembly of chiefs who ruled their small states. This assembly was under an officer called Sabhāpati, who in times of emergency summoned the Yādava leaders and elders to assemble in the Sabhā and to deliberate. In this connection the account in the Mahābhārata, Sabhāparva (Ch. 220) tells us that the Sabhāpati summoned the Yādava chiefs to arms and communicated the tidings of Subhadrā's abduction by Arjuna by a beat of drums. (Slokas 10-13.)

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[1] *N. B.*—The Yādavas were regarded as Vrātyas. See Droņaparva, 141-15, where Bh riśravāḥ denounces Kŗişņa.

They had no kings in the ordinary sense of the word but had an elected chief who acted as the president. The affairs of the state were managed by the elders whose voice was supreme. Vāsudeva or Śrīkṛṣṇa, later on regarded as the incarnation of God himself, was one of the elders. In Ch. 81; Śānti, he is called the Saṅgha-mukhya of the Yādava-saṅgha and is warned by Nārada to guard against dissensions in the Saṅgha or the confederation.

Bhedāt vināśaḥ saṅghānām saṅghamukhyosi Keśava ।
Yathātvām prāpya notsīdayedayam saṅghastathā kuru ॥

These chiefs, however, seem to have retained autonomous jurisdiction over their own subjects and clansmen. Their independence would be inferred from the following passage :

Yādavāḥ Kukurāḥ Bhojāḥ sarvecāndhakavṛṣṇayah ।
Tayyāsaktāḥ mahāvāho lokā lokesvarāśca ye ॥

which describes the chiefs of the Yādavas, Kukuras or Bhojas as Lokesvaras or rulers of men.

But while they retained local jurisdiction and ruling authority they were not crowned kings in the ordinary sense of the word. This would appear from the 37th ch. of the Sabhāparva, where in course of that dispute regarding the arghya, the Cedi Siśupāla takes exception to the selection of Srīkṛṣṇa on the ground that he was neither eligible for nor worthy of, that high honour since he did not come of a royal family—nor was he ever crowned king. In his indignation for the violation of the time-honoured practice he exclaims :—

Klīve dārakriyā yādrik andhe ca rūpadarśaṇaṃ ।
Arāgño rājavat pūja tatha te madhusūdana ॥ Śabhā, ch. 37-29.

Beyond this we have no details. But no account of the Yādavas, nor of the age of the Epic would be complete, if we fail to mention something about Krisṇa who played so great a part in the history of that age. His is the central figure in the history of the great Epic. He makes himself conspicuous by his championing the cause of republicanism and of local autonomy against Jarāsandha. Later on he fought for the just cause of the Pāṇḍavas.

B.—*The Licchavis.*

Next we come to discuss the constitution of the Licchavis of Vaisāli. In regard to these people again, our information is furnished only by tradition recorded in the early Buddhist canonical literature, canonical commentaries, and of the literature of the Jātakas. The Mahāparinibbānasutta records some historical traditions about these powerful clans, while the rest of the canonical literature (with the exception of the Mahāparinivvana) is almost silent about these important people. In the Jātakas, however, we find the Licchavis mentioned several times. Thus in the introduction to the Ekapanna Jātaka, we are told that in Vesāli the city of the Licchavis "there were always seven thousand seven hundred and seven kings (rājāno) to govern the kingdom and a like number of Viceroys (Senāpati), generals (Uparāja) and treasurers." (Ekapanna Jataka I. 149) In the Cullakaliṅga Jātaka we find the same tradition recorded together with some interesting detail—*e.g.*, Vesāliiyam Licchavi rājānam Sattasatāni sattasahasrāni satta ca Licchavi vasinsu. Te sarve pi patipucchā vitakkā aṭṭhasum, etc.—"Tradition says that the Licchavis of the ruling family to the number of 7,707 had their abode at Vaisali and all of them were given to argument and disputation."

Again the Bhaddasāla Jātaka (IV. 465) recording a tradition speaks of "the tank in Vaisāli city where the family of kings got water for the ceremonial sprinkling on the occasion of their coronation." It was covered with an iron net so that not even a bird could get through. Moreover, we learn that the tank was closely guarded. (*cf.* Vesāli nagare.........gaṇarāja-kulānaṃ abhiṣeka maṅgala pokkharani, etc.). The Licchavi princes regarded the use of the water of this tank as a peculiar privilege of their own and they severely resented any violation of the sacredness of the tank by anybody else than their own community. Consequently (the same story relates) when the general of the king of Kosala violated the sacredness of the tank by bathing his wife in it, the Licchavis were furious with anger and sent five hundred of their own community to pursue him.

In addition to these we learn something more about the Licchavis in the Attha-kathā. From this we know that they had a peculiar system of judicial administration in which a criminal case was tried by successive judicial tribunals, presided over by officers with various judicial powers. The first to try it was the Vinicaya Mahāmātya and next to him were the Vohārikas and the Suttadharas and above them were the Aṭṭhakulaka, the Senāpati and the Uparāja. All these could acquit the guilty but as a rule they had to send him to the next higher tribunal.

The highest tribunal was that of the Rājā who had the right to convict the accused and pass sentence on him according to the Paveni Putthaka or the book of Precedents.

As to the Licchavi Assembly we have no information about its composition but that it was a deliberate body in which all questions relating to the affairs of state were fully discussed, and decided by the voice of the majority. This is proved by some of the passages quoted above, as also by that well-known passage in the Mahāparinibbānasutta in which the Great Buddha laid down the conditions under which the Vajjians "would prosper and not decline." The occasion on which the sermon was uttered by the Buddha was as follows :

Once on a time, while the Buddha was staying at Rājagaha, Ajātaśatru the King of Magadha, determined upon destroying the Vajjians, sent his minister the Brahmin Varsakāra to him to take his advice on the point. When the Brahmin had delivered the message the Blessed One enquired of Ānanda whether he was aware that the Vajjians hold "full and frequent assemblies." Ānanda having replied in the affirmative the Buddha laid down the conditions of their success which are mentioned in the Mahāparinivvana.

In addition to these we have some more information about the Licchavis from the literature of the Jains according to whom the founder of that religion Mahāvira was related to the Licchavis of Vaisali through his mother Trisalā whose brother Ceṭakā was called "King of Vaisali" and in Jain books we have traces of the curious government of the Licchavis. For in the Nirayavalis it is related that king Ceṭaka whom Ajātasatru prepared to attack called together the 18 kings, of Kāsi and Kosala, the Licchai and Mallai. Again on the death of Mahāvīra the 18 confederate kings of Kāsi and Kosala did honour to him.

The evidence of the passages quoted above goes to prove without doubt that the constitution of the Licchavis was not of the ordinary monarchical type. It was on the other hand a republican 'Saṅga' or to explain in clear terms it was a republican federation of small states, the chiefs of which met in a Central Assembly to discuss affairs relating to the whole confederation. The number of these petty chiefs who are all called Rājānaḥ is not known. The number 7,707 occurring in the preambles of the Jātakas may be dismissed as being purely imaginary.

As to these petty principalities which formed the confederation there is no doubt that they were ruled by the Licchavi chiefs themselves. This is proved by the fact that each of them had his Uparāja, Senāpati and other officers. They ruled, moreover, by hereditary right—their sons were called Kumāras (as mentioned in the Ekapanna Jātaka). Moreover they formed an exclusive body—with rights and privileges, which they jealously guarded as their own, as would appear from the story of the sacred tank of Vaisāli quoted above.

These considerations will prove beyond doubt that the

Licchavi constitution was oligarchic, *i.e.*, it was of a type in which political power was vested in a privileged class or community.

There are, however, some scholars, who believe in a democratic character of the Licchavi constitution. Their theory is based upon the supposition that the democratic constitution of the Buddhist Saṅgha was copied by the Blessed One from the political institutions of the day. It was the Licchavis whose political institution supplied him with the model after which he founded his own religious order. These scholars further believe that the procedure in the Licchavi Assembly was similar to that followed in the Saṅgha.

Now as to the Buddhist Saṅgha, there can be no doubt that it was founded upon democratic principle. The first to notice this was Dr. Oldenberg and Mr. Rhys Davids who in his Hibbert Lecture delivered in 1881 (in which he had to illustrate some points in the history of Indian Buddhism) remarked that "The Order was a kind of republic in which all proceedings were settled by resolutions agreed upon in regular meetings of its members which were held subject to the observance of certain established regulations and the use of certain forms of words. These forms and the resolutions passed were called Kamma vācās." (See Rhys Davids H.L., 1881, pp. 38-40.)

The democratic character of the Buddhist Association is further illustrated by the fact that in addition to the rules and resolutions we further learn from the M.V. and the C.V.,

(1). That the Buddhist Saṅgha had a body of rules regarding the forms of resolutions to be moved in the Assembly. (XI–1–4. IV–2–2.)

(2). There was a rule of quorum (M.V. IX–3,2).

(3). In cases of differences of opinion the sense of the Assembly was decided by the votes of the majority. There were methods prescribed for the counting of votes and voting by ballot was known. (C.V. IV 9–IV–14–26).

(4) Complicated matters were referred to the decision of committees (C.V. IV–14–24).

(5) Lastly, definite rules seem to have existed regarding such matters as votes of absentees.

As to the contention that the Political Sangha was the prototype of the Saṅgha and that the procedure followed in the Political Assembly was the same as the Buddhist Order, the following observations may be put forward :

(1) There is nothing to prove that the procedure in the political saṅgha was the same as in the religious order. As to the political saṅgha we have absolutely no details and the supposed resemblance is purely conjectural.

(2) Moreover, there was a wide gulf of difference between the great religious order and the political assembly of the oligarchs. Undoubtedly, as Mr. Rhys Davids observed, "the Saṅgha was a kind of republic—an assembly of men, united in a common purpose, and living under a common discipline." But the men who composed it were quite different from those of the ordinary world. They had snapped up the last link with the world, they followed no occupations, and were practically communists in respect of the belongings which they were allowed to retain by the master.

(3) Again it is doubtful whether it was copied entirely from the political Saṅgha. In forming a religious congregation, there was every chance, that the Buddha will organise it on democratic lines. As a scion of the republicans of Kapilavāstu it would be natural for him to organise it on democratic principles. But with all these, we must take into account the fact that a religious fraternity in its infancy is always sure to be evolved on democratic lines. Such has been the case with many of the religious orders of the world. In India other Saṅghas too existed in Buddha's time. The early Christians too had their gatherings, their elected bishops, the early Mahomedans too devised a democratic system. In more recent times too the Khalsa was organised on democratic lines. Yet none of these

had anything to copy from. The Christians had the ideal of the universal Empire of Rome and the originator of the Khalsa had nothing but the centralised Mogul Empire to follow.

Consequently we believe that it would be but going too far to say that the Licchavis were as democratic as the Buddhist order. They, in fact, formed an oligarchical confederation. The chiefs ruled their own domains by hereditary right but as regards the whole Confederation, the Assembly settled the affairs. The chiefs enjoyed hereditary privileges and this receives confirmation from the evidence of the Arthaśāstra. The Rājaśavdins, it would appear, formed a privileged body of hereditary nobles composing the Assembly, while the Śaṅghamukhyas were elected office-bearers from amongst them.

In this respect there is a similarity between the Yādava Cconfederacy and the Licchavi Confederation. The Yādava chiefs too were rulers within their own domains and they have been described as Lokeśvarāḥ, while Srikṛiṣṇa was only a Mukhya.

C.—*The Kerala Confederacy.*

In another fringe area—in the extreme south—and in a later age too, there arose another federation, *e.g.*, that in Kerala dominated by the early Brahmin settlers.[1] The earliest to note this republican State in the past was Mr. Elphinstone. According to the various Keralotpatti accounts, the country peopled by the Brahmins was "divided into 64 districts and was governed by a general Assembly of that caste renting the lands to men of the inferior classes." The executive government was held by a Brahmin elected every three years and assisted by a council of four for the same period. "In time however they appointed a chief of the military class and afterwards came under the Pāṇḍya Kings."—Elphinstone, p. 238.

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[1] Other Brāḥmin gaṇas too like the Vāṭadhānas (mentioned in Manu, Mahābhārata and the Bṛhat Saṃhitā) existed. The writer is indebted to Prof. Dr. H. C. Roychaudhury for drawing his attention to these.

This military chief was known as the Perumal. A long line of these Princes ruled, after which other powers became predominant in the land. But in spite of their predominance, the two assemblies, one held under the auspices of the king, and the other composed of the people themselves, held sway and decided all important matters. Relics of these institutions existed in Kerala even up to very recent times, but as it will be out of place here to discuss these, we pass on in brief. (See Ancient and Medieval Kerala Polity, *Modern Review*, 1913; also Cochin Tribes and Castes by L. K. A. Iyer, Ch. on Nāmbudries.

The Democratic Gaṇas.

Next to these republican confederations, we must describe those non-monarchical democracies which existed in India. These seem to have been small single states and were in the possession of a dominant tribe or clan. These may be regarded as the representatives of the old tribal democracies existing from Vedic times. The general name for these states is Gaṇa, though other names, *e.g.*, Janapada, or Nigama and occasionally Saṅgha was applied to them.

The Gaṇas were composed of families or clans who seem to have been equal in origin (Jātyā ca sādṛśaḥ sarve kulena sadṛśāstathā, M.V.R.D., Ch. 107).

In these states, sovereignty lay with the Gaṇa or the commonwealth and coins were issued in its name. The members took an active part in all deliberations and all young men fought for the common cause.

In all matters of great importance, public opinion was consulted, though in matters requiring secrecy, the council of elders (gaṇottamāḥ or gaṇa-mukhyās) deliberated in secret. But before determining on a course of action they consulted public opinion.

An account of Gaṇa government is furnished by Ch. 107 of the Rājadharma Parva. For an early exposition of this chapter we are indebted to Mr. K. P. Jayaswal. (See Mod. Review, 1913.)

We give next a history of the more important of these states. Some of these like the Yaudheyas, it would appear, had a long history of their own. Coins belonging to many of them have come down to us, and some of these are mentioned in the Epic. (See Mahābhārata, Ch. 52.)

Audumvarāḥ Durbibhāgāḥ Pāradāḥ Vālhikaiḥ saha ।
Sîvi-Trigarta-Yaudheyāḥ rājanyāḥ Bhadra-kekayāh ॥
Ambasthāḥ kaukurāḥ Tarkṣāḥ Vastrapāḥ Palhavaih saha ।
Pauṇdrikāh Kukarāḥ caiva Śakāḥ caiva visāmpate ॥

Sujātayaḥ śreṇimantaḥ śreyāṃsaḥ śastradhārinah—Sabhā Ch. 52 (13 to 17).

Sivimstrigartānambasthān mālavān pañca-karpatān ।
Tatha Madhyamakeyāmśca Vātadhānān dvijānatha ॥
Siṅdhukulāśritā ye ca grāmanīyāḥ mahāvalāḥ ।
Śudrāvhīra-gaṇāścaiva ye cāśritya Sarasvatīm ॥—Ch. 32, Sabhā.

Of these the following were more important :—

(1) *The Yaudheyāḥ.*—They are mentioned in Pāṇini as an Āyudhajīvī saṅgha (V. III-113-117). Some of their coins have been discovered and these are supposed to belong to the 1st century B. C. Some of these bear the inscription Jaudheya-gaṇa. They are mentioned in the Girnāra inscription of Rudradāmana who boasted of having conquered them, and in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta—from which we know that they "paid tribute to Samudragupta" and in the Sabhā Parva (Ch. 52, sl. 14). From the Vijayagarh Pillar inscription we know something about their governmental system. Thus the V. Inscription refers to a man described as "Yaudheyagaṇa puraskrita and mahārājamahāsenāpati,"—the rest of the inscription is destroyed.

(2) *The Mālavas.*—They are also mentioned in the Sabhā Parva (Ch. 32, sl. 7). They may be identical with the Malloi conquered by Alexander. About 600 coins of the Mālavas have been discovered, some of these bearing the inscription Mālavānām, Malavagaṇa'sya jaya. The earliest of them have been referred to about 250 B.C. They are mentioned in the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta, in an inscription of Usavadatta the son-in-law of Nahapāna and in some of the inscriptions of the Gupta period notably in the Mandasore inscription of Kumāragupta and Vandhu-varman (see line 17, malavānām ganasthityā, and in the Mandasore inscription of Yasodharman Vishnuvardhan—Mālavaganasthitivasāt). The connection between the Mālavas and the era called after them is interesting. According to scholars the Mālava era is identical with the Samvat era.

(3) *Audumbaras.*—Mentioned in Sabhāparva (52, sl. 13), in Pāṇini, in the fragments of Megasthenes. We have three classes of Audumbara coins, *e.g.*

(1) Those having the name of the Audumbara tribe.
(2) Those having the name of the Kings and tribe also.
(3) Those having the name of the Kings only.

These have been referred to the 1st cent. B. C. They are also mentioned in Vṛhatsamhitā, Markaṇḍeyapurāṇa and Viṣṇupurāṇa.

(4) *The Kunindas.*—Mentioned in the Mahābhārata. Their coins bearing the names of kings as well as of the tribe have been referred to the 1st and 2nd centuries B.C.

(5) *The Vṛṣṇis.*—They are mentioned in the Mahābhārata and in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya (*e.g.*, Vrishni Saṅgha, p. 11).

A single coin of this corporation has been preserved and it may be referred to 2nd or 1st century B.C.

(6) *The Sibi.*—The name Śibi occurs in a verse of the Sabhā p., Ch. 32, sl. 7. They are mentioned along with the Trigartas, Ambasṭhas and the Mālavas and again in Ch. 52, along with the Trigartas, and the Yaudheyas. The Sibi coins are very

interesting, because they bear the legend majhamikāya sibi-janapadasa."

(7) *The Arjunāyanas.*—They are mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of the great Gupta Emperor Samudragupta—along with the Yaudheyas, Mālavas and Madrakas.

Some coins bearing the legend Arjunāyana have been discovered and these may be referred to the 1st century B.C.

The Later History of the Non-monarchical States.

The material at our disposal is so scanty that we cannot attempt to write a systematic history of these non-monarchical states. Prof. Vinayakumar Sarkar has recognised three periods in the history of republicanism, but these three periods hardly represent any distinct phase of political evolution. But as a matter of fact, we cannot but note certain tendencies in the history of these states, and these may be summed up as follows:

(1) That, as a rule, confederations show a tendency to break up and this tendency was brought about by various causes which we shall discuss later on.

(2) That though these were broken up some units retained their identity for a longer time and preserved a protracted existence.

(3) Some of the Gaṇas survived almost to the last days of Hindu independence.

(4) In some of these states again, there was a tendency towards the recognition of monarchical principle.

As examples of the break-up of the confederations we may cite the instance of both the Yādavas and the Licchavis. The Yādava Confederacy was evidently broken up, though there are distinct evidences to prove that the Vṛṣṇis and the Bhojas retained separate political existence. In the days of the Arthaśastra we find that the Kukuras are separately mentioned. The Bhojas are mentioned in the Aśoka inscriptions while the

Vṛṣṇis mentioned in the earlier works retained their existence as proved by their coins.

In the case of the Licchavis, their political importance ended with the break-up of their Confederacy. Almost all the non-monarchical organisations were swept away by the tide of monarchical conquest. The Licchavis, however, retained their existence for a long time. The marital alliance of the early Guptas with the Licchavis added but to the consolidation of the power of the latter and this is proved by the coin of Samudragupta bearing the inscription of "Licchavayaḥ."

After this, the republican existence died among the Lichchavis and in later history the Licchavi nobles seem to have become independent dynasts of local areas. Independent members of this family established separate states and some of them ruled in Nepal as ruling princes. As in the case of the Licchavis, the Madras reverted to the monarchical rule and this is proved by the Mahābhārata evidence which speaks of the Madras as being ruled by their king Śalya, who describes himself as a prince born in the line of anointed kings. Similar was the case with the Yaudheyas. In the Vijayagaḍh inscription, the last monument which speaks of Yaudheyas, we hear of a man who is described as "Yaudheyagaṇapuraskṛitasya mahārāja-mahāsenāpateḥ." The evidence of this passage too confirms the above view. The same man was not only king (ruler) but also the chief commander and probably he had become an independent dynast free from popular control.

Causes of the Decay of Non-monarchical States.

Speaking generally, however, we may come to the conclusion that the non-monarchical states decayed with the rise of monarchical and imperial power. Indeed the rise of Magadha and Kosala led to the destruction of a large number of them. Magadha absorbed a large number of those states which existed in the life time of the Buddha, while the

Śākyas, the kinsmen of Buddha, were destroyed by the tyrannical Viruḍhava. The despots of these days regarded these non-monarchical tribes as thorns in their own flesh and constantly sought opportunities to destroy them. The desire for the unification of the whole country also brought them face to face with these states. This is apparent from the teachings of the Arthaśāstra which calls upon kings to bring Saṅghas to submission.

Another cause of decay was that as social complexities arose, these non-monarchical states lost the solid foundation on which they once were established. It is needless to point out that in most of these states, a ruling oligarchy had the sole voice in the administration of the country. They thus dominated over a subject population which had no voice. In course of time, the latter gained in strength. Economic necessity made the tribes look to their assistance. They seem to have multiplied and thus as they increased in importance, the rule by the oligarchy became something odious to them. The domination of one clan or of a few families could hardly be tolerated and thus it contributed to the weakening of the non-monarchical states. Monarchy, on the other hand, stood on a higher level. The king, however despotic or tyrannical he might have been, could not but recognise the needs of the classes and castes. Under monarchical rule the castes received not only protection but recognition of their caste-laws and the customs and usages of their community. Caste, in later time, took a turn towards a "racial federation" and the castes retaining a certain amount of internal autonomy gladly accepted royal rule which looked to the recognition of their rights and customs as an accepted principle.

The next cause was the internal jealousy between the chiefs and families. Nothing more need be said on this head. The history of the Yādavas proves it. Buddha too warns against mutual jealousy and the crafty monarchist of the 4th B.C. clearly shows how corporations could be easily destroyed by adding fuel to the jealousies existing between families or individuals.

Conclusion.

Republics thus existed in India, and republicanism was once a potent force in the country. Mere subservience to the will of the irresponsible monarch was not the normal condition of affairs. Her people had no exclusive patent for adoration, veneration or obedience. They too knew how to deliberate in the assembly hall, to discuss public affairs, and to determine their own political destinies. Nor were they insignificant to be laughed at, and if we have the testimony of Phyrrus as to the "gods" of the Roman Senate, we have a similar eulogy uttered by the Buddha on his kinsmen the Licchavis who appeared to him as the "gods in the Traya-trimsa Heaven." In a later age, the statecraft of Kauṭilya, actuated by a desire for the unification of the country, did its best to undermine their supremacy, yet Kauṭilya, the master of statecraft, could not but look upon them with admiration and dread.

As time went on the cause of monarchy was furthered by social complexities. In an age of universalism and of social federation, the democratic city or the oligarchic confederation became an anachronism, and they passed away—some succumbed to the Imperialistic movement, while in others the ideals of their enemies acted and reacted and turned the republicans into local dynasts.

Yet the spirit and the tradition survived. The spirit of local or tribal independence had often clashed with the centralising tendencies of monarchy. The latter principle survived, but in that struggle it was modified and changed its character. Local autonomy, respect for local laws and customs came to have recognition even with the most despotic kings.

Nor did the republican genius die out. It manifested itself in other spheres. If there was sacerdotalism in politics, the spirit of assertion and reason asserted itself in the domain of intellect. It would be idle to dilate on this, but only this much may be pointed out, that each of the three regions remains memorable, as having produced, some of India's foremost teachers. The region of the Kosala-Videha (Magadha) Confederacy produced Mahāvīra and Buddha,—The Yādavas produced Srikṛṣṇa, while in the family of the Brahmin ex-oligarchs of Kerala, arose the last great teacher of India, Sri Śankarācarya.*

(*Concluded*)

NARAYANCHANDRA BANDYOPADHYAYA

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* Very recently Mr. Jayaswal's book on Hindu Polity has been published. This contains not only a detailed account of these republics, but the subject has been dealt with clearly and exhaustively, and our readers are referred to this book of a great scholar, who worked on this subject for a long time, and was the earliest to show the importance of the republics and of republicanism in India. The subject has also been treated very lucidly by Prof. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his "Carmichael Lectures" (1st series), by Prof. B. K. Sarkar in his "History of Hindu Political Theories and Institutions" and by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in his "Corporate Life in Ancient India."

DARJEELING—AN IMPRESSION

In the days before we had developed from Fireside Adventurers into real travellers in distant lands, we read in Kipling's stories of life in the Indian hill-stations that the local gymkhana was the centre of social things. It was here that the not-too-meek Subalterns danced attendance on the wives of their superior officers ; where the favourite feminine pastime was "tea, tattle and tatting"; and where time was beguiled for both sexes with tennis, rides, cards and dances. But the march of years has changed life in both hill and plain and the one time places of limited social activities have become as a tale that is told. From embryo, grub and chrysalis, Darjeeling has evolved into a brilliant butterfly, no longer typical of the old hill-stations of thirty years past. Even so has the method of transportation thither progressed. Then one travelled tediously by means of the painfully slow tongas or ekkars. Now one goes by rail or motor. But still the journey savours of Adventure and the names that mark the stations enroute to Darjeeling have a romantic flavour that modernity cannot efface Ishurdi, Santahar, Sookna, Siliguri and Kurseong.

One leaves the Plains very early in the morning, begins the ascent in the little narrow-gauge train of the Himalayan Railway. These diminutive coaches afford us a variety of sensations not set down in the guide books ; and throughout six cramped but colourful hours we jerk, shake, stop, start, and make erratic progress at the rate of about twelve miles an hour, adding a thousand feet to our altitude with each hour's climb. For the physical discomforts of the journey, and they are not to be denied, one has the compensation of unrivalled scenery, and the shaking up one receives is said to have a salutary effect on the liver.

As we climb up and up, the panorama of constantly changing beauty unfolds before our eyes, revealing with each new curve in the hills a new charm of landscape. Far below us stretch out the Plains dimly seen through the grey-blue haze of the distance. Nearer at hand are the abrupt declivities of the mountain-sides thickly timbered with conifers, chestnut, magnolia, acacia, criptomeria, lotus-tree and many other varieties of flora. Gray moss, ferns and orchids glean their parasitic growth from the trees, and brilliantly coloured flowers and shrubs stand out against the dense mass of the Terai Jungle. The ordered terraces of the Tea Plantations stretch for many miles on the valley floor where the efforts of men are devoted exclusively to the growing of leaves for the cup that "cheers but not inebriates." From Ghoom, the highest point along the line, we begin the last lap of four miles into Darjeeling, and land finally at the busy little station, vibrant with animation and the buzz of unintelligible conversation. We are immediately pounced upon by porters and ricksha coolies, who noisily importune our patronage. When we raise our eyes to our Caravanserai, perched like an eagle's nest almost perpendicularly above us, we defer our desire to stretch cramped limbs and willingly succumb to the lure of the ricksha. These little man-drawn vehicles one usually associates with the jinrickshas of Nippon which, to quote our dictionary means "jin" (man) "riki" (strength) "sha" (vehicle) a light two-wheeled Japanese carriage with a hood, drawn by one or two men." A more cumbersome and uncomfortable type of miniature phaeton was introduced into Darjeeling as a convenient mode of circumlutory travel. In place of the one or two men allotted to us by the dictionary, it requires three or four to pull us up the steep terraces and deposit us at our destination. During the ascent the collies groan, strain and perspire copiously in an effort to impress us with the enormous difficulty of their task looking hopefully for the bucksheesh to come. The newcomer is always introduced to this system immediately he reaches India; but he soon becomes "broken in" and learns that such clamorous protestations are not an outward and visible sign of an invisible grace.

Darjeeling, "Place of the Thunderbolt," seems misnamed to us, who after spending two seasons here heard no thunder. Rather would we call it Darjeeling: Place of the Clouds, as being a more accurate nomenclature. For, verily, this is Cloudland!

In the early morning the clear expanse of Heaven is dotted with little fluffs of wool-like cumuli, "floating in the upper regions of the atmosphere," "like wondering sheep on an azure field." Later on, in the day, the clouds expand and spread until we become cloud-wrapt in a vaporous phantasmagoria, drifting along with shadowy forms of visionary beauty, dimly sensed through the veil of reality that obscures the dream.

The lofty Cirri trail their feathery glory along the late afternoon sky, touched with the rosy gold of the setting sun and the thin horizontal streamers of Cirro-stratus lie like delicate veils across the glowing bosom of the West. And yonder, saffron-tinted Mackarel clouds sail like fairy ships on the uncharted ethric sea of the far horizon.

One literally dwells in Cloudland, and thoughts, cloudborn, wrap us in meditation. The world seems nebulous, unreal, unsubstantial and illusory, as a dream that just escapes us. At times one is almost smothered, enfolded in a great gray impenetrable sea of fog, that comes from the unknown and goes on who knows where? Too long wearied from the blank stare of the white-hot sky of the Plains in the dry season, how grateful and entrancing are the visions of the clouds in all their varied forms!

Darjeeling, seen from the terrace of our temporary habitation, spreads out in a cheerful looking semi-circle of red-roofed houses. The district is a modern settlement with an immense population scattered from Morang to Rangpur. Darjeeling town is quaintly different and un-Indian at first glance. Except for the gigantic perspective of these mountains, one might imagine oneself in the Alps looking towards Mt. Blanc or Jungfrau. The red-roofed houses of stucco and concrete, adorned with rather trivial white "gingerbread" trimmings, suggest the Swiss chalet type of architecture. Some of these villas, perched on the hill-sides seem inconsistent and impertinent little structures in the face of the superlative dignity and grandeur of the surrounding scenery, like a bit of masonric jazz striking an incongruous note among the tremendous harmonies of a natural symphony.

The many larger Public buildings of more solidly British type, done in gray stone, do much towards stabilizing and equalizing the architectural fitness of the Civic *tout ensemble.* The broken crescent of the town presents an attractive picture of a well-ordered, prosperous and urban community, made important by reason of its stupendous background. No town, however prosaic, could fail to achieve popularity or even fame when Nature has given it so rare a setting. The rugged line of the Snows towering above the lesser hills presents the splendid perspective of the world's highest mountains...this panorama has stamped Darjeeling with supreme individuality. But, aside from the beauty of the landscape, this is a spot of unique interest; a sort of microcosm of England, Switzerland, Mongolia and India, the mixed ingredients making an absolutely original whole.

And here, seven thousand feet up in the heart of the Himalayas, Civilization has found its way, and holds out the modern lures to the city-bred in the form of all the conveniences and luxuries of living than man desires.

The main street ambles along from the Mt. Everest Hotel location to the little plaza called Chaurasta, the Four Roads. Here the Gurka Band drones out wailing melodies on the official bagpipes, for the benefit of the passing visitors, the perennial flock of ayahs and their small charges riding the little donkeys; itinerant vendors of turquoise and cheap trinkets; the ricksha coolies and dogs, that all form a part of the life and colour of the cheerful Square. Residences, lodging houses, and churches, give place, at the new town hall to the shops which cater to man's material wants, and a pretty road becomes spoiled by the ugly but accurate name of Commercial Row.

Along the terraced hills the hardy flowers bloom in riotous profusion; masses of red, pink and white cosmos nod gaily in the breeze; dahlias of every hue add bold notes of colour, and even zinnias, ugliest of flowers, achieve a position in the blossom world and compete in gaudy hues with the transplanted flora of the community.

But it is the people themselves that claim our greatest interest. Not the too usual European of mildly varied type. One meets them everywhere; they are as ubiquitous as crows or moving pictures; but those "children of the soil and sun" upon whose natural habitat, have intruded. If inclined towards amateur anthropology, one has many types to study in these Hills. While the Nepalese dominate the population, there are numerous other variations of Mongolian extraction in Bhutian, Sikkham, Lepcha, Tibetans, Mechis, Rajbonis and Chinese; while Hindu, Mohammedan, Parsee and Christian flourish as the green bay tree.

To see the people at their best, or worst, depending on the angle of one's vision, go to Market on a Sunday morning.

To visit a Bazaar in the East is to have a lesson, of more or less moralistic value, in the essential differences of mankind. Here the atavistic native enters with zest into all the play of barter and exchange, giving full scope to his inherent talent for presenting inferior wares under the most attractive colours and most exhorbitant prices. One marks all the shades of natural villainy, from frank avariciousness and cupidity to veiled subtlety or merely intriguing indifference. Every tone in the scale of petty rascality is sounded.

The Market Square is situated in the centre of the town and segregated by prescribed limits. One can look down upon the scene from the higher terraces, and behold a riot of colour while the ear is assailed with the hum of voices vibrating like a million bees. But to look down on the Market is not enough. One must descend into it and become a part of it, as a spectator and observer of people and things. In that way only can we receive a real impression of India and Indians. And this more intimate study will repay us in interest as sympathetic "close-ups" of Humanity always do.

The people are as varied in their castes as in their costumes which blend harmoniously whether their creeds do or not. From many miles around the native trudges in on 'market day' with his produce. The wild looking Lepcha, the aborigines of the Hills, clad in dingy rags and inseparable Kurki,[1] brings his contributory share of goats, fowls or vegetables. The Nepalese, opulent by comparison, sit under cloth or thatch awnings and sell grains which are piled in front of them on flat wicker trays. The Nepalese woman merchant wears her fortune about her neck in the shape of chains of eight-anna pieces; heavy silver bracelets and anklets; ear-rings and rings; and is very shrewd at driving a bargain. Most of the wares are displayed on the ground or on improvised stalls and one threads his way along little lanes between piles of vegetables, fruits and grains. Here the familiar orange, lemon, cocoanut and apple, elbows the strange lechee, papya, and mangoe, while the lowly "spud," that international dietary bulwark, stands cheek by jowl with the brinjal, tea-tomato and guava. As for all the ordinary garden variety they are recognized, from democratic cabbage to despised rhubarb and seem to look the same in any language.

There are sweet-meats, without which no Indian bazaar is complete, and betel-nut, even more universally beloved. There are peppers and curries that brand the most common-place dish with its own peculiarly fiery mark as a prod to a jaded palate. In other stalls are flesh, fish and fowl to suit the taste of all creeds, and those unfettered of creed. In the permanent booths are the more substantial wares of the Bazaar. Here the silver-smith sells his jewellery by weight on little scales that appear more innocent than they are. There are Kasmeri, Tibetan and Ceylonese shops, each holding the lure of its own peculiar wares "antiques," cleverly faked, assume a guise of age which deceives the unwary. But amongst much that is spurious there are articles of genuine value in the Bazaar, such as brasses, turquoise, jade, rugs, furs, shawls and the like.

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[1] Kurki—Native knife.

One pays for going to market, not only in the coin of the realm, but with the living souvenirs whose ungentle reminders make us realize that the usual fly in the ointment is not a fly, but a flea. That indestructible insect of the genus "Pulex irritans" that leaps, cavorts, and capers jauntily just out of reach, with the agility of a miniature kangaroo or jerboa; that omnivorous parasite, that enjoys with impartial relish tasting Tibetans; munching Mongolians; biting Bhutians, and chewing Christians; that edacious gourmand that gluttons on both human and animal, is the inescapable cutaneous pest whose favourite hunting ground is in the congested Market Place.

"The wicked flee when no man pursueth"; rather the wicked flea pursueth man with such indomitable determination, that we wonder the ubiquitous mosquito of the Plains is not, after all, the lesser of the evils in this insect-ridden land.

To see "the Hills" in the morning light is to receive an impression never to be blotted from one's memory.

During the brief interval of clear skies, the whole silhouette of the Himalayan snow peaks rise unobstructed by the inevitable clouds that gather later in the day. Here the world's loftiest mountains stand revealed, towering in profound majesty and grandeur, their summits crowned in perpetual snow, glittering in the sun and creating a spell of loveliness unspeakable. From the highest crest of noble Kinchinjunga to Kabu, Jannu, Pandim, Jubanu and Sinalchun, are gradations of gripping beauty. As for Everest, "Turquoise Goddess" and queen of the Hills, one makes a special pilgrimage to see the miracle of sunrise on her distant peak.

Sun-rise and sun-set, noon-light and moon-light, each hour that comes holds a different variety of beauty that can only be expressed in the language of the emotions. Words are never an adequate means of conveying the realities of God's handicraft; one might see it in dreams, or feel it in music, but Nature herself transcends all human expression.

From the eminence on which we stand and look westward at sunset, stretch deep valleys dappled by cloud shadows in chiaroscuro effect; clouds that go shifting and drifting in slow dream-like procession over the hills and far away......and beyond and upward rise the Eternal Snows.

When one speaks or writes of Darjeeling, one naturally begins and ends with eulogies to the snows, for they dominate the mind as they do the landscape, and their charm is unforgettable.

LILY STRICKLAND-ANDERSON

SLAVERY IN ANCIENT INDIA

(*A Chapter in Indian Social and Economic History.*[1])

Megasthenes, writing his account of India towards the beginning of the third century B. C., remarked that the Indians did not use aliens as slaves, much less a countryman of their own.[2] Whether this memorable pronouncement was the result, as has been held, of the Greek's experience of the unusual mildness of the system in vogue among the Indians,[3] or else of the same idealizing tendency that runs through Tacitus's picture in the Germania,[4] it is difficult to decide. Nevertheless, it is but a truism to say that the whole history of India in early times reveals the existence of slavery as a recognised institution. In the Ṛgveda, the word 'dāsa' or 'dasyu' is used to mean the unconquered aborigines as well as the subjugated slave,—a proof, no doubt, of the frequency with which individuals of the former class could be and were changed into the second. To judge from historical analogies, capture in war must have been at this period one of the chief sources of slavery. But that an Aryan freeman could also be reduced to slavery for debt seems to follow from a passage in the famous dicing hymn[5] in which the parents and brothers of a gamester are made to say, "We know him not, take him away bound." Of the kinds of work allotted to the slave and of his status in general, we have as yet no information, though the slaves are mentioned in one place among the objects of priestly gift (dakṣhiṇā).[6] In this age of general simplicity the slave presumably was regarded as a member of the master's household, and in any case he must have held a minor place in the public economy in comparison with the free labourer.[1] The following period, that of the later Samhitās and the Brāhmaṇas, undoubtedly introduced more complex social conditions, of which the outward symptoms were the emergence of a developed city-life, the improvement of agriculture, and above all the multiplication and specialisation of industries.[2] Nevertheless, though we have references as in the story of Kavaṣa Ailūṣa[3] to the degraded condition of the slaves, there does not appear to have occurred at this epoch any striking change in the character or extent of this institution.[4]

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[1] Read at the third sessions of the All-India Oriental Conference (Madras), December, 1924.

[2] See MacCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 71.

[3] See Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 263. *Cf. Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 416.

[4] *Cf.* Jolly, Arthashastra ed., Introduction, p. 38.

[5] Rv. X, 34, 5.

[6] *Ibid*, VIII, 56, 3.

It is in the following period that we are first introduced, in connection with the remarkably vivid and objective pictures of social life in the Pali canon and specially in the Jātakas, amid what seems the old economic environment,[5] to a somewhat full knowledge of Indian slavery. According to a passage in the Suttavibhaṅga section of the Vinaya Piṭaka [6] slaves are of three classes, *viz.*, those born in the master's house, those acquired by purchase and those captured in war. Again, a Gāthā [1] occurring as well in a Jātaka story as in a passage of the Niddesa mentions four kinds of slaves, *viz.*, those who are slaves from their mothers, those who are bought for money, those who are slaves of their own free will, and those who are driven to slavery by fear. An alternative list combining both these groups was remembered in the Buddhist tradition as late as the fifth century A.D.[2] The Jātakas contain concrete illustrations of most of these classes[3] besides mentioning instances of persons reduced to slavery by way of judicial punishment.[4] An interesting sidelight is thrown upon the economic conditions of the time by a casual observation made in one of the above passages[1] to the effect that 700 kārṣāpaṇas were held to be sufficient for purchasing a male or a female slave.[2] From various other passages the slave appears to have been usually employed in performing the ordinary household duties.[3] But there is one remarkable instance[4]—remarkable in view of the degraded occupation assigned to the slave subsequently in the Brahminical Smṛtis,—of a born slave acting as the private secretary of his master. The treatment of the slave, in other respects, seems to have depended upon the temperament or even the varying mood of his owner. We find, *e.g.*, in the instance just cited " the slave, petted, permitted to learn writing and handicrafts besides his ordinary duties as valet and footman, saying to himself that at the slightest fault he might get beaten, imprisoned, branded and fed on a slave's fare."[5] This seems to suggest, as has been held,[6] that the slave as yet had no legal protection against his master. The evil custom of keeping slaves in fetters does not appear to have been altogether unknown.[7] Runaway slaves, again, it would seem, were forcibly taken back by their owners.[8] On the other hand there are few instances in the Buddhist literature of this period of actual maltreatment on the part of the masters.[1] The slave could secure manumission by the master's favour or even by purchase.[2]

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[1] *Cf.* Prof. A. B. Keith (C. H. I., p. 101) : "The Ṛgveda unquestionably presents us with a society which is not dependent on [slave] labour, and in which the ordinary tasks of life are carried out by the freemen of the tribe."

[2] *Cf.* Prof. Keith, *loc. cit.*, pp. 117-118, 135-136.

[3] See Ait. Br. II, 19, Kauṣ. Br., XII, 3 where the seer Kavaṣa as a supposed 'dāsīputra' is held to be unfit for participation in the Soma sacrifice.

[4] Prof. Keith conjectures (*loc. cit*, p. 128) that during the above period, "for the peasant working on his fields was being substituted the landowner cultivating his estate by means of slaves, or the merchant carrying on his trade by the same instrumentality." But the evidence for such a supposed transformation is of the slenderest kind, and all that we know of subsequent times belies the possibility of its happening. Even of such a comparatively late period as that of the early Buddhist literature, we are told by a competent authority, "We hear nothing of such later developments as the Greek mines and the Roman *latifundia* and the plantations of the Christian slave-owners." (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 55).

[5] *Cf.* Mrs. Rhys Davids (C. H. I., p. 198) : "The rural economy of India at the coming of Buddhism was based chiefly on a system of village communities.....There is no such clear testimony to isolated large estates or to great feudatories or to absolute lords of the soil holding such estates."

[6] P. T. S. ed., Vol. IV, p. 2[illegible]hanakkīto karamarānīto.

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[1] Āmāya dāsāpi bhavanti h'eke
dhanena kītāpi bhavanti dāsā
sayam pi h'eke upayanti dāsā
bhayā paṇunnāpi bhavanti dāsā.

See the Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka (Fausboll's ed., Vol. VI, p. 285), and Niddesa, I. II.

[2] See *e.g.* the passage in Buddhaghosa's Sumangalavilāsinī (Part I, p. 168); dāso ti antojāta-dhanakkīta-karamarānīta-sāmam dāsabyam upagatānam aññataro.

[3] Reference to a slave born in the master's house occurs in the Kaṭāhaka Jātaka. (Fausboll's ed., Vol. I, p. 452); to the purchase of slaves in the Sattubhasta Jātaka (*ibid*, Vol. III, p. 343); to the capture and enslavement of persons by frontier robbers in the Chullanārada Jātaka (*ibid*, Vol. IV, p. 220); to voluntary enslavement through fear in the Khaṇḍahjāla Jātaka (*ibid*, Vol. VI, p. 138) where Prince Chandakumāra, speaking as the mouthpiece of the intended victims of his father's sacrifice, begs for life even at the cost of being reduced to a slave's status. In the Mahāsutasoma Jātaka (*ibid*, Vol. V, p. 497), King Brahmadatta decides to intercede for the captive kings, thinking that otherwise the man-eater (porisādo) Sutasoma would settle them in the forest as his slaves or else take them to the frontier and sell them. No reference to prisoners of war as such is to be found in the Jātakas. But that capture in war was actually practised is shown, *e.g.*, by the mention as an ordinary incident of warfare, of the wholesale enslavement of the conquered inhabitants of Kālinga in Asoka's Rock Edict No. XIII.

[4] In the Kulāvaka Jātaka (Fausboll's ed., Vol. I, p. 200) we are told how a wicked village superintendent (gāmabhojaka) was condemned by the king to be the slave of the villagers In the Mahāummagga Jātaka (*ibid*, Vol. VI, p. 389) the king at the intercession of the wise man Mahosadha spares the lives of the four guilty ministers and condemns them to be his slaves. On the other hand a passage in tha Vessantara Jātaka (*ibid*, Vol. VI, p. 521), which has been taken (Mrs. Rhys [illegible] C. H. I., p. 205. and footnote) to refer to slavery incurred for debt, si [illegible] daughter in marriage for failure to retu

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[1] See Fausboll's ed., Vol. III, p. 343. On the other hand slaves apparently of the cheapest sort could be purchased for 100 pieces (kārṣāpaṇas ?) ; hence the frequent use of such expressions as 'meek as a slave of 100 pieces.' (*Cf.* Nanda Jātaka, Vol. I, pp. 224-25 ; Durājāna Jātaka, Vol. I, p. 300.)

[2] Kārṣāpaṇas, as is well-known, were of three varieties, gold, silver and copper (*cf.* Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, Ch. III). There can be little doubt that in the above passage silver kārṣāpaṇas are meant, for a gold or a copper coin of the same designation would be too high or too low a price to pay for a slave.

[3] *Cf.* Fick, Die Sociale Gliederung, etc., English Translation, pp. 311-312 ; J.B.O.R.S., Vol. IX, Parts II and IV, p. 372.

[4] See the Kaṭāhaka Jātaka cited above.

[5] Mrs. Rhys Davids, C. H. I., p. 205.

[6] *Cf.* Fick, *op. cit.*, pp. 306, 3 8.

[7] In the passage from the Khaṇḍahāla Jātaka already quoted, the prince offers along with the other victims to serve bound in fetters if he is saved from death.

[8] See the Vinaya Piṭakam, P. T. S. ed., Vol. I, p. 76. Reference to the general depression of a slave's condition occurs in a passage of the Sāmaññaphala Sutta (Digha Nikāya, P. T. S. ed., Vol. I, p. 72) which pointedly describes the joy of a slave "not his own master, subject to another, unable to go whither he would," after he had been "emancipated from that slavery, become his own master, not subject to others, a freeman, free to go whither he would."

Such seems to have been the state of slavery in the period which we are now treating. To realise the influence of Buddhism upon this institution, it is well to remember that according to the tradition Buddha, while deprecating in his own person the acceptance of slaves,[3] so far respected the master's right of ownership that he forbade admission to the Samgha to the unmanumitted slave.[4] Nevertheless, we have at least two recorded instances of liberation by a distinguished disciple of the Master, of his slaves who rose thereafter to the rank of saints in the Buddhist Church.[5] A more important fruit of Buddha's teaching in this direction is revealed in Asoka's edicts[6] inculcating the kind treatment of slaves as well as servants.[7]

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[1] Mrs. Rhys Davids (C. H. I, p. 205) mentions two instances of beating of female slaves (Majj. N, I, 125; Jat., Vol. I, p. 402). A more striking example occurs in a passage of the Puggala Paññatti. (P. T. S. ed., p. 56), which mentions slaves carrying out the king's orders, "impelled by whip, impelled by fear, weeping with tears upon their faces." The pathetic story of the children of King Vessantara being ill-treated by their cruel master, the Brahman Jūjaka, is meant so obviously for the purpose of moral edification as to lose much of its value as a contemporary picture of social life.

[2] See, *e.g.*, the passage in the Sona-Nanda Jātaka (Vol. V, p. 313) where a pious family is described as retiring to the Himalayas after liberating their slaves (dāsajanaṁ bhujissam katvā). Also compare the Vessantara Jātaka where the king at the time of giving away his children in slavery, fixes their ransom which is afterwards paid by their grandfather (Vol. VI, p. 577).

[3] *Cf.* the passage in the Digha Nikāya (I. 1. 10) where non-acceptance of a male or a female slave is mentioned among the Buddha's notable characteristics.

[4] See, *e.g.*, the text in Mahāvagga, I. 47: na dāso pabbājetabbo.

[5] The references are to the male slave Dāsaka and the female slave Puṇṇā or Puṇṇikā mentioned as the authors of Gāthās in the Theragāthā (p. 4) and Therigāthā (p. 123). Both are mentioned in the Paramatthadīpanī, as having been liberated by their master Anāthapiṇḍika.

[6] See, *e.g.*, the Rock Edict No. XI, and the Pillar Edict No. VII.

[7] May we in view of the above facts compare the influence of Buddhism upon slavery with that of Christianity in the early centuries of its existence?

The Arthashāstra and the Dharmashāstras which introduce us to the epoch of known codes of law, naturally deal with the institution of slavery at great length, though we have no reasons to believe from the available evidence that there was any change in the fundamental economic conditions of the country. Both these sets of authorities, to begin with, distinguish between the slaves and other workers. Kauṭilya, *e.g.*, in his two chapters bearing the title of dāsakarmakarakalpa separately treats the rules relating to the slaves (dāsas) and various grades of workers, *e.g.*, agricultural labourers, herdsmen, merchants, artizans, physicians, hired servants, and even priests officiating at the sacrifices. In a similar manner Nārada,[1] whose treatment of the subject is the most complete, distinguishes the slaves from the workers (karmakaras) of four specified grades, while including both under the common designation of persons bound to obedience (shushrūṣakas.) This distinction turns principally upon the difference of employment, impure work [2] being reserved for the slaves and work of a pure character being entrusted to the rest. Among the slaves themselves different grades and classes are distinguished in the Arthashāstra and Smṛtis, these being subject to separate clauses and provisions of the law. In Kauṭilya's list, [3] *e.g.*, the following may be clearly distinguished: (*a*) slaves acquired by purchase in various ways, *e.g.*, of minors from the hands of kinsmen and strangers, (*b*) persons given as pledge (āhitaka) whether by themselves or by others, (*c*) born slaves (udaradāsa) and persons born of female slaves in the master's household (gṛhejāta), (*d*) slaves by way of punishment (daṇḍapraṇīta), (*e*) slaves obtained by inheritance (dāyāgata), (*f*) slaves received by gift (labdha). According to

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[1] V. 2-3.

[2] Such as sweeping the doorways, the place for depositing filth, and the rubbish-heap; gathering and removing the leavings of food, ordure and urine and rubbing the master's limbs at his wish. *Ibid*, V. 6-7.

[3] Jolly's ed., p. 107.

Manu[1] slaves are of seven kinds, (*a*) one taken captive 'under a standard,' *i.e.*, in warfare (dhvajāhṛta), (*b*) one who serves for maintenance (bhaktadāsa), (*c*) one born of a female slave in the master's house (grihaja), (*d*) one purchased (krīta), (*e*) one acquired by gift (datrima), (*f*) one acquired by inheritance from ancestors (paitṛka), (*g*) one enslaved by way of punishment (daṇḍadāsa). Nārada[2] mentions no less than fifteen kinds of slaves, *viz.*, (*a*) one born of a female slave in the master's house, (*b*) one acquired by purchase, (*c*) one received through gift, (*d*) one acquired by inheritance, (*e*) one maintained during famine (anākālabhṛta), (*f*) one given as pledge, (*g*) one released from a heavy debt, (*h*) one taken captive in war, (*i*) one won in a stake, (*j*) one offering himself for a slave, (*k*) one serving for a specified term, (*l*) one who serves for maintenance, (*m*) one who accepts slavery out of desire for a female slave, (*n*) one self-sold.

In connection with the sources of slavery mentioned above, a few points may be noted in the present place. Regarding the class of purchased slaves it may be observed that elsewhere Nārada while describing the different kinds of wives mentions a class of wanton women (svairiṇī) who are acquired by purchase (dhanakrīta), and he goes on to state that the issue of a woman who is purchased for a price (shulka) belongs to the begetter.[3] We may further observe in this connection that the evil custom of fathers selling their children into slavery, though condemned in general terms by Manu,[4] Yājñavalkya[5] and Viṣṇu[6] apparently continued at least till the early centuries of the Christian era.[7] A vivid illustration of another class of slaves is furnished by a passage in the second Act of the Mṛcchakaṭika drama where the gambler Samvāhaka offers his own person for sale in the open street for the sum of ten suvarṇas which he owes to the gambling-master Māthura.

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[1] VIII, 415.

[2] V, 26-28.

[3] *Ibid*, XII, 51; 54.

[4] XI, 60.

[5] II, 236, 239.

[6] XXXVII, 6.

[7] See, *e.g.*, the text of the Milindapañho (IV. 8. 7) where Nāgasena discoursing on the dilemma of King Vessantara's "mighty giving" of his children unto slavery mentions as

Comparing the Arthashāstra and the Dharmashāstra rules on the subject of slavery, we are first struck with the radical attitude of Kauṭilya which is based on his conception of the rights of the Aryan freeman, not to say those of the individual man. Kauṭilya, *e.g.*, imposes penalties increasing, it is true, in degree with the social status of the party injured, for the sale and mortgage of a minor Shūdra, Vaishya, Kṣatriya and Brāhmaṇa, the only exception being made in the case of the born slave.[1] In the same context he prescribes half the above scale of penalties for the offence of 'depriving of his Aryan character' even a slave guilty of stealing wealth. In this connection he lays down the memorable maxim that while the sale and mortgage of children are permissible among barbarians, no Aryan should be reduced to slavery. On the other hand, the general tendency of the Smṛtikāras is to emphasize the rights of the twice-born classes and specially of the Brāhmaṇas to the exclusion of those of the Shūdras. To borrow a modern expression, while the Arthashāstra insists, in the main, upon the principle of nationality, the Dharmashāstra lays stress upon the principle of birth and social status. Manu, *e.g.*, while imposing a heavy fine upon a Brāhmaṇa for forcibly reducing an initiated person of the higher classes to servile work, expressly allows him this right with respect to the Shūdras, and he repeats in this connection the favourite Brāhminical doctrine of the Shūdra's divinely ordained duty of service.[2]

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an acknowledged custom, the act of pledging or selling the son on the part of a father, falling into debt or losing his livelihood.

[1] Jolly's ed., p. 107. Kauṭilya, however, permits the mortgaging of an Aryan as a temporary and an emergency measure.

Ibid. VIII, 412-413.

Yājñavalkya,[1] Nārada[2] and Kātyāyana,[3] lay down in the same spirit the maxim that slavery should be in the *anuloma* and not in the *pratiloma* order, Nārada making a significant exception in the case of one who has renounced the duties of his order. Viṣṇu[4] imposes the penalty of the highest amercement upon a person who employs an individual of high caste in servile work. Kātyāyana goes so far as to declare categorically[5] that slavery pertains to the three lower classes but not to the Brāhmaṇas, and he further declares, if Chaṇḍeshvara's reading of the text[6] be accepted as correct that a Brāhmaṇa should not be enslaved even by an individual of his own caste. When a Brāhmaṇa is enslaved, Kātyāyana continues, the king's lustre is destroyed, and he quotes Bṛhaspati to the effect that while the rule of the Kṣatriya, the Vaishya and the Shūdra permits their enslavement by persons of their own order, a Brāhmaṇa should not be employed on servile work.[7]

It would seem to follow from the above that the general tendency of the Dharmashāstras was to eliminate, or at least restrict, the class of high-born slaves. It was apparently for this reason that the condition of the slave in the Smṛti literature shows, on the whole, as compared with the Arthashāstra, a change for the worse. Kauṭilya, *e.g.*, mentions[8] the act of causing the removal of dead bodies or ordure or urine or the leavings of food by a pledged person to involve forfeiture of the deposit.

[1] II, 183.

[2] V, 39.

[3] Quoted in Parāsharamādhava, Bib. Ind. ed., p. 341.

[4] Quoted, *ibid*, p. 154.

[5] Quoted in Vivādaratnākara, p. 152.

[6] Chaṇḍeshvara reads: samavarṇe'pi viprantu dāsatvam naiva kārayet. On the other hand Mādhava's reading of this passage (Par., p. 342) is 'asavarṇe tu viprasya dāsatvam naiva kārayet,' which he takes to imply that a Brāhmaṇa could be the slave of a person of his own class.

[7] Kātyāyana indeed declares that when a Brāhmaṇa performs servile work out of his own free will, it must not be of an impure character. See the text quoted in Par., p. 342 and Vivāda, p. 152, together with the commentary of Mādhava.

[8] P. 107.

On the other hand Nārada[1] tacitly sanctions this treatment by including the pledged person in his list of slaves for whom work of an impure character such as that mentioned above is expressly reserved. Again Kauṭilya, in the context in which the above passage occurs, mentions various penalties for maltreatment of different kinds of slaves. For keeping in a state of nudity or tormenting or punishing a pledged person, *e.g.*, the deposit-money is to be forfeited. For improper conduct (atikramaṇa) towards women of this class the same penalty is ordained, and if these belong to various specified classes of nurses and attendants, they are decreed to be liberated. For violating a pledged female nurse without her consent, the punishment should be the first or the middle amercement, according as the woman is under the offender's own control or not. For corrupting a pledged girl of this class the deposit-money should be forfeited, and the marriage portion (shulka) should be paid along with double the amount as fine.[2] For selling or pledging a pregnant female slave without providing for her maintenance (dāsīmvā sagarbhāmaprativihitabharmaṇyām), the offender along with the purchaser and the person contracting should be punished with the first amercement. The same punishment should be inflicted for selling or pledging by force in a foreign land and on mean work a person less than eight years of age belonging to certain specified classes of slaves. For again selling or mortgaging a male or female slave after having once redeemed such a person a fine of twelve paṇas should be levied unless the slave gives his consent thereto. In the body of the Brāhminical Smṛtis such wise and humane rules are conspicuous by their absence. Manu[3] on the other hand, sanctions the right of chastisement with respect to an offending wife, son, uterine brother, pupil and slave, while making the important reservation that the infliction of chastisement on a "noble part" of the body is punishable as theft.

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[1] V, 6, 26.

[2] In another place (p. 136) Kauṭilya decrees similar penalties for defiling the free daughter of a male or of a female slave as well as a female suitable for ransom.

[3] VIII, 299-300.

As with the personal rights of the slave, so with his rights of property. Kauṭilya[1] allows the self-sold slave along with the born slave and the person pledged, to retain what he earns without prejudice to his master's work and even inherit from his ancestors. In the same context he permits the slave acquired by purchase to transmit his property to his kinsmen in whose default alone it should vest in the master. On the other hand Manu[2] lays down the remarkable dictum repeated later on by Nārada,[3] Devala and Kātyāyana,[4] to the effect that the wife, the son and the slave have no property of their own and whatever they earn belongs to their owner. Exceptions to this general rule, however, are made by the writers abovementioned, expressly in the case of the wife and the son[5] and by implication in the case of the slave. Manu[6] and Yājñavalkya,[7] indeed, expressly permit a Shūdra father to give at his discretion a share of the inheritance to his son by a female slave,—Yājñavalkya,[8] adds that in such a case when the father dies, the slave's son should have a half share if there are legitimate sons, and a full share if there are no such sons and no daughter's sons. In the passage above quoted Kātyāyana excepts from the general rule relating to the slave's disability of ownership property acquired by means of 'open sale'.[9]

Turning to the rules of emancipation, we find the same difference in the spirit of the Arthashāstra and the Dharmashāstra. Kauṭilya[10] permits the self-sold slave together with the born slave and the person pledged to purchase their freedom, provision being made in the case of the former that the ransom should correspond to the price paid (prakṣepānurūpashchāsya niṣkrayah). For neglecting to liberate the slave on payment of a corresponding ransom, and for detaining a slave without reason, Kauṭilya prescribes a small fine. In the same context he declares that the person enslaved by way of punishment (daṇḍapraṇīta) should receive his freedom by performing work and the freeman taken captive in war (āryaprāṇo dhvajāhṛtah) by means of work or else of half its money equivalent. In fact Kauṭilya's only bar against redemption seems to embrace the cases of a person self-pledged becoming an outcast once, a person pledged by others becoming so twice, and these persons trying to escape to a foreign kingdom once (sakṛdātmādhātā niṣpatitah sīdet dviranyenāhitakah sakṛdubhau paraviṣayābhimukhau). On the other hand, Nārada [1] makes it impossible except in the cases to be noted presently, for his first four classes of slaves to win freedom otherwise than by the favour of their masters. With respect to the pledged person, Nārada's rule is practically the same, for he declares [2] that such an individual can be released when his master redeems him and becomes equal to a slave when he is allowed to be taken in lieu of payment of debt. In the same connection Nārada [3] ordains, in direct contravention of the rule of Kauṭilya above quoted, that a person voluntarily selling himself into slavery is incapable of release from servitude. It must be mentioned in explanation of this attitude that both Manu [4] and Yājñavalkya [5] rank the selling of one's own self among the *upapātakas*. The Smṛtikāras, moreover, introduce characteristically enough a new ground of disability by making the apostate from asceticism (pravrajyāvasita) the king's slave and for ever incapable of release.[1] While Kauṭilya[2] decrees a female slave bearing a child to her master to be forthwith released along with her offspring, none of the Smṛtis appears to have made any such provision. Manu[3] on the other hand states in one place that a free woman by marrying a male slave is herself reduced to servitude. In fact the only important concession made in the Dharmashāstras in favour of the slaves seems to be that one reduced to slavery by force or sold into slavery by robbers together with a slave rescuing his master's life from grave peril, is decreed forthwith to be liberated from servitude.[4] Nārada,[5] indeed, states that in the last-mentioned case the slave should take a son's share of his master's wealth. For the rest the methods of emancipation in the Dharmashāstras are practically the same as those of the Arthashāstra, allowing of course for the merely tacit recognition of the slave's right of ownership in the former instance. One who becomes a slave for maintenance (bhaktadāsa), according to Yājñavalkya[6] and Nārada[7] is released by giving up his subsistence,—Yājñavalkya adds, also by giving a ransom. One who has been maintained during famine, Nārada goes on,[8] is released by giving a pair of cows, one who has been enslaved for debt by repaying the sum with interest, one enslaved for a stipulated period by the expiry of his term, one who has voluntarily offered himself together with a person taken captive in war and one won in a stake by giving a substitute of equal capacity for work; one who has accepted slavery for the sake of a female slave is released by giving her up.

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[1] P. 107.

[2] VIII, 416.

[3] V, 41.

[4] Quoted in Vivāda., p. 150.

[5] See, *e.g.*, Manu, IX, 194, 206; Yāj., II, 114, 118-119.

[6] IX. 179.

[7] II, 133.

[8] II, 134.

[9] Prakāsham vikrayādyattu na svāmī dhanamarhati.

[10] Jolly's ed., p. 107.

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[1] V., 29.
[2] V., 32.
[3] V., 37.
[4] XI., 60.
[5] III., 340.

[1] *Cf.* Yāj. II, 183; Nār. V, 35.

[2] *Loc. cit.*

[3] Quoted in Vivāda., p. 150: dāsenoḍā tvadāsī yā sāpi dāsitvamāpnuyāt | yasmādbhartā prabhustasyāh svāmyadhīnah prabhuryatah.

[4] *Cf.* Yāj., II, 182; Nār., V, 30, 38.

[5] V, 30.

[6] II, 182.

[7] V, 30.

[8] V, 31-36.

A word may be added here regarding the status of the emancipated slave. In an oft-quoted passage[1] Manu says that a Shūdra, though emancipated by his master, is not released from servitude, a doctrine which he bases upon his dictum of the Shūdra's inherent nature. Nārada,[2] however, appears to state that when a slave is emancipated, his food may be eaten, his presents may be accepted, and he may be respected by worthy persons.

U. N. GHOSHAL

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[1] VIII. 414: na svāminā nisṛsto'pi shūdro dāsyādvimuchyate | nisargajam hi tat tasya kastasmāt tadopahati.

[2] Quoted in Parāsharamādhava, p. 347.

MUSLIM CONQUESTS[1]

With the death of the Prophet a question of extraordinary magnitude—hitherto unthought of—arose—the question of his successor. The need for a controlling hand was so obviously pressing in Medina that the necessity for a successor was not only not called into question but was affirmed and emphasised without challenge. But difficult was the problem to fix the principles on which the successor was to be appointed and, when appointed, to define precisely the limits of his power. This was all the more difficult since snapped with Mohamed was the link which bound the diverse elements together in Medina. Mohamed's companions in flight—ascendant in power so far—now felt, all at once, that they were supportless strangers at Medina, and the two Medinite tribes of Aus and Khazraj—knit closely together so far by Islam—awoke afresh to their ancient rivalry. The proposal to elect an *Amir* out of their midst and another from the Mekkans reveals, in a most unmistakable manner, how very far behind the Mekkans were the Medinites in the matter of politics. The proposal—if put through—would have seriously menaced the prospects of nascent Islam. Urged by their old Arab instincts, the fugitives eagerly caught and followed the hint, given to them by the Prophet when he chose Abu Bakr to conduct the prayer during his illness. Abu Bakr, the most senior in age of Mohamed's kinsmen, his father-in-law, indeed, was thus the successor of the Prophet—a successor marked out by the Prophet himself. When Abu Bakr, accompanied by his followers, repaired to the place where the Medinites had assembled, a dangerous dispute arose between the parties, but the fiery Omar managed to save the situation (here again Omar followed an old Arab custom) by clasping the hand of Abu Bakr—a token of homage. Most of those that were present followed Omar's example, but general election by the mass of the people took place the following day. No inconsiderable number of influential men, however, refrained from doing homage to the Caliph-elect. These were the Hashimites—the kinsmen of the Prophet. This election, be it noted, took no account of the principle of hereditary succession. And yet the Mekkans, ever since their adoption of Islam, sought to establish all claims flowing from tribal kinship or blood relationship. But be as that may—in the election of Abu Bakr kinship had no part or lot. His authority proceeded from the free election of the assembled community. If this form of election—traceable, indeed, to the pre-Islamite notions and customs—had been fixed as the legal standard form of election, it would have spelt disaster to the blood relations of the Prophet. But in those days theoretical consequences were not considered—the immediate need of the moment sufficed. But the result was grave and far-reaching—every fresh election evoked fresh disputes; nay clash of arms. Nor did these early Muslims think of settling the mode of election; nor yet of fixing the limits of the Caliph's power. To Mohamed they had hitherto looked for guidance in all their concerns. In the same spirit they accepted his successor. As Mohamed had claimed no distinction for himself, other than the distinction of leading the prayer—so also they expected the same of his successor. And Medina was deeply interested in maintaining this *status quo*, and in keeping the successor of the Prophet within its walls. But different was the trend of thought outside those hallowed precincts. Arabia had submitted to the personality of the Prophet, and the moment that personality was removed by death the old spirit of feud and resentfulness of restrictions—kept in check by the Prophet—broke loose in all its fury. It is noteworthy that while the nomad Arabs expected, from the changed circumstances, nothing but immunity from taxes—the settled population showed a tendency to substitute their own local prophets in the place of the Prophet of Medina. New prophets arose in different parts of Arabia. Possibly these local prophets, even in the days of the Prophet, exercised a certain amount of influence—though of course, by no means, comparable to that wielded by Mohamed. One of them, Maslama, had actually made serious attempts at rivalling the Prophet. Acknowledged as chief, and honoured as prophet by his tribe—the Banu Hanifa, inhabiting Yamama—he was daring enough to propose to Mohamed that the two prophets should remain in peace side by side. Mohamed, though treating Maslama as an impostor, yet thought it prudent to leave him alone. After Mohamed's death, Saja'ah, a woman of the Banu Tamim, set herself up as a prophetess, and sought alliance with Maslama. In the north of Medina, Tolaiha held the field as a prophet, and in Yaman Al-Aswad was acknowledged as a prophet of his people. Nowhere, where these prophets reigned, was the supremacy of Medina recognised. In fact all the tribes of Najd and Southern Hejaz closely united together, and mightily strove to destroy the hegemony of Medina.

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[1] Joseph Hell, Chapter III.

Arabia was once again on the war path; and of the teachings of the Prophet there was but little trace left, outside Medina. The Beduins, therefore, combined to destroy Medina, which stood out, four square, in the midst of apostate Arabia. They actually attacked the town, but it held out, and repulsed the attack. Arabia thus had to be reconquered for Islam. Violent was the conflict in the North and the South, but Medina triumphed all along the line. The war for the subjugation of Yamama, and the overthrow of its prophet Maslama, was the toughest and the bloodiest. History relates that, with an army of 40,000 men, Maslama crushed two distinct Muslim armies, when a third, under Khalid, advanced from the north. Even the terrible Khalid—by far the best general of infant Islam—found it no light task to hold out against the superior numerical strength of Maslama, but the unsubdued fervour of the Medinites, of the fugitives and Beduins, gave a power and strength to the Muslim army which enabled it, in the end, successfully to resist and conquer the forces of Maslama. Maslama had to seek safety within a high-walled garden. Egress being impossible, a fierce massacre followed, and Maslama fell. The number of the fallen Banu Hanifa—probably exaggerated—was estimated at 10,000. But no less severe was the loss on the side of the Muslims, and the fear of the Caliph that the death-roll among the companions of the Prophet might endanger the oral transmission of the Qur'an, is eloquently suggestive of the extent and enormity of Muslim casualties. With the victory at the 'Garden of death' a second subjugation of Arabia was almost reassured, if not actually achieved. As four years before—so now—the subjugated Arabs unhesitatingly poised their spears against those who had been their allies and confederates hitherto, and thus, within six months, the spirit of revolt subsided and faded from Arabia, leaving the path clear for the advance of Islam, the ascendancy of Medina, the rule of the Caliphs. Arabia had conquered herself, but with it she had brought upon herself, too, the miseries which wars usually bring in their wake. The nomads saw their flocks destroyed—the town-folk their fields, their commerce. Thus the long, simmering impulse, to cross the frontiers of the Arabian Peninsula and to descend to the enticing countries around, now powerfully asserted itself. Islam had forbidden inter-tribal plunder. Islam had concentrated its strength. Islam had given a common purpose to its military ventures. The conditions of the Persian and Byzantine Empires suited its design and favoured its progress. Thus under Abu Bakr began the victorious campaigns of Islam; and, once set in motion, the Arabs unceasingly pressed forward—helped on by the events in

Arabia itself. A happy augury for Islam! In Arabia the transformation of conditions had been effected far too rapidly and radically to alter the Arab nature. The old Arab vices of particularism and individualism, not absolutely extinguished but merely suppressed by Islam, worked but in the dark under the first two Caliphs—Abu Bakr and Omar. Under Othman and Ali, however, they once again burst forth in fuller sunlight. Despite his piety, Othman was the first to give a secular complexion to the Caliphate, and to unchain the hitherto restrained family spirit. Not without fierce opposition, to be sure, was the first step towards the secularization of the Caliphate taken. It cost Othman his life. This catastrophe (A.H. 35) called a halt to Muslim arms,[1] which, ever since the death of the Prophet, had known naught but victory. These conquering campaigns paved the way for Islamic civilization, and we must therefore glance at them.[2] They began with a movement in the direction of a country which, since earliest times, has been a theatre of Arab emigration, namely, the lower plain of the Euphrates. The chief of the Banu Bakr, Muthanna (having his seat in its neighbourhood), sought the Caliph's permission to lead an expedition for booty to the Persian frontier. Abu Bakr sent him Khalid, who had just returned from the battle known as '*Death's garden.*' Khalid was to command 10,000 of his own and 8,000 of Muthanna's troops. Towards the end of A.H. 11 (A.D. 633) he advanced into Persian territory, close to the mouth of the Euphrates. Three months later, at Kazima, Khalid's troops met those of the Persian Governor, and the first battle ended in the victory of Islam. The fall of Hira speedily followed, and by the end of A.H. 12 Khalid was master of both banks of the Euphrates, and was actually within three days' march of the Persian capital—Ctesiphon. But, after this initial success in the East, Abu Bakr could no longer restrain his dearest heart's desire, namely, to win over Syria and particularly Jerusalem to Islam. And as success, in this theatre of war, was of greater moment to him than elsewhere he withdrew Khalid from Persia. And, indeed, the Caliph proved himself to be right in keeping Khalid's forces in reserve for the Syrian campaign. An army from Medina had been sent towards Southern Palestine, and three additional corps to the country east of the Jordan, but after some slight, successes its advance had stopped. The commanders then asked for reinforcements, and so Khalid was advised to proceed to Syria as quickly as possible with his contingent of 5,000 horsemen.

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[1] Muir's *Caliphate*, p. 225. See Chapter II of Arnold's Caliphate.

[2] I would here draw the attention of the reader to Oswald Spengler's *Untergang des Abendlandes*. In Vol. II he discusses the problem of *Arab Culture*, pp. 227 *et sq.* Whether we agree or disagree with his views he has opened up a fresh vista of thought and struck a new vein in the history of this phenomenon. I would also draw attention to Walter Leaf's *Homer and History*, pp. 286-291, where an interesting parallel is suggested between the Greek and Islamic spirit of colonization.

So excellent, indeed was the discipline, then, in the Muslim army, that Khalid, without the least hesitation, surrendered the chief command to Muthanna, and forthwith by forced marches crossed the Syrian desert. After a journey of five days and five nights, in a perfectly new and trackless country, he reached Damascus. A short reconnoitering expedition soeuthward followed, and then he proceeded to join the three corps which stood before the walls of Bostra. Bostra was thus the first important town that yielded to the Muslim arms. After two other victories over the Byzantines Khalid, in A.H. 14 (A.D. 635), captured Damascus. But it was the great battle at Yarmuk, in which 100,000 Byzantines fought the Muslims under Khalid, that shattered the military strength of Byzantium. Contemporaneously with these events, under the efficient lead of Amr, the army in the South steadily fought its way to Jerusalem. In A. H. 17 Jerusalem bowed to the victors, and in A.H. 19 and 20 the Muslim troops gained various points on the Mediterranean coast.

In the meantime in A.H. 13 Omar succeeded Abu Bakr.

Ever since the recall of Khalid, Muthanna had been in sore distress in Persia. Omar, therefore, summoned the Beduins of South Arabia to arms, and, under Sad Ibn Abi Waqqas, sent them to the eastern theatre of war. At Quadisiya, in the neighbourhood of Hira, after three days' fighting, the entire Persian army, under Yazdagerd, sustained a crushing defeat (A.H.16; A.D. 637). This victory placed the whole of Babylon at the feet of the Muslims—Ctesiphon with it. Pursuing the fugitive Persian king, the Muslim army pierced its way to Madain, and in A.H. 21 (642 A.D.) at Nehawand, destroyed, the last remnant of Yazdagerd's troops. Unopposed was their march onward. They occupied Ray (Tehran), Hamadan, Isphahan, and with the capture of Istakhar, there lay clear before them the path to Kirman and Khorasan, right up to the Oxus. Like a scroll the kingdom of the Sassanides was rolled up for ever more.[1] The Eastern Empire was to fare no better. Soon after the conquest of Jerusalem, Amr Ibn Al As proceeded from Syria to Egypt and after a whole year's tussle with the Roman Empire, succeeded, at last, in defeating the garrison of Babylon (old Memphis) at Heliopolis, and in making a flying raid into the Faiyum.[2] The death of the Emperor Heraclius and the confusion resulting therefrom made the Egyptians despair of Byzantine help. The Patriarch of Alexandria, therefore, concluded with the Arabs (17th September, 642) a treaty, according to which Alexandria passed into the hands of the Muslims, and the whole of Egypt became tributary to Islam. The bordering Byzantine provinces in North Africa thus became defenceless; with the result that in A.H. 22 fell Barka and Tripolis. From Syria the Muslims began, in the beginning of A.H. 21, to push forward to Armenia,

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[1] For details of the Saracen conquest of Syria and Egypt, see Khuda Bukhsh, *History of Islamic Peoples*, p. 50, note (1). See Gfrörer, *Byzantinische Geschichten*, Vol. II, pp. 437, *et sqq*. His reasons for the success of the early Muslims are noteworthy. But in this connection we must also read Prof. Bury on '*Procopius*,' Vol. II, pp. 417, *et sqq*.). (Later Roman Empire.)

[2] Muir, Caliphate, pp. 158 *et sqq*.

Georgia, Adherbaijan, and in A.H. 28 they attacked Cyprus by sea, and captured it. Then there was a pause in the flow of conquest until the year 32 A.H. (655 A.D.), when they renewed their activities in this theatre of war. Armenia was occupied up to the Caucasus, and an attempt was even made to attack Constantinople. After capturing Rhodes, they proceeded up to Chalcedon, but had to return unsuccessful, on account of a storm which destroyed their fleet.

Thirty years after the death of the Prophet the Empire of Islam extended from Oxus to Syrte, over an area of about half the size of Europe. The first question which a cursory glance at these facts raises, is: how was it possible for a people comparatively inexperienced in the art of warfare to conquer the immense military force of the civilized countries around them? However highly we may assess the moral qualities of the Muslim army, that alone was certainly not decisive against the superior experience and training of the Byzantines and Persians. Even the economic causes which greatly lowered the moral tone of the Persian army cannot quite satisfactorily explain the successes of the Muslim arms. In seeking a solution of this problem we must not overlook the numerical strength, the organization, the equipment of the Muslim army, and the deep social and moral causes working behind it. Compared to the army of earlier days, considerable was the numerical strengh of the army that fought under the banner of the Caliphate. For instance, according to a credible report, the four armies which, under Abu Bakr, were sent to Syria, were 55,000 strong. To this army Khalid brought 30,000 from Babylonia and a reserve of 6,000. 70,000 were summoned to the battle of Yarmuk—a figure which shows that by the time of this battle the number of troops had literally been doubled in Syria. And we may take it that a similar reinforcement was sent to the army in the Eastern theatre of war. True, we should not forget that the majority of the soldiers took with them their families—wives, slaves, clients. The army was not divided into regiments, or legions, but was arranged on a tribal basis—every tribe having its own tribal banner, round which the members rallied, allied. Besides the tribal banners there was the standard of the Prophet, of black colour. There were only two kinds of forces: the infantry and the cavalry.[1] The usual weapons of the infantry were shield, lance, sword. Some were given only a sling and bow. The chief weapon of the cavalry was a lance, ten yards long. The formation of the army, even under the Prophet, consisted of a centre, two wings, a van and a rear-guard, and this arrangement continued in the great conquering campaigns. Such was the army with which Islam, in a few years, built up its immense empire. The Arabs were not quite unfamiliar with the art of warfare They had had much training in their oft-recurring feuds. Moreover, simple and unsophisticated people though they were, compared to the army of civilized nations they were more powerful and had fewer needs, and by reason of the promise of paradise they had no fear of death. Finally, their generals—the unsparing Khalid above all the rest—possessed abilities such as no Persian or Byzantine generals of their time could boast of. But, in the course of expansion, manifold military, civil and religious needs pressed for attention. In conquered countries, indeed, the conquerors came to know also needs of an ideal as distinguished from those of a purely practical character.[2] In the military sphere the need for permanent military stations was first felt and met. Like all administrative measures of Islam this, too, goes back to Omar. When in A.H. 16—after the fall of Jerusalem—he personally visited Syria, he divided the troops into corps, consisting of several tribes, and assigned to them a permanent camp. In Syria permanent military stations were already in existence, and Omar made use of them. They were: Damascus, Tiberias, Lydda, Ramla. In Babylonia, on the other hand, fresh military stations were established. These were: Basra and Kufa.[1]

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[1] See Khuda Bukhsh, *Orient under the Caliphs*, Chapter VII, pp, 304, *et sqq.* the valuable little monograph of Reinand *L'art militaire chez les Arabes*; the masterly work of Schwarzlose, entitled "*Die waffen der Alten Araber*" (Leipzig, 1886), and last but not least Professor Oman's *Art of War*.

[2] Inostranzev, Iranian Influence on Muslim Literature, Tr. by Narinam, Bombay 1913.

At first when they lived with their families, the soldiers built their barracks of reed but soon, these reed huts gave place to houses of bricks and mortar. Thus out of these two military stations grew prosperous towns which, in course of time, proved to be decisive factors in the cultural development of Islam. The new military station in Egypt was in the neighbourhood of Babylon. Out of it grew the town of Fustat—capital of Egypt until the foundation of Cairo in 975 A.D.[2]

By letting the soldiers live with their families in permanent military camps—a tendency to settled habits imperceptibly stole into the army, and this tendency markedly manifested itself in a craving on their part to acquire landed properties. Already the great plain along the Euphrates and the Tigris—the first scene of Muslim invasion—possessed for the Arabs the allurements of paradise. It is no wonder then that the soldiers claimed to share and to settle down in that fair, smiling land. The tribal chiefs recalled the promises of Omar, and demanded their fulfilment. They claimed a share in the land, in proportion to the strength and importance of the tribe. Others suggested that the country should be treated as booty of war, and that, after deducting a fifth, for the State, both lands and inhabitants should be equally divided among the troops. Had such a division been effected—according to the calculation made at the instance of the Caliph Omar—three peasants would have been the share of each warrior. Or if the country had been partitioned among the Muslims, the Muslim army would have been transformed into landowners, and the country, neglected by the former proprietors, now reduced to slavery, and drained by the conquerors, would soon have reverted to waste and desolation.

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[1] Muir, *Caliphate*, p. 122. See in this connexion Sir Charles Lyall's illuminating introduction to the "Mufaddaliyat."

[2] See Lane-Poole's little book on "Cairo."

Momentous was the decision arrived at by Omar—momentous for the growth and development of the Islamic Empire. Omar ruled that the conquered land should be ragarded as an inalienable crown-possession for all time—the produce to be at the disposal of the State for the common good. Thus the inhabitants were left in possession of the land, both in Babylon and Egypt.

An official notification strictly forbade Muslims from engaging in cultivation, and Omar would not even allow the Governor of Egypt—the Commander Amr-Ibn-Al-As—to build a house in the cantonment at Fustat. The prohibition to soldiers regarding landownership was, however, amply compensated by the immense wealth in other respects which flowed from the conquests. It was doubtless due to the Caliphs and their loyal subjects that the example of Mohamed (in distributing the surplus State revenue among the faithful) was scrupulously followed. The wealth that came in from conquered countries steadily augmented.

The share which fell to each Muslim far outweighed the poor-tax which the faithful were under obligation to pay. Poor-tax was usually payable in camels and sheep; and even under the Prophet there was a special state pasturage for animals sent in as payment of poor-tax. The Beduins loved to send in decrepit animals in discharge of this obligation; and although such miserable beasts were not acceptable in theory, they were in fact never refused, for at this period of conquest the poor-tax had become quite illusory, in consequence of the immense revenues received from the subject races.

From what has been said it is clear that the real aim of the Arab campaigns was not the diffusion of Islam, but the seizure of the wealth represented by the neighbouring civilized States.

Following the example of the Prophet, professors of revealed religions—such as Jews and Christians—were allowed, under the protection of the Islamic Empire and on payment of a suitable tax, perfect freedom in their religion. The rest of the people, *i.e.*, the heathen, were unconditionally forced to accept Islam. Soon, however, they realized that it was to the interest of *Arabism* to concede to *Farsi'ism* privileges, similar to those conceded to Judaism and Christianity. Thus, in spite of its religion, Farsi'ism continued in Persia as against the payment of a tax similar to the one levied on Christians and Jews. Upon the very same principle Othman extended this privilege to the Berber inhabitants of North Africa. They too were allowed freedom in religion as against the payment of a tax. In the face of these facts there is no question of the propagation of Islam by the Sword. United by Islam, *Arabism* was interested in conquering and in keeping the conquered as a tax-paying people. But soon the conquered accepted Islam and claimed equality within its Empire. Then came the clash of interests between the Arab and the non-Arab Muslims. According to Omar no foreigner could be placed on a footing of equality with the Arabs. How deliberate was Omar's policy to set up the ascendancy of *Arabism*, is clear from his measure to sweep Arabia free of all other faiths than Islam. Without any consideration for the treaties concluded with them, the industrious Jews of Khaibar and the Christian and Jewish population of Najran were expelled, at one stroke, from the Arabian Peninsula. The Jews were banished to Taima, Wadi-ul-Qur'a, and Jericho—the Christians to Babylonia and Syria. Thus Arabia and Islam became twins. To be Arab was to be master and ruler. No Arab, said Omar, could be a slave, either by sale or capture. Between ruler and ruled a sharp dividing line was created. Muslims were forbidden to use foreign languages and Christians to use the Arabic language or the Arabic script. According to the treaty of surrender of the Syrian Christians—approved and amended by Omar—Christians were not to teach their children to read; they were to vacate their seats when a Muslim wanted to sit; they were to toll their bell feebly and to conduct their common prayer in subdued voices—were Muslims near. Even in dress Muslims were to be distinguished from the Christians; indeed, all subject races from their Arab lords.[1] This sharp division between the Arabs and the subject races was necessary to enable the former to enjoy to the fullest extent their privileges as conquerors. Omar had laid down that the surplus revenue was to be divided among the faithful, and it was therefore necessary to differentiate between the giver and the receiver. None but the Arab, in the vast Empire of Islam, could be the receiver of State gifts and possessor of State prerogatives.[2] Only so long as the Arabs *only* constituted the Islamic Government, did the division of the surplus revenue continue on the lines laid down by Omar. Every Arab, free or a client, even women and children, received a fixed State annuity—the amount being fixed in consideration of near or remote kinship with the Prophet; early or late conversion to Islam; military distinction or special knowledge of the Qur'an. Ayasha, widow of the Prophet, headed the list with 12,000 dirhams—weaned children 1,000 dirhams each, appeared at the bottom of the list.

To enable the Arabs to enjoy material advantages; to secure to them social distinctions amidst subject races—it was essential to remove cultural disparity between them and the subject races. To such a desire, perhaps, may be ascribed the measures enacted by Omar in Syria. But those measures failed in their effect. From the very beginning the conquerors were utterly unable to take the administration of the conquered countries into their own hands. They had, therefore, no option but to leave the administration to their highly cultured subjects; nay, to have even recourse to them for giving effect to innovations purely Islamic. Even the administration of the State donation pressed home to the Arabs their want of culture and training. Past was the happy time when Omar could say: "I have received a great many good things from Bahrain—shall I weigh out or count them out to you." Willingly or unwillingly even Omar had to adopt the Byzantine financial system for the benefit of the Muslim exchequer. In the Divans (Board of Accounts) established by Omar in conquered countries the natives—Christians and Persians—kept books in their own languages—Greek and Persian. Only in Medina were the accounts kept in Arabic, but according to foreign system; and this was by no means difficult for a once commercial community, familiar with book-keeping, such as the Arabs were.

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[1] Von Kremer has given reasons in justification of these measures. See my '*Social and Political Conditions under the Caliphate.*'

[2] This statement is much too wide. It is not *strictly* correct.

Nor was the government behindhand in other spheres. Even under the first Caliphs an administrative division of the Empire had become a necessity, and this not merely in conquered countries but also in Arabia itself. Mekka, Taif, Sana'a, Ghorash, Khulan, Najran, Bahrain, even the Oasis of Dumat-ul-Jandal—all received their special governors.[1] Omar made many changes—suppressed old and established new centres.[2] With these governorships a temporal colour was given to the old theocracy of Islam. Like the Caliph the Governor too, in the beginning, was an administrator, a tax-gatherer, the Commander-in-Chief, a judge—all rolled into one. But we notice, even in the time of Omar, special judges appointed for important military centres, such as Basra, Kufa, Damascus, Hims.[3] In Medina the Caliph himself was the Chief Judge.

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[1] See Wüstenfeld, Stadt Mekka, Vol. IV, p. 117.

[2] Muir, pp. 122; 146 (Caliphate). Basra and Kufa were among the new ones.

[3] Sachau, zur *altesten gesch. des Muhammedanischen Rechts*, p. 704. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*. Chapter "Der Qadi," pp. 206 *et sq*.

Othman, for the first time, associated a Judge with himself.

While in the provinces the administration of existing laws continued as before ; in Medina arose the first school of pure Muslim jurisprudence. There, lived the companions of the Prophet, who treasured and handed down with scrupulous care every word that had fallen from him. Every one of these traditions (Hadith) was a priceless treasure which floated down from generation to generation with the names of the transmitters. These, along with the Qur'an, constituted the oldest sources of the Islamic Law. In course of transmission, however, the old genuine traditions were very considerably mixed up with the forged ones—for immense had become the volume and range of the traditions.

Ibn Mas'ud and Ibn Abbas became the founders of the School of Medina. Ibn Masud was particularly familiar with the mentality of the Prophet, and Ibn Abbas with the judicial decisions of the first three Caliphs. Both of them were intimately acquainted with the Qur'an; in fact, Ibn Abbas is regarded as the founder of the Exegesis of the Qur'an too. Thus, it is obvious that, in their inception, jurisprudence and theology were closely knit together. The fountain of all law and justice was the Qur'an. To know and precisely to understand its text was thus the first need alike of a judge and a theologian. In that age to know the Qur'an was tantamount to being at once a jurist and a theologian and the seven jurists of Medina—the products of the school of Abbas and Masud—were, in point of fact, as many theologians as well. The interest in the text of the Qur'an gradually spread to the people at large. This was only in accordance with the democratic spirit of Islam, which sought to place all Muslims in a position to read the Holy Book. With this end in view they early devoted their attention to *public instruction* which—true enough—did not go beyond the reading of the Qur'an. However one-sided, it was very creditable in the

VIIth century.[1] That the Muslims established such schools for public instruction, not only in Arabia but even in conquered countries, is an achievement against which neither classical antiquity nor early Christianity has anything to show. Thus, so common became the knowledge and so universal the interest in the written text of the Qur'an, that under Omar the soldiers of Babylonia and Syria who met in Armenia frequently fought over isolated texts. The Caliph Othman was, therefore, compelled to issue an authorized text of the Qur'an. Zaid Ibn Thabit, who had been the Secretary of the Prophet, was commissioned by the Caliph to prepare the official text. Zaid acquitted himself well of the task, and put forth a perfectly trustworthy collection. Several copies were made from this text—scrupulously accurate copies—and sent out to the provincial capitals for use and guidance. All private copies of earlier times were collected together and burnt.

Thus, in the bosom of Arabism, out of Islam itself, grew the needs which, in due season, led to intellectual bloom and efflorescence. And with the civilized countries—Persia, Syria, Egypt and Asia Minor, then provinces of the Muslim Empire—the entire culture of the subject races lay at the feet of the Arabs, to accept, to absorb, to make their own. In Greek, Syriac, Coptic and Persian garbs we encounter a definite intellectual movement which we may best describe as Christian Hellenism. Decisive alike for Islam and Hellenism was the incorporation of this culture in the youthful Arab Empire. The Hellenistic culture was revived, re-animated, by changed circumstances, by contact with *Arabism*; and by an intellectual clash with a new religion—akin in thought and tendencies. While such was the effect on Hellenism,

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[1] I have in my possession a MS. of Dr. Goldziher's lecture on *Muslim Education* which he very kindly sent me some years ago, to read at the anniversary of my father's death. It is a valuable paper, and, I hope, soon, to translate it into English. See in this connexion, Snouck Hurgronje, Mekka, Vol. II, pp. 200-294.

Islam and Arabism, on the other hand, after a century of wrestling and combat, were taken captive by the superior culture of the conquered races. To Hellenism Arabism furnished its language, and supplied opportunities for wide diffusion; whereas Hellenism repaid its debt to Islam with its wealth of science and art. Long before the Arabs made acquaintance with Hellenistic culture they, as might be expected, became familiar with Hellenistic art and architecture. In Ctesiphon, in Damascus, in Jerusalem, in Egypt. the Muslim army saw and admired the architectural splendour, the textile art, the jeweller's skill; and these plastic and artistic creations awoke in the Arabs a desire to compete for and to possess such achievements themselves. Unlike other unsophisticated peoples—far from destroying, the Arabs preserved, these artistic treasures, and sought to copy them in their own way.

In Damascus they found the Church of St. John—a splendid architectural achievement. Built on the foundation of a heathen temple, the church, with its magnificent porch of Corinthian columns and richly-adorned architraves; with its cupola arching the nave and the gold gleaming mosaics on the walls within and partly without—made a deep impression on the conquerors. This fact is evidenced by the decision, straight-away made, to perform the common prayer there. But they felt that they were not altogether justified in completely removing the Christians—so they resolved to share the building with them. They took the Eastern side for themselves; and thus, through one portal, passed henceforth both Muslims and Christians to perform their devotion. In Jerusalem the Muslims searched for the Temple of Solomon—so fondly spoken of by the Prophet—the place whither the Prophet was taken, one night (the night of the Merai). When Omar reached Jerusalem he wished to be taken to this Temple, but, at the spot where once the Temple was, he found nothing but a dust-heap. But the Prophet could not have made a mistake—so another spot, near the present church of St. Mary, was declared to be the place of the Prophet's nocturnal journey, and was, accordingly, appropriated for Islam. In Egypt, where the Arabs met with stout resistance, and where, according to the terms of the treaty, they were bound to let the Christians remain in possession of their churches, and in no way to interfere with their affairs or with their worship, the Muslims made their first attempt to build a Mosque for themselves, and this was done through the help of Christian architects. It was the Amr-Mosque of Cairo.

While, in the newly-acquired countries, foreign influences on Arab intellect bore flowers and fruit, in Mekka and Medina the old suppressed fire of family and tribal jealousy broke forth afresh. With Othman the Mekkan aristocracy came to the helm of the State and attained supremacy even in Medina. With alarm and indignation the old war companions of the Prophet saw a new and different spirit—a positively worldly spirit—encroaching into and establishing itself in the holy towns. Ever since the flow of immense wealth into Mekka and Medina, they had become the home and hearth of pleasure and gaiety. Music found a congenial home there, and, as early as the middle of the first century of the Hegira, Mekka and Medina became the seminary of Arab music and song. Rich men of Mekka purchased Greek and Persian singing-girls for fabulous sums. From Persia, too, came the art of singing to the accompaniment of musical instruments. The refinement of poetry kept pace with the growth of luxury; and truly delightful is the Mekkan poetry of this period. In the worship and adoration of women it even excels the efforts of the Troubadours. The heart of Islam—the neighbourhood of Kaba—thus became the artistic centre of the Muslim Empire, the home and hearth of music and song.

The reaction of the pious led to the murder of the Caliph Othman, and to an embittered strife for the Caliphate. The most honourable companions of the Prophet strove for the

Caliphate, and one of the aspirants, Ali, transferred the seat of government from Medina to Kufa. The flow of conquest stopped. Insurrections threatened in all parts of the Empire, and for the Caliphate no other title but force now prevailed. Victory rested with one of the scions of the proudest house of Mekka—the Muawiya—the Governor of Syria. With Muawiya the spirit of the old Arabism—the spirit of Mekka—triumphed and dominated throughout Islam.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

THE AVERAGE INCOME OF INDIA

The statistics at present available are neither adequate nor reliable for the purpose of an estimation of the income of the country. They are extremely inadequate for the purpose of an estimation of non-agricultural income, and though fairly adequate for estimating the total amount of agricultural produce, they are not enough for determining its money-value. (The gross receipts of agriculturists cannot be obtained by multiplying the amount of produce by its wholesale price at its principal distributing centres, as is done by Mr. Shirras, but we have to take into account the price at the sources of production. Experience in Bengal shows that the two prices generally differ by 30-40%, and with regard to some commodities like rice, sometimes even by 60-65%. There are unfortunately no statistics of prices at which agricultural produce is sold by the producers at the sources of production at the time of harvest.

That agricultural statistics are generally unreliable, is also the view of the Government of India and the Sugar Committee, but they believe that the error is always on the side of under-estimation. This is rather doubtful. In Bengal, at any rate, the acreage as returned by the *thana* officers, sometimes exceeds the actual area of the district.

There is one strong reason for doubting the statistics of the yield of crops. On page 8 of the "Estimates of Area and Yield of Principal Crops in India, 1922-23" are shown the average area and yield of the different crops for each quinquennium from 1895 to 1920. Below is tabulated the yield per acre of Rice, Wheat, Jute and Cotton for all these periods. Quinquennial average is selected for comparison with a view to obviate all seasonal influences upon good and bad harvests.

Period.	Yield per Acre. Rice.	Wheat.	Jute.	Cotton.
1895-96 to 1899-1900	... ·42 tons	... ·27 tons	... 2·89 Bales	... ·165 Bales
1900-01 „ 1904-05	... ·43 „	... ·30 „	... 3·06 „	... ·191 „
1905-06 „ 1909-10	... ·40 „	... ·30 „	.. 2·47 „	... ·187 „
1910-11 „ 1914-15	.. ·40 „	... ·31 „	... 3·02 „	... ·188 „
1915-16 „ 1919-20	... ·40 „	... ·40 „	... 3·07 „	... ·201 „
Year 1921-22	... ·40 „	... ·42 „	.. 2·67 „	.... ·243 „
1918-19 to 1922-23	... ...	... ·32 „	... 2·80 „	... ·219 „

The figures show that the yield of rice per acre has remained constant practically throughout the whole of these periods, and absolutely since 1905, though the acreage sown has increased by 56% since 1895 and 42% since 1905. In a country like India where improved methods of scientific agriculture and intense cultivation are practically unknown, this constant yield means *constant returns* in agriculture, which is highly improbable. These remarks apply also *mutatis mutandis* to wheat and especially to cotton which showed a distinct tendency to increasing yield during the last period.

Constant or increasing yields are not incompatible with the law of diminishing returns in agriculture, nor are they improbable in countries where improved methods are often resorted to, and where intensity of cultivation is pushed to its utmost, whenever an increased demand ensures an appropriate market for it. Thus, during the war period, we find that almost all the wheat-producing countries of the world (except India) not only devoted a greater acreage to wheat cultivation but also raised a larger yield per acre. But after the war their acreage in most cases diminished as also the yield. In normal times, in the absence of any abnormal demand for a crop, the *a priori* probability is that yield per acre would show a tendency towards diminution if there be a more extended cultivation of it. This is amply corroborated by the following statistics :—

I. *Wheat.*

	U.S.A.		*Japan.*	
Period 3 Years.	Average Acreage	Yield per Acre.	Av. Acreage.	Av. Yield per Acre.
1910-12	47·0 Millions ...	·213 Tons	1·20 Million ...	·322 ton
1917-19	59·1 „ ...	·377 „	1·37 „ ...	·614 „
1920-22	62·0 „ ...	·306 „	1·26 „ ...	·586 „

	Canada.		*Australia.*	
Period 5 Years.	Av. Acreage.	Yield per Acre.	Av. Acreage.	Av. Yield per Acre.
1907-11	8·31 Millions	17·3 Bushels	6·4 Millions	11·4 Bushels.
1912-16	12·26 „	20·3 „	10·06[1] „	13·0 „
1917-21	18·54 „	12·8 „	8·59 „	12·6 „

II. *Cotton.*

United States of America.

Period (3 Years).	Average Acreage.	Yield per acre.
1917-19	36·19 Millions	·381 bales
1920-22	33·33 „	·374 „

Egypt.

Period (5 Years).	Average Acreage.	Yield per acre.
1912-16	1·67 Million	3·69 Centals
1917-21	1·60 „	3·43 „

These statistics deepen the suspicion that there must be something wrong with the method of collecting statistics in India. May not this "uniform yield" be due to the mutual neutralisation of the subjective errors of overestimation and underestimation resulting from the fact that rice covers a huge and extensive area and its cultivation is distributed throughout our vast continent more or less uniformly? We do not know what is the standard of outturn adopted by the Agricultural Department for rice. If this standard approximates to the average of ·4 ton per acre, as evaluated herein, the most reasonable inference would be to locate the errors in the methods of "Anna-estimate" and the mechanical standardisation of the yield. This theory need not contradict the slight variation in the yields of other crops, because comparatively their areas are much smaller in size, and less uneven in distribution, the larger areas being more contiguous to each other than in the case of rice.

Be that as it may, all estimates of our national income are to be unavoidably based on these statistics.

The earliest estimate of the per capita income is that of Dadabhai Naoroji, *viz.*, Rs. 20 for 1867-68. The Financial Statement of 1882 puts it at Rs. 27 for 1881. William Digby estimated it in his "'Prosperous' British India" (1901) as

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[1] Excluding the year 1914, an extremely abnormal year for Australia.

Rs. 17·5 for 1898, while Lord Curzon stated in his Budget-speech (1901-02) that it was Rs. 30 for 1901.

In considering the estimates made of the average income of India, mention should be made of one by Mr. Atkinson, published in the Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, 1902, in support of Lord Curzon's estimate against Mr. Digby's. He subdivided the population for this purpose into three classes: (1) agricultural, (2) non-agricultural, and (3) classes of sufficient or ample means, in which he included all whose annual income exceeded Rs. 500 and was liable to income-tax at the time. He found that the aggregate income of India increased from Rs. 26·4 per head in 1875 to Rs. 35·9 per head in 1895, while the non-agricultural income rose from Rs. 28·8 in 1875 to Rs. 34·1 per head in 1895, and the average income for all classes was Rs. 27·3 in 1875 and Rs. 35·2 in 1895.

Mr. Horne estimated the income as Rs. 46 in the Bengal Economic Journal, 1918. And Sir M. Visvesvaraya in his "Reconstructing India" (1920) gives Rs. 36 and Rs. 45 as the per capita gross *produce* (not income, *vide* p. 29) of India for 1911 and for 1919 probably (*vide* pp. 29 and 34).

Recently some other estimates have been made in the publications of Mr. Lupton, Professors Wadia and Joshi, Prof. Shah and Mr. Khambata, Prof. Balkrishna and Mr. Shirras. Mr. Shirras calculates that the average income of British India was Rs. 107 for 1921 and Rs. 116 for 1922. We propose to examine here the estimate by Mr. Shirras, which happens to be the highest and probably the most authoritative of all these stimates.

In the first place it must be said that what Mr. Shirras estimates is *not income* but gross-receipts. On p. 144 of "The Science of Public Finance" he reminds us that "the income of a nation," as defined by him, "is not the value of the net output but the value of the commodities produced and the services performed in a twelve-month in exchange for money." This definition of national income is purely arbitrary for he has used an economic and popular term in a sense, unauthorized by economic science and contrary to popular usage. Its misleading character is manifest when we find that even the Taxation Enquiry Committee has mistaken his estimate as referring to income in the popular sense of the word rather than to mere gross-receipts.

Secondly, the estimate ought to have been based upon a period of years instead of on a single year.

Non-agricultural receipts are derived by Mr. Shirras from the agricultural, as being equivalent to 40% of the latter, and a sum of Rs. 75 crores as the amount necessary to be added "on account of the greater increase in non-agricultural incomes." Apparently 40% is taken as the measure of non-agricultural receipts in the belief that the non-agricultural population constitutes 40% of the agricultural. But this is clearly a mistake. The non-agricultural population really forms 35·7 or 36% of the agricultural population according to the Census of 1921. As Mr. Shirras gives us no data as to how he has arrived at the figure of Rs. 75 crores, it is difficult to decide about its validity.

The corroborative tables on p. 144 are open to serious defects. The workers are lumped together—men, women, and children—and they are supposed to earn their income at a flat rate, irrespective of their age, sex or ability. The rate too is more or less guess-work coloured by the bias and experience gained in the industrial areas of Bombay. No allowance is made for the unemployment of the workers, forced or wilful, such as that due to disease, accident, or mere lack of opportunity for work. Consequently very little reliance can be placed on this high figure. For the replacement of and addition to non-agricultural capital, Mr. Shirras makes an allowance only for the paid-up capital of the Joint-stock Companies but nothing for other types of organizations.

With these general remarks we shall now proceed to point out some obvious defects that are noticeable in his estimate for the year 1921-22 in particular. That year, we should remember, was an exceptionally good year for agriculture: the yield of wheat that year was ·42 ton per acre, while the average of the previous quinquennium was ·30 ton per acre. The corresponding figures for cotton were ·243 bales and ·201 bales per acre.

The first thing that attracts our notice is that the *prices* at which produce has been evaluated by Mr. Shirras are the annual average *wholesale prices* at the principal distributing centres, and not harvest-prices at the sources of production. This means that the value does not give us agricultural receipts only, but also includes the various non-agricultural receipts for transporting, storing or marketing the produce by middlemen. For example, the average price (in 1921-22) of rice in Mr. Shirras's estimate is Rs. 6·47 per md. This was never the harvest-price at Backergunge, Dinajpur or Mymensingh. But the average harvest price ruling at these places, according to the first-hand information was Rs. 4 only. If this is really the standard for the whole of India, then evidently that value has been overestimated by more than 62%.

Or, let us take wheat. According to Mr. Shirras, the price is Rs. 190·3 per ton or Rs. 7 per maund. Now though Rs. 7 was the wholesale price in Bengal, it was only Rs. 5-8 in the Punjab and Rs. 6-5 as. in the U. P. Is it probable in the circumstances that the agriculturists got Rs. 7 for each maund of their produce, while the U. P. covered 40 and the Punjab covered more than 30% of the total area under the crop in India? (Agricultural Statistics for 1921-22.)

The truth is that there is usually a considerable difference between the following prices: (*i*) the average annual wholesale prices at the distributing centres, (*ii*) the wholesale prices in these at the harvesting season, and (*iii*) the actual harvesting price at the sources of production. True agricultural receipts can only be calculated by the third price.

Usually, it seems hardly necessary to point out, the first price is higher than the second and the second higher than the third. How widely sometimes the first differs from the second, not to mention the third, can be imagined from the fact that the retail price of rice at Barisâl rose from Rs. 4-12 at the harvesting time to Rs. 12 in November, last year.

All things considered, it is highly improbable that the cultivator's price of agricultural products would ever exceed 75% of the wholesale price. As far as Bengal is concerned, I fear even this is an overestimation. The popular estimate that the former price is normally ⅔ of the latter seems to be a truer approximation. But in view of the general uncertainty of the matter the overestimation of Mr. Shirras may be fixed at the narrower margin of 25%.

Again milk, in Mr. Shirras's estimate, sold at the rate of Rs. 10·7 per maund or 3·75 seers a rupee. This is simply astounding. In the very heart of Calcutta, perhaps the dearest milk market of the world, pure milk is supplied by many co-operative organisations of middlemen at 3 seers a rupee. Milk can be had in the rural areas of Bengal at rates varying from 6 seers a rupee in the rains to 21 seers a rupee in the summer. On an annual contract, milk can be had in the rural areas of Vikrampur (Munshigunj Sub-division of the Dacca District), where the density of population is as high as 2,150 per sq. mile, and which also supplies milk in the city of Dacca, at 10 seers a rupee. Even allowing that milk sold at 7·5 seers a rupee, we find that Mr. Shirras's estimate is wrong by 100 per cent.

Next we find that straw and fodder are included in agricultural receipts. The only use for straw and fodder in India is as cattle-feed, *i.e.*, they are used only for the maintenance of agricultural capital. Consequently their inclusion is scientifically incorrect.

These corrections are necessary before we can arrive at the proper value of total agricultural receipts.

To calculate the agricultural income, however, we shall have to deduct from it the following allowances:—

(*i*) For seed and manure.

(*ii*) For wastage.

(*iii*) For food-grains consumed as cattle-feed besides fodder and straw.

(*iv*) For replacement of and additions to agricultural capital.

For seed and manure Mr. Shirras allows 10%. This seems to be fair. But he has made no allowances for the rest of the items. Now, Mr. D. S. Dubey in an admirable article "The Indian Food Problem," published in the Indian Economic Journal, Vol. 3, calculated among other things the quantity of food-grains consumed by cattle in 1911, on a truly scientific plan. According to the standard set by him, the quantity of food-grains required for cattle-food in 1921 amounts to 16·48 million tons. This comes to 25% of the total food-grains produced in 1921-22. For the wastage of agricultural produce Mr. Dubey allows 10% of the total produce. Considering the rat population of India, this cannot be reasonably contested. But to be on the side of caution, we may adopt 5%. Next, what allowance should we make for the replacement of and addition to agricultural capital? Our agricultural capital mainly consists of cattle, ploughs, carts, and sickles. In the Agricultural Statistics for 1921-22, we find—

the total number of cattle excluding females and calves ...	54·4 millions
" " " ploughs	23·6 "
" " " carts	5·8 "

As our cattle are not imported, the natural growth suffices for their replacement and addition. So we may exclude that item. Ploughs of rude make and local origin cost only Rs. 5 each and last only for 5 years. This is equivalent to regarding ploughs as costing Rs. 10 each and lasting for 10 years. As to carts, bullock-carts usually cost Rs. 50-60 in Bengal, while buffalo-carts cost Rs. 100-120 each. As separate statistics for bullock and buffalo carts are not available, let us assume that their proportion to each other is the same as that of the numbers of bullocks and buffaloes, *viz.*, 9 : 1. The capital representing carts and ploughs thus equals to Rs. 556 millions at its minimum. Allowance for its replacement and addition at 10% comes to 5·56 crores.

Here, of course, we have taken no account of the agricultural implements that are imported from foreign countries, nor the cost of digging or maintaining country-wells which form about one-quarter of the total irrigation of the country.

Average Income according to Mr. Shirras's Method.

Mr. Shirras's estimate, if modified in the way indicated above, would be reduced as follows :—

Value of total agricultural produce		1983·4 crores
(*i*) Deduct straw—101·30 crores fodder— 42·97 „ & 50% milk—155·18 „		299·4 „
		1684 crores
(*ii*) Deduct 25% for overestimation		421
Real agricultural receipts		1263
(*iii*) Deduct 5% for wastage & 10% for seed and manure	189·45 crores	
(*iv*) Deduct 25% food-grains value (not agricultural produce) for cattle-feed ...	206·78 „	
(*v*) Deduct for replacement of and addition to agricultural capital	5·56 „	
Total Deduction ...		401·79 crores
Gross agricultural income ...		861·21 crores
And gross non-agricultural receipts being 36% of real agricultural receipts	454·68 crores	
Deduct for the replacement of and addition to capital (Joint-Stock Co.'s only)	55·00 „	
	399·68 crores	
Deduct a similar amount for other types of organisations	55·00 „	
	344·68 crores	
Add 75 crores, as recommended by Mr. Shirras ...	75·00 „	
Gross non-agricultural income ...		419·68 crores
Total gross income (Agricultural and non-agricultural) ...		1280·89 crores
Deduct effective taxation		129·00 „
Total net income		1151·89 crores

Average income per head ... Rs. 51·8 (gross) or Rs. 46·6 (net)

Average Income according to Mr. Atkinson's Method.

If we follow, however, Mr. Atkinson's method of calculation and adopt his assumption that 2·4% of the population appropriates 13% of the total national income, the same data would give us the following estimate:—

I. Agricultural population	182·4 millions	73·7% of the total.
II. Non-agricultural „ excepting class III, ...	58·6 „	32% of the agricultural.
III. Classes of Ample Means	6·0 „	2·4% of the total.
	247·0	

(*i*) Gross agricultural income	861 crores
(*ii*) „ non-agricultural income being 32% of the agricultural.	275·52 „
	1136·52 crores
(*iii*) Income of the classes of ample means, constituting 13% of the total income	170·47 „
Gross income of all classes	1306·99 crores.

We find from this that

the gross income per head ...	Rs. 52·9
and the net income per head after deducting effective taxation	„ 47·7

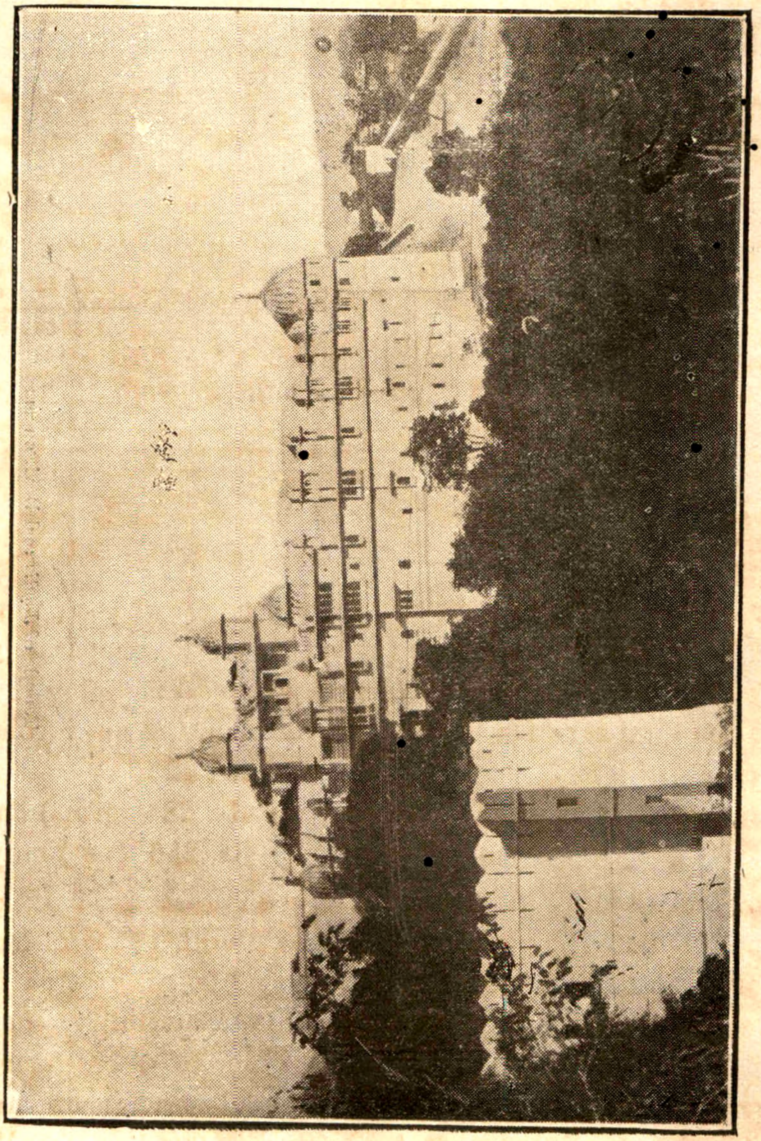
And if we calculate the per capita income of the poorer (classes I and II) and the richer (class III) sections separately, the gross income of the poor will be Rs. 47, and supposing that 13% of the total taxation is borne by the rich, the net income of the poor will be ... ... Rs. 42·5
The corresponding figures for the rich are Rs. 284 (gross) and Rs. 256 (net) only.

Now, Mr. Atkinson's method clearly shows that 97·6% of our population are too poor to bear any new burden of taxation. The short span of their life (the average life of an Indian is 23 years only), the high rates of infant mortality, their depressed vitality and low power of resistance to diseases and epidemics are more trustworthy evidences of their economic conditions than any government statistics, however carefully compiled.

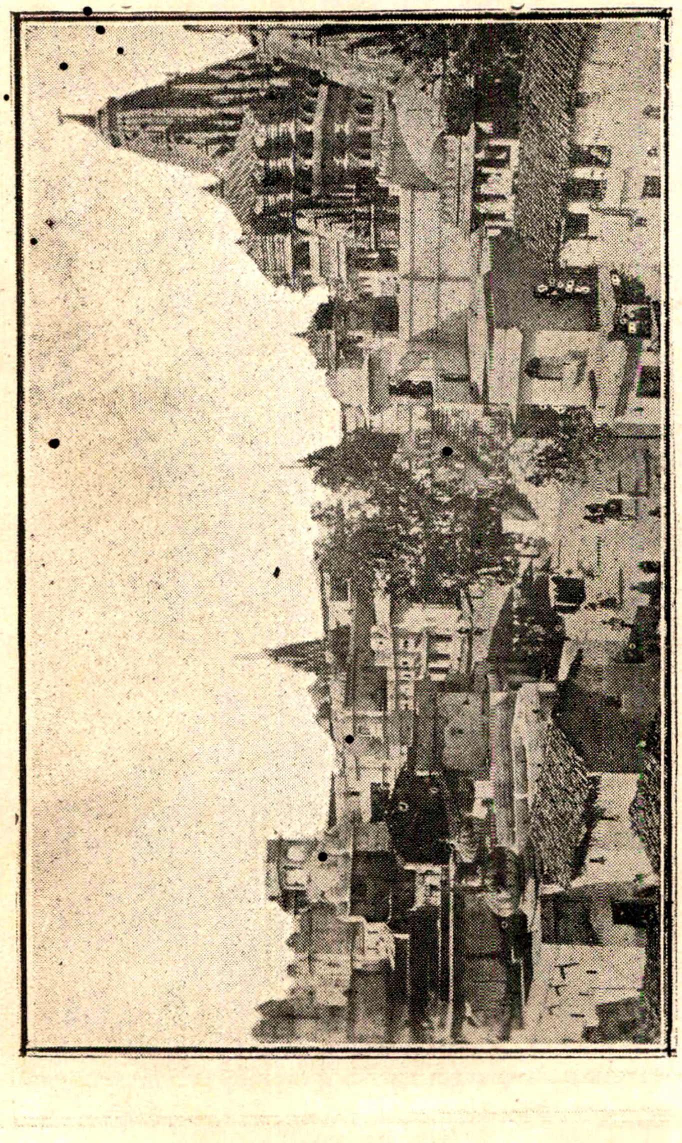
PRAFULLACHANDRA GHOSH

UDAIPUR—II

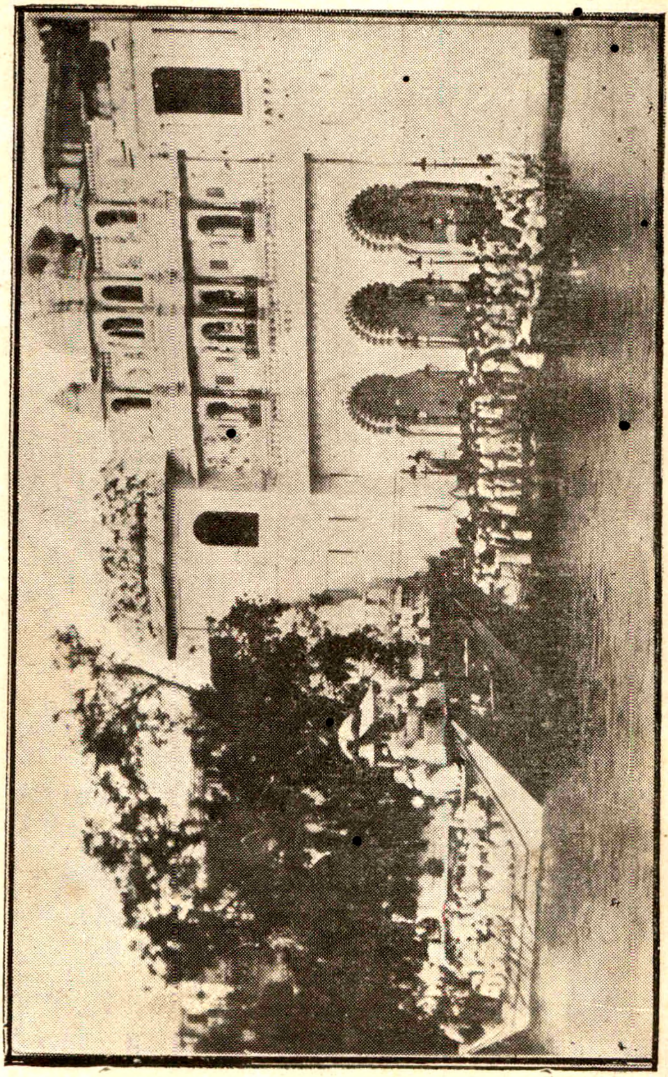
(*By courtesy of the Madhuri*)



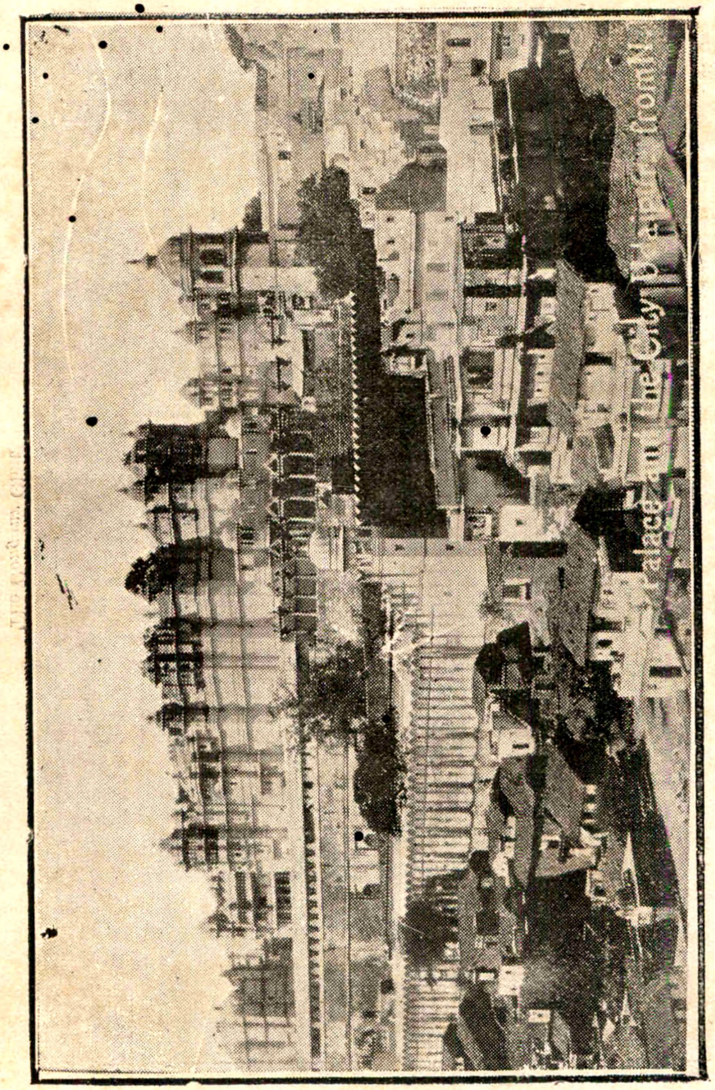
The *Sivnivas*



Temple of *Jagdis* and Environments



The *Gongaur* Ghat


Palace & the City from N.

Udaipur—Palace and the City

Reviews

Islamica: We are struck dumb when we consider the activity of the West and the apathy of the East in matters purely Eastern. While we comfortably sit under the ægis of our great leaders—so futilely eloquent in their protestations of unspotted faith, so zealous in their efforts for the maintenance and advancement of Muslim temporal interests—not infrequently weaving plans for starting newspapers and encouraging Muslim learning—schemes which alas! never mature—Germany is putting us to shame by her splendid ventures and actual achievements. To such German Journals as "*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*": "*Zeitschrift fur Semitistisk und Verwandte Gebiete*": "*Die Welt des Islams*": "*Der Neue Orient,*" etc., Prof. Fischer of Leipzig now adds the "*Islamica.*" This new Journal is issued from Leipzig, and its first number is an earnest of what is to come. Its scope is wider and more liberal than that of its predecessors, for it will deal both with the language and the culture of the East. Perhaps I should say it will deal chiefly with the languages and the civilizations of the Arabs, Persians and Turks, laying special stress on Persian literature and culture, which have hitherto been much neglected in other journals of its kind. Nor will the phases of Islam, as they exist, in India, in Russia, in China, among the Berbers in Central Africa, be outside its ken. Vast then is the field which it seeks to appropriate and cultivate, and competent the men who have assumed the task. Prof. Fischer's name is a guarantee of its worth, and his reputation it must maintain and enhance. To make the interest general, I should say widespread, the Editor has decided to divide the articles between the German and the English languages. This is a wise decision, for the other learned journals, referred to, are practically sealed books to those who know no German. And nothing is more desirable, nay, imperatively necessary, at this juncture, than to bring home to English-knowing people the rich fruits of recent researches in the domain of Islamic culture. It will draw closer the bond between Islam and true Christianity, for will it not emphasize and strengthen the intellectual and spiritual kinship of the two great religions of the world?

Now let us look at the contents of this new venture. Of the three articles in German: two are by Prof. Fischer, and one by Prof. Bergsträsser of Heidelberg. Prof. Fischer writes a learned paper on Imra-Al-Qais—steeped in light and learning—a paper which will be hailed by the expert with delight; and Prof. Bergsträsser gives an account of the *Kitab-Al-Lamat* of Ahmed Ibn Faris—a unique MS.—which he found in the Library of Al-Malik-az-Zahir, at Damascus.

No less conspicuous than his paper on Imra-Al-Qais is Prof. Fischer's paper on the *Naqaid* of Jarir and Farazdaq. We now turn to the articles in English. In his article on '*The Well in Ancient Arabia*' Prof. Braünlich has lighted on a virgin field. The paper is a model of patient ant-like research and industrious scholarship. He has been at pains to collect all the references to 'well' in ancient Arabian literature. Nor has he ignored the results of the labours of modern scholars, who have first-hand knowledge of the country. And we can hardly overrate the importance of this subject, for the method of obtaining water was and remains one of the most important problems of the Arabic household. The article in question proposes to deal with the material side of the 'well' as it is in use among the Arabs, as also with the place which the well has won for itself in the life of the Arab people. The first instalment is arresting.

When we think of Arabia we generally think of an arid, rocky, sun-scorched country—lacking in water, interspersed with deserts, inclement, forbidding, inhospitable—with only here and there an oasis or a smiling valley. The article 'Arabia before Islam' (Calcutta Review, Dec., 1924) shows how far from the truth is this prevalent view, and Dr. Braünlich confirms it. We are informed that subterranean water is often to be found at very shallow depths; correspondingly the overwhelming majority of the wells are not dug very deep. The depth of the wells throughout Najd seldom exceeds 12 or 15 ft. Burton writes of Al-Hamra, which is on the way from Medina to the Red Sea, " water of good quality is readily found in it by digging a few feet below the surface. " True, all parts of the country are not so favourably situated, but recent investigations indubitably establish the fact that wells did and do adequately supply the need of Arabia. Dr. Braünlich tells us (pp. 57-58)—" The neighbourhood of Mecca is blessed with wells above every other part. Fasi counts 58 within the city gates, 17 between gate Al-milat and Mina; 15 in the last-named place, etc. Besides Mecca, however, there are other territories which are rich in springs. Musil says that the Biyar Aslug can supply water for 3,000 cattle. Even beyond the main traffic-areas water is seldom lacking. "

After dealing with the hydrographic aspects of Arabia, Dr. Braünlich passes on to the construction of the simplest kind of well, and then to the enlarged well in a permanent settlement. This is a revealing article. It will help, perhaps, to solve some questions—still obscure—in the domestic and economic life of the Arabs.

Prof. Margoliouth describes a hitherto undiscovered MS. of Yaqut, which he hopes soon to edit. This is a rare find, for all hopes of discovering the lost works of Yaqut had long been given up. Fragmentary though the biographies are—they are yet of great importance and value to the students of Islamic history. By the publication of this MS. Prof. Margoliouth will add one to the many obligations under which he has laid students of Islamic language and literature. It would be impossible to pass over in silence Prof. Nicholson's charming paper on 'Iqbal.' He tells us that in 'Iqbal' there are two voices of power. One speaks in Urdu, and appeals to Indian patriotism—the other uses the beautiful and melodious language of Persia, and sings to a Muslim audience.

By unanimous consent Iqbal is the greatest Muslim poet and thinker of India. He has imaginative glow, fineness of perception, a language bedecked and bejewelled, a sense of catholicity. True, in his poetry we encounter depressions, despairs, self-questionings, at times a note of diffidence; but, despite all these, hope struggles and triumphs. It is not the poetry of pessimism, but of optimism out and out. The deep gloom of his country's present position only intensifies his confidence in the sureness and brightness of its future. In him the dim shadows of mysticism; the charms of the ideal; the frenzied worship of the beautiful; the love of his country; the dazzling vision of its future—all have found utterance in language of passionate, superb, incomparable excellence.

Iqbal is the product of the East and West alike. Where else in Eastern poetry do we find that burning love for one's country; that high-souled patriotism; that hatred of despotism; that love of freedom, which shine forth from his verse, and which enchant and captivate the reader? From lip to lip—wherever the Urdu language is spoken—his poems have flown, nerving, bracing, uplifting the worn and the weary. In him we have the mocking voice of Heine, and yet again the thunderous reverberations of Milton.

Listen:—

> "Clad in cotton rags I toil as a slave for hire,
> To earn for an idle master his silk attire.
> The governor's ruby seal 'tis my sweat that buys,
> His horse is gemmed with tears from my children's eyes."

And again; "How long must we lead this moth's life, fluttering round the candle? Pass how many days in exile, strangers to ourselves?"

Read and reflect!

Whether he will rank with the giants of Persian mysticism as their peer, we know not—but this we know, and of this we are sure beyond a shadow of doubt—that his will be one of the few honoured names inscribed in letters of gold on the roll of India's greatest sons. Iqbal has planted his foot beyond the waves of time, and political India will always look to him as her most honoured bard.

Curious irony of fate that the descendants or *supposed* descendants, of the old Arabs, Persians, Tartars, have suffered their intellectual legacy to pass into the hands of the non-Muslim Europeans! How the shades of the immortals would weep and wail over their degenerate "representatives" of to-day!

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

Bāṅgālā Akṣar Paricay (A Bengali Spelling Book): by Pandit Muralidhar Banerji, M.A., Late Principal, Sanskrit College, and Lecturer in Sanskrit, Calcutta University: Calcutta, 1330 Bengali year.

An A.B.C. book is in some respects the most useful book in a language, as it forms the gateway to the Temple of Learning through which everybody must pass. The toll exacted at this gateway is sometimes exceedingly heavy, in long months of weary grinding at spelling lessons. Where the orthography is not phonetic, we have a heart-rending tyranny on the fresh childish brain, and all promptings of curiosity are smothered at every step by the frightful spelling bogey stalking in the way and seeking to waylay learners with all its terrors. The man who comes forward to help suffering childhood from this great evil is a true lover of mankind, and if he is successful in reconciling the rival claims of orthodox tradition, of accepted and current usage which adults refuse to deviate from, and of the demands of the child for simplicity and intelligibility, he should have achieved a great scientific triumph.

To write a modern language with an altered pronunciation in an old-fashioned orthography is to put new wine in old bottles. A few systems of writing, like the Italian among those employing the Roman script, and some Indian systems, are good, and it is a pleasure for the adult foreigner to learn them, as it is comparatively easy for the native child. Among these easy systems of orthography Bengali certainly is not one, and the remark made about English spelling as being totally devoid of a conscience, is almost equally applicable to it. The letters whether simple or combined are complicated, in addition to the system being unphonetic in many points. It takes a Bengali child on an average more than a year's school life to go through the primers and acquire the simple and compound characters to be able to read, and there has been no attempt to lighten the burden either.

Prof. Muralidhar Banerji has come forward with this primer and he seeks to teach the Bengali child the principles of the Bengali system of writing. He does not write a serious treatise, seeking as he does to teach without the child knowing it. He takes his pupil through four stages: first, the child is taught to give names to the pictures which he sees on the page. Then the child is required to remember the *groups of letters* forming the Bengali name of the object as a symbol for it. After that Prof. Banerji would teach the child to analyse the words and arrive at the letters for particular sounds, and so learn them. Finally he would teach the alphabet properly, in the Indian order—*a, ā, ka, kha*, etc. This is quite an original idea, and Prof. Banerji in working it out has been guided by the stages one sees in the development of the alphabet, from pictograms through ideograms and syllabic characters to alphabetical symbols. Apparently he thinks that the stages in the development of writing from pictograms to the finished alphabet are paralleled by the stages through which the child in an alphabet-using community learns to read and write: he sees a parallel between the mental development of human society as a whole from primitive times and the mental development of the child in a civilised community at the present day. We are not sure that this parallel holds good. Nor do we think that a child would remember the entire word as written better than the individual letters that go to make it, and would find it easier to associate the idea with the form of the entire word than to identify an individual letter with the sound it symbolises. If that were so, a system of Chinese ideograms would be easiest for a child to acquire. But our experience shows it has been quite the other way: we learn to associate letters with particular sounds, and then spell out our way—taking the help of the sounds at each step. It will however remain to be seen how Prof. Banerji's method will work. The introduction will be interesting reading to school masters, but how many of those who teach the A. B. C. (or rather the *a, ā, ka, kha*) to children will be able to appreciate all the questions involved?

The plan followed in teaching the letters seems to be sound enough. In teaching the forms of the vowels when they are post-consonantal (*mātrā*-vowels), Prof. Banerji in the initial stage adopts the device of writing the full or initial forms of the vowels after the consonant letters with the *virāma* (*e.g.*, কল্আ=কলা, মধ্উ=মধু. আল্ও=আলো) and when the principle has been instilled in this way, he proceeds to teach the post-consonantal abbreviations. He thus imports the truly alphabetical principle, which does not combine vowels and consonants into one letter with a syllabic value. This method, extended in teaching the child the formation of the consonantal groups, instead of going straight to the compound letters forming such groups (*e.g.*, *Śrī* as শ্‌র্ ঈ first, and then as শ্রী, *ṣpra* as ষ্‌প্‌র before teaching ষ্প্র, and *rddhw* as র্‌দ্‌ধ্‌ব first and then in the form র্দ্ধ্ব) will undoubtedly help the child, for in this way the formidable-looking compound letters are analysed for the child and a great many of their intricacy made clear.

Prof. Banerji, as one would expect from a Prakrit Scholar, has put in a vigorous plea for a phonetic spelling of Bengali. He has given in his book the actual Bengali pronunciation of some of the componnd consonants (*e.g.*, ত্ম *tm*=ত্তঁ [tt~], জ্ঞ *jñ*=গ্গঁ [gg~], হ্য *hy*=জ্ঝ=*jjh*, etc.). His phonetic analysis is on the whole sound, but he regards the Bengali *anusvāra*, ং, and the *visarga*, ঃ, as being the same sounds as ঙ *ṅ* and হ *h*. The Sanskrit *anusvāra*, *ṃ*, which meant only a nasalised prolongation of a preceding vowel (*e.g.*, अं=अ अँ=*aṃ*=*a ȧ*), is pronounced now differently in the various Indian languages: thus in Bengali, it is pronounced as ঙ=*ṅ* in Hindustani as न=*n* and in South India as म=*m* (*e.g.*, हंस *haṃsa*= Bengali হঙ্শ *haṅg-śa*, in Hindustani *hans* in South India *haṃsa*). To say that in Bengali the *anusvāra* is but the ঙ *ṅ*, the guttural nasal, with the *virāma*, is therefore perfectly proper. The *visarga*, however, represents an unvoiced *h* (like the English *h* in *hat, house, high*) in both Sanskrit and in Bengali (as in the inerjection আঃ, आः *āḥ*, for instance), whereas, ह, হ, *h* is a voiced sound both in Sanskrit and Bengali (like the *h* in English *perhaps, behind* as commonly pronounced). It is not, therefore, quite correct to say that the *visarga*, :, is but হ, *h*, with the *virāma*. Prof. Banerji further considers that the nasalisation of the vowel in Bengali, the *candra-bindu*, ँ, is the same thing as the palatal nasal ञ, ঞ *ñ* आँ, আঁ=ã has been described as being the same as आञ्, আঞ্=ā*ñ*, which is wrong.

There are a few misprints in the book, *e.g.*, ঔঁ for ত্তঁ (ő for ttã) at p. 35; and the *virāma* or *hasanta* sign has been left out in many places. Misprints should be avoided in a child's primer, in which the printing should be faultless.

On the whole, this little primer institutes a new line of teaching to read in Bengali, and the present review subscribes to a great deal of what Prof. Banerji would like to introduce. The difficulty will be to get schoolmasters sufficiently clever to grasp and adopt the idea. But the fact that the book is in its second edition shows that the progressive ideas of the author ably supported by his learning, his thoughtfulness and his courage of a reformer have met with some appreciation, and this is of excellent omen for the improvement in educational methods in the country.

SHAN-TAU TSZE

Ourselves

THE LATE RAI KUMUDINIKANTA BANERJEE BAHADUR.

It is our melancholy duty to record the death of another brilliant scholar and veteran educationist. Rai Bahadur Kumudinikanta Banerjee served as Principal of the Rajshahi College from 1897 till December, 1924. The Rajshahi College owes its present position and status entirely to the distinguished services which it was fortunate enough to have received from the Rai Bahadur. He was nominated a Fellow of the University in 1909 and continued as such till he died. He was appointed to officiate as Inspector of Colleges in 1919. Rai Bahadur Kumudinikanta was an essentially good man, combining in him at the same moment all those distinctive qualities which went to make an ideal Principal and administrator. His health broke down as the inevitable result of a series of severe bereavements. Our sincere condolences go to the members of the family.

* * *

UNIVERSITY AND THE GENERAL MEDICAL COUNCIL.

The following *communique*, which we make no apology in reproducing in full, has been issued by the Syndicate with a view to remove the doubts and counteract the rumours which have been steadily spreading for some time past regarding the attitude taken by the University in respect of the recognition of M. B. Degree by the General Medical Council in England. The statement, full and exhaustive as it is, has been drawn up by a Committee of the Syndicate consisting of Col. Barnardo, Principal of the Medical College, Dr. M. N. Banerjee and Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea:

> "Many unfounded statements have been made and fals alarms raised in the local press with regard to Calcutta Medica

Degrees. With a view to allay any anxiety on the part of the public regarding the recent Notification from the General Medical Council intimating the withdrawal of the recognition of the M. B. Calcutta Degree, the Syndicate desires to issue the following statement :

1. The Licenses and Degrees (L.M.S., M.B. and M.D.) in Medicine of the Calcutta University were recognised by the General Medical Council in 1893. The Registrar, General Medical Council, communicated to the Under Secretary of State for India, "(1) Licenciate in Medicine and Surgery, (2) Bachelor in Medicine and (3) Doctor of Medicine granted by the University, have been recognised by the Council and will, in future, be registrable in the Colonial List under Section 13 of the Medical Act (1886)."

A copy of the Regulations, sent along with the application, under which the above Licenses and Degrees were granted, satisfied the General Medical Council as to their furnishing a sufficient guarantee of the possession of the requisite knowledge and skill for the efficient practice of Medicine, Surgery and Midwifery in terms of the Act. The recognition continued and no question was raised with reference to the sufficiency of the guarantee till 1920. In 1896, the General Medical Council passed a resolution in regard to midwifery practice in Great Britain raising the curriculum. They appointed a Committee in 1905 to enquire into the operation of the rules. The Committee after summarising the answers from 37 teaching institutions in Great Britain and Ireland, came to the conclusion that the rule was not complied with by the majority of the Schools. The Committee made some recommendations which the "Lancet" in its issue of the 29th December, 1906, said, was difficult to be carried out in actual practice and the "Lancet" also remarked "in an extern maternity charity the possibilities of giving adequate or indeed any teaching in regard to the progress of labour are simply non-existent." It is evident the rules were not meant for Colonial and Foreign Universities and the Indian Universities were left alone. The first communication regarding the requirements of practical midwifery was made to the Calcutta University by the President of the General Medical Council on the 8th June, 1920, asking, for information and giving an intimation that the Council will have to consider the continuance of the recognition of the Medical Degrees in the light of the replies furnished to their questions. A reply was sent to this communication on the 22nd October, 1920, giving all the information wanted and concluding with the following remarks :

"The authorities of this University fully realise the importance of practical training in Midwifery but we would, with all respect, point out to the President of the General Medical Council that, while every endeavour is made to improve the practical training of our students in this important subject, and while we feel convinced that, in many ways, their practical demonstrations and opportunity of clinical study are better in the Eden Hospital than in many centres at Home, it must be remembered that the women of these Eastern countries have from time immemorial been averse to examination and attendance by male doctors except under exceptional circumstances."

On receiving this reply, the General Medical Council intimated that, unless satisfactory arrangements with regard to Midwifery were made before February, 1922, "recognition will forthwith thereafter terminate." Early in 1921, the Professor of Midwifery, Carmichael Medical College, proposed some necessary changes in the Regulations of this University in conformity with the requirements of the General Medical Council relating to practical Midwifery. These changes were adopted by the Faculty of Medicine and the Senate in March, 1921. In communicating this to the General Medical Council, the Registrar wrote, "I may assure your Council that the newly modified regulations will more than satisfy their requirements and no student will be admitted to the final examination from 1922 unless and until he has gone through the prescribed course in Practical Midwifery." The President of the General Medical Council was, however, not satisfied and Dr. Norman Walker was sent out to visit the Indian Universities with reference to Midwifery training and report. The Professor of Midwifery, Carmichael Medical College, in his memorandum issued at the time, wrote, "it may be stated without fear of contradiction that very few medical schools in the world will stand the test (one case, one student) on which the President of the General Medical Council based his conclusion. Of the 12 teaching Hospitals (in London), 8 have no lying-in beds and the extern cases were useless from the point of view of practical instruction." Many Universities and examining bodies of the United Kingdom, to whom the resolutions of the General Medical Council of 1907 regarding practical Midwifery were officially communicated for compliance, had not even attempted to satisfy these requirements before 1919 when the report of the Obstetric Section of the Royal Society on the teaching of Obstetrics was adopted by the General Medical Council. It will thus be seen that even the teaching institutions in the United Kingdom found it difficult to satisfy the requirements of the General Medical Council and, in spite of the demands made on them since the year 1896, many of them have not yet come up to the mark. Is it reasonable, therefore, to expect that this University will be able to do in 4 years what the British Institutions have not been able to accomplish in about 18 years.

2. This University is desirous of maintaining the standard of their M.B. Degree up to the standard prevalent in England as far as is possible under special local needs and requirements. The Syndicate have always shown their willingness

to fall in with any recommendation of the General Medical Council regarding the standard of Medical Education. It may be pointed out that, during the last year, the recommendations of the General Medical Council regarding the revision of the Medical Curriculum have been considered in detail and every suggestion has been carefully followed as far as possible with a view to early adoption. As these recommendations involve alterations of the University Regulations and necessitate changes in the Curriculum of other Faculties in the University some little time will necessarily elapse. Their final adoption and incorporation, however, into the University Regulations, will, probably be accomplished at an early date.

3. The appointment of an official Inspector on behalf of the General Medical Council in connection with Midwifery training in the Indian Universities was communicated by the Government of India, in their letter, dated the 18th December 1922. The Syndicate of this University understood that the recognition of the Medical Degrees of this University was conditional on the receipt by the General Medical Council of a report from the Official Inspector concerning the teaching and curriculum of Midwifery alone. The Inspector was, therefore, given all facilities and the Medical Colleges are making every effort to meet his requirements.

4. In June, 1924, the Official Inspector requested permission to inspect the Final M.B. Examination of this University. This permission was not given by the Syndicate because " it is not usual to grant permission of this character." While the University gave all facilities to the Official Inspector to visit the affiliated medical institutions and report on the arrangement obtaining therein for effectively imparting instruction in the course of study prescribed in the Syllabus, they deliberately refused this permission to inspect the Examinations. They depended on the fundamental principle namely that while recognition of a College for the purposes of affiliation implied inspection, *recognition* of the *Degrees* conferred by one University or examining body can never mean inspection either of the Colleges or of the examinations held under the auspices of the University. For example, under Section 7, Chapter XVI of the Regulations of Calcutta University, the University has power to admit to any University Examination any person who shall present a certificate from such Institution as may be, from time to time. recognised for the purpose by the Syndicate, showing that he has attended courses of study, passed examination or taken degrees equivalent to those which are required in the case of students of the Calcutta University. No University in India working under the Universities Act of 1904 has yet arrogated to itself the authority to send inspectors to investigate "the courses of study and the nature of examination passed " by candidates of other Universities ; although every University, for the purpose of recognition of degrees conferred by other Universities, has

entirely to rely on "information regarding the courses of study and the nature of examination" as supplied to them.

It has been said that if the Indian degrees cease to be recognised by the General Medical Council they will deteriorate in value. So far as the University is concerned, it will never suffer in prestige so long as it maintains its standard up to what prevails in all the Western countries. The General Medical Council does not recognise even the first class Universities in America and in some other foreign countries but those Universities are none the less esteemed for that. Some of them retaliate by not recognising the British qualifications, for instance, as the "Lancet" (29th November, 1924) says "the relations with Italy on the matter of reciprocity in practice are in an anomalous phase for the privileges at the present moment are being withdrawn from British practitioners in Italy which are extended to Italian practitioners in England." So the recognition or non-recognition depends on mutual understanding and reciprocity, and also on various technicalities. The prestige of any University depends on the standard of its education. It has been said that the Graduates will be debarred from holding important appointments. All provincial appointments are going to be placed directly under the Minister of Public Health and it is obvious that the Local Government and the Legislative Council will see that no Graduates of the Calcutta University are deprived of the privileges which they now enjoy with regard to public appointments. For appointments outside the Province, the Central Government and the Legislative Assembly may be depended upon for any alteration in the rules and regulations, if necessary, for the maintenance of the rights of the Graduates of this University. It may also be taken for granted that the non-recognition by the General Medical Council will not disturb the mutual relationship and the reciprocity of the Indian Universities. The registration of the Calcutta Graduates in India does not depend on the recognition of any University Degree by the General Medical Council but on the Indian Medical Degrees Act and on the local Councils of Medical Registration. Therefore, the graduates of the Calcutta University can never be "unqualified" to practise anywhere in British India, so long as the present Universities Act and the Indian Registration Act remain in force. Therefore, the suggestion which has been made in certain quarters that "the Calcutta Medical Degrees will have only a local validity" has no foundation.

6. The Syndicate were never directly informed that the recognition of the Medical Degrees of the Indian Universities (which come under Part II of the Medical Act) depended on inspection of examinations as laid down in Part I, para. 3 (2), of the Medical Act which applies to degrees and diplomas granted by Examining Bodies in the United Kingdom. But the Syndicate has brought to the notice of the General Medical

Council that the Medical Act of 1886 in Part II does not contemplate the inspection of examinations for foreign and colonial Universities as a condition of recognition. They have invited attention of the Council also to the principle of the reciprocity of practice implied in Para. XVII of the Medical Act.

7. The Syndicate have requested the General Medical Council to continue to recognise the Medical Degrees of this University until November 30th, 1925, by which time the revised curriculum as suggested by the General Medical Council will have been adopted in the affiliated Medical Colleges and the necessary alterations made in the Regulations for the M.B. Degree of this University.

8. Thus it will be seen that the Syndicate are taking the necessary steps to ensure that the recognition of the University degree be continued by the General Medical Council. Until their efforts are finally successful, such students who graduate from the University will still be able to appear at the Final Examination of the Conjoint Board of the Royal Colleges in England and qualify themselves for practising in England and sitting for the I.M.S, and all the higher Medical Examinations."

* * *

DR. SIVAPADA BHATTACHARYYA.

The Faculty of Medicine met on the 17th January last to elect an Ordinary Fellow in place of Sir Nilratan Sircar whose term of office as a member of the Senate would soon expire. As we announced in our last issue, Sir Nilratan chose to offer himself for election by his fellow graduates. There were three candidates duly nominated for election from the Faculty of Medicine. They were Dr. Sivapada Bhattacharyya, M.D., proposed by Sir Kailashchandra Bose and Major A. D. Stewart; Rai Bahadur Dr. Harendranath Das, M.A., M.D., nominated by Dr. M. N. Banerjee; and Dr. Nanilal Pan, M.B. proposed by Lt.-Col. R. P. Wilson. The votes recorded show that the contest was very keen between Dr. Bhattacharyya and Dr. Pan, the former having secured eight votes, while the latter, seven. None, it appears, voted in favour of the Rai Bahadur. Dr. Bhattacharyya is one of our most brilliant graduates in Medicine. About four years ago he was admitted to the much-coveted Degree of Doctor of Medicine. He has for some years past been serving as an Assistant Professor in the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine and has been doing valuable research work in his own department. At the same time, he is a practitioner of no mean repute. We doubt not he will prove a useful member of the Senate and we offer our congratulations to him.

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DR. BIJANKUMAR MOOKERJEE.

Mr. Bijankumar Mookerjee, M.A., M.L., Vakil, High Court, Calcutta, has been admitted to the much-coveted Degree of Doctor of Law, the subject of his thesis being "Aerial Law." The Board of Examiners, which consisted of Mr. Mahendranath Ray, the Hon'ble Justice Sir Ewart Greaves and Professor Arthur Brown, unanimously recommended that the thesis being a meritorious one, Mr. Mookerjee should be admitted to the Degree. Mr. Mookerjee had a brilliant academic career and is a promising lawyer. Our congratulations to him.

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THE SYNDICATE FOR 1925.

The constitution of the Syndicate for 1925 is given below:

Members.

Vice-Chancellor—*Chairman, Ex-officio.*
Director of Public Instruction, *Ex-officio.*

Elected by the Senate.

Sir Nilratan Sircar.
Mr. Jnanranjan Banerjea.
Rev. Dr. W. S. Urquhart.
Dr. Jatindranath Maitra.

Elected by the Faculty of Arts.

Mr. Manmathanath Ray.
Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee.
Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea.
Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee.

Elected by the Faculty of Science.

Mr. Subodhchandra Mahalanobis.
Dr. Prafullachandra Mitter.

Elected by the Faculty of Law.

Mr. Birajmohan Majumdar.
Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerjee.

Elected by the Faculty of Medicine.

Rai Bahadur Dr. Upendranath Brahmachari.
Lt.-Col. F. A. F. Barnardo.

Elected by the Faculty of Engineering.

Mr. T. H. Richardson.

The new members are Dr. Jatindranath Maitra, Dr. Upendranath Brahmachari and Dr. Prafullachandra Mitter, who have been elected in the places of Principal Herambachandra Maitra, Dr. Mahendranath Banerjee and Dr. P. Brühl. Our congratulations to the new members. Dr. Brahmachari was, however, a member of the Syndicate for a number of years and he is not new to the office in the sense in which the other two members are. The most notable loss, undoubtedly, is that caused by the defeat of Principal Maitra. The presence of such a distinguished and veteran educationist on the Syndicate adds to the dignity of its composition and we feel sorry that the University Executive will not profit by his ripe experience and judgment for at least twelve months to come.

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MATRICULATION AGE LIMIT.

The 'age question' has after all been solved, for the time being at least. Government has agreed to reduce the age limit from sixteen years to fifteen. The University, as our readers will no doubt remember, proposed its total abolition. The compromise arrived at does not solve the difficulty altogether but meets the situation to a considerable extent. The University has not been slow to make speedy arrangements for the purpose of extending this privilege so far as the examination for 1925 is concerned.

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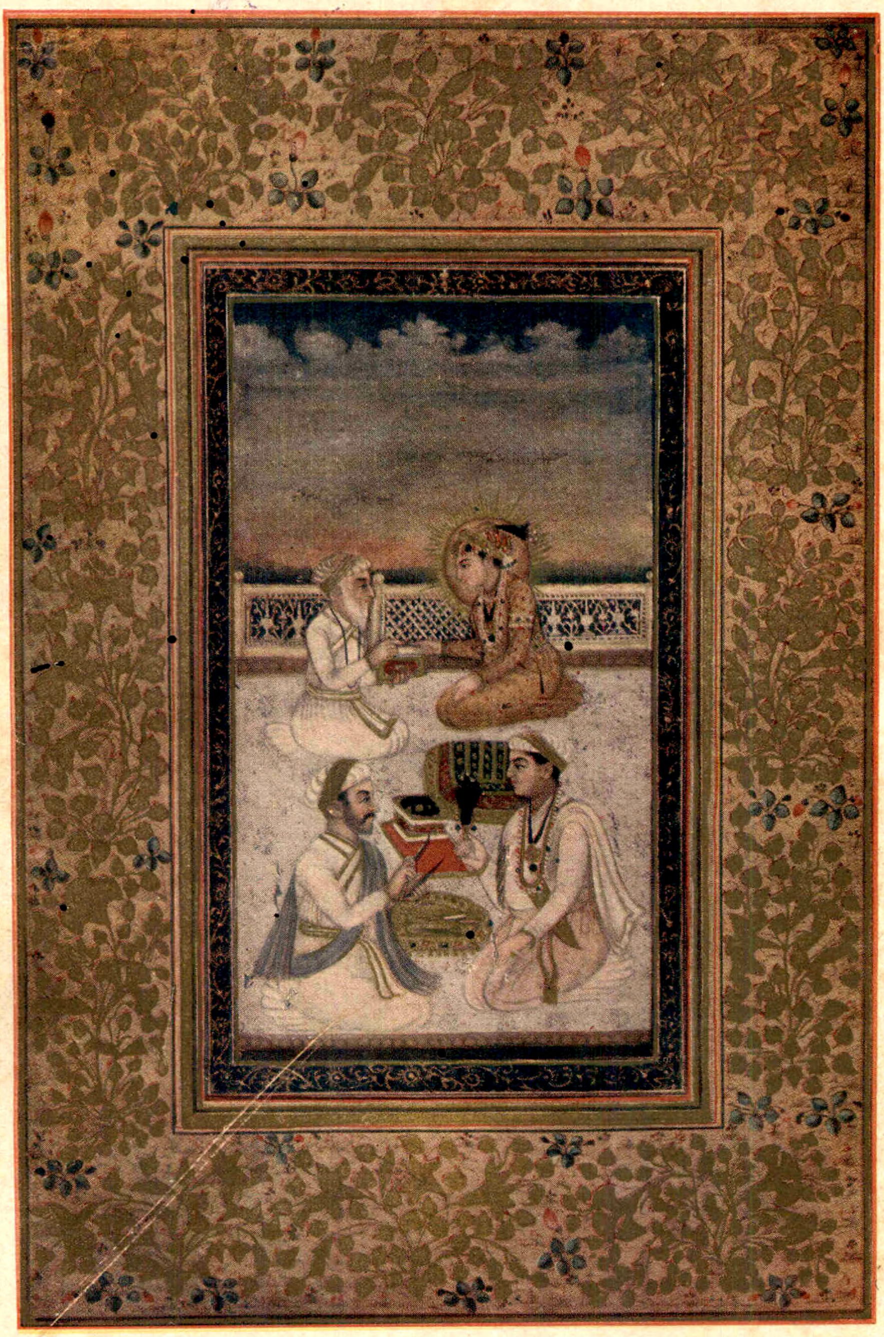
MR. J. A. CHAPMAN.

Mr. J. A. Chapman, Librarian, Imperial Library, Calcutta, has with renewed vigour returned to his duties after a period of ten months' leave. Mr. Chapman is one of our regular contributors and we cordially welcome him back to Calcutta.



PRINCE DARA SEIKO LEARNING CALLIGRAPHY

(By courtesy of the Bangabani ; From the Art Collection of Mr. A. Ghose)

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY
Acc. No.........
Book No.........
LIBRARY.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MARCH, 1925

THE CONVOCATION

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor's Address[1]

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,

But a few brief months have passed since my appointment as Vice-Chancellor of this University. Anyone who comes to that high office, as I did, with but a small knowledge of the working of the University and of the vast field which is covered by its activities, realises at the outset how much he has to learn and these months have largely been spent of necessity in acquainting myself with the duties of my office and in grasping some of the problems, administrative and academical, which call for a wise and understanding treatment. The schools of the Province, the affiliated Colleges of the University both in Calcutta and in the Mofussil, the Post-Graduate Department, the Matriculation Regulations, the Standards of Examinations, the financial position of the University, all present problems which require many months of patient study for their apprehension let alone for their solution and in the ordinary routine work of a Vice-Chancellor of the University, coupled as it is in my case with other onerous duties, but little time is left for a proper consideration of these problems. And there is also the great human problem of the vast concourse of students who flock to the University year by year and whose future for good or ill vitally depends upon the life they lead and the studies they pursue during the most impressionable period of their lives. What are they doing, what are they thinking, are we guiding their lives and studies so as best to fit them for the duties and responsibilities of life and for the careers they choose? All these are considerations which must press day by day upon the mind and attention of anyone who occupies this office. Much lies to be done and heavy are our responsibilities but this I can say that I have found in those with whom I have come in contact in this University an earnest desire for a wise solution of the problems which I have mentioned and an extraordinary zeal and enthusiasm for the work of the University, and I should like to express my very grateful thanks to all those who have helped me so ungrudgingly during the last few months and who have always been ready to give of their counsel and their help in the work which lies before us. We want the assistance of men of all classes, creeds, views and positions in the work of the University and we have no desire to exclude anyone or that the affairs of the University should be guided by any party or by any clique. Differences must arise from time to time and views on educational questions are often divergent, but we welcome honest differences of opinion and desire to extend the widest tolerance to those whose views do not always synchronise with our own. Changes there must be from time to time in the working of our Constitution and in lines of development and if these occur I am sure they will not be looked upon as any attack or reflection upon those who have in the past been responsible for the working of the University, but rather the working out and development of the institution on lines which time and experience has shown to be inevitable.

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[1] H. E. the Chancellor's Address will be printed in a later issue. Ed., C. R.

It is in accordance with the fitness of things that this afternoon I should make some reference to those members of the Senate who have passed away since Convocation was last addressed by a Vice-Chancellor of the University. Since this occasion the hand of death has fallen heavily on many distinguished ornaments of our University.

It is just a year ago since Dr. Dunn, Director of Public Instruction, and a Fellow of the University, met his death in the sudden and tragic manner which is fresh in all our minds. He brought to the task which had fallen to him a few brief months before his death a really remarkable zeal and energy and it is sad indeed that he was not spared to carry on his task. His widow recently offered to the University his Library which we gladly accepted and it will remain as a memento of him for the use of the students of the University whose advancement and interests he strove so hard to further.

By the recent death of Mr. Girishchandra Mookerjee, M.A., the University lost a faithful and devoted servant who was Assistant Registrar for many years and who for some time officiated as our Registrar.

It is but a few weeks ago that we learnt with sorrow of the death of Rai Kumudinikanta Banerjee, Bahadur, Principal of Rajshahi College and a Fellow of the University and Rai Bhupatinath Das, Bahadur, a Fellow of the University from 1915 until his death a few months ago, is also numbered amongst those who have passed away.

Death also removed in the latter part of 1924 the Hon. Mr. Abdul Majid, a Fellow since 1911, a member of the Executive Council of H. E. the Governor of Assam and a colleague of mine in the High Court for a few months in 1919. His was a quiet unassuming personality which had endeared him to those who knew him and as a member of the Senate since 1911 he was constantly present at our deliberations and rendered wise and useful service to the University.

In April of 1924 death removed from us Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri, also a colleague of my own in the High Court for many years. He was a gifted and distinguished lawyer who before his elevation to the Bench of the High Court enjoyed a large and lucrative practice especially in commercial matters. This he cheerfully gave up at considerable personal sacrifice in response to the call to the Bench of the High Court. His amiable personality endeared him to all who knew him and although his last years were clouded by a great domestic bereavement in the loss of his gifted and beloved wife he never spared himself during the closing years of his life in rendering service to the University which he loved.

My own immediate predecessor in the office of Vice-Chancellor has also passed away—Mr. Bhupendranath Basu was a man of many parts, a distinguished student of this University, a very successful solicitor who built up and maintained a great practice in this City but he never spared himself or his energies in the performance of public duties. He served as you know upon the Council of the Secretary of State for India for some 5 or 6 years and he was the valued friend and adviser of the late Mr. Montagu as Secretary of State for India and also of his successor Lord Peel. The closing years of his life were saddened by the loss of his second son and by the seeds of the illness from which he eventually died but in these closing years he added to the debt of gratitude which this Province owes him by accepting office as a member of the Executive Council of Your Excellency and by becoming at a difficult period in its history Vice-Chancellor of the University.

And last of all I come to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee whose death was the greatest loss which this University has suffered in all its history. Eloquent tributes were paid to his memory in this house shortly after his death by you Sir as Chancellor of this University and by others. Those tributes I cannot hope to rival; the University in all its branches and in every department bears the stamp of his work and of his individuality and it is only when one comes in close contact with the work of the University that one realises the stupendous burden which he bore for so many years. His work and labours on its behalf were the work and labours of one who brought to his task an exceptional zeal for the spread of education, an increasing love for the cause for which he laboured and an unquenchable thirst for the extension of the bounds of knowledge in all its branches. Sir William Jones, the founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, whose President Sir Asutosh was for many years, described the objects of that Society in these words :

> "The bounds of its investigation will be the
> "geographical limits of Asia, and within these
> "limits its enquiries will be extended to
> "whatever is performed by man or produced by
> "nature."

In one address which Sir Asutosh delivered to that Society I find him quoting these words of Sir William Jones and I think they typify his ideals for this University as a teaching institution that it should be a great centre for the spread of knowledge in all its branches and that within its walls it should be possible for students from all parts of India or of the civilised world to pursue their studies and investigations into every branch of knowledge known to man concerning things performed by man or produced by nature. His was a great ideal and we owe it to his memory that this University should never fall short of the high aims and aspirations which he put before it. The University are raising a fund to perpetuate his memory and if the fund is adequate it is hoped to endow one or more Chairs in connection with the Post-Graduate Department which will be named after him. The fund is still open and I can only hope that the response of the Province will be worthy of the great educationalist to whom this University owes so much.

This reference to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee naturally brings me to a subject upon which I should like to address you for a few minutes this afternoon, I mean the Post-Graduate Department of the University with whose foundation Sir Asutosh was so intimately connected. I need hardly remind you that the Post-Graduate Department as it exists to-day was constituted largely in accordance with the recommendations of a Committee appointed by the Government of India in 1916 to consider the question of Post-Graduate Studies in the Calcutta University and its Constituent Colleges. As many of the appointments made in connection with the Department expire in May of this year and as an application is to be made to Government for a recurring grant to supplement the financial resources of the Department, a Committee was recently appointed by the Senate of the University to consider amongst other things, (*a*) whether any retrenchment was possible and in what directions, (*b*) whether the pay and conditions of employment and service of the members of the teaching staff are satisfactory and to make any specific recommendations for their improvement, (*c*) with regard to the. facilities given to members of the teaching staff for carrying on research work which was one of the objects with which the Post-Graduate Department in its present form was founded. The Committee has carried out an exhaustive enquiry in connection with its terms of reference and has in the course of its enquiries interviewed representatives from all the different Boards of Studies.

I do not desire on this occasion to anticipate the conclusions of the Committee or the recommendations which it may think fit to make but as the Post-Graduate Department has met with a great deal of criticism in the course of the last few years I do desire to say a few words to this Convocation with regard to the Department. I should say at the outset that there is no idea I am sure on the part of any one connected with the work of the University to complain of criticism or to burke enquiry. We welcome criticism so long as it is well informed and enquiry from time to time into the working of the Department is I am sure a very wholesome stimulus.

In the first place any one who approaches the matter impartially must I think conclude that such a department is necessary if the University is to retain its place amongst the Universities of India and to remain something more than an examining University and in this connection I venture to quote a reference to our Post-Graduate Department contained in the address delivered to the Allahabad University by its Vice-Chancellor Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganga Nath Jha so recently as the 22nd November, 1924, in which he says:

> "I shall endeavour, to the utmost of my power, to develop what may be called our Post-Graduate Studies. The term "Post-Graduate" need not lead anyone to the hope, or the fear, that we are going to reproduce the conditions obtaining in that department at Calcutta. That, I am sorry to admit is beyond us. We have had no Rashbehari Ghosh or Taraknath Palit in our midst; nor have you in your present Vice-Chancellor the masterly and resourceful personality that the Calcutta University had in Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. But I must confess that that institution will serve as an ideal. It is mainly the Post-Graduate Department of the Calcutta University which with all its defects, has demonstrated, beyond doubt, that in almost all departments of knowledge, work of the highest kind can be carried on in India. I have had several occasions of judging the work that is being done there in the domain of Oriental Studies; and I am prepared to assert that most of the theses submitted by the researchers of the Calcutta University are superior to many of those that have emanated from persons trained elsewhere. I feel sure that anyone who even glances at the theses submitted for Indian doctorates and those submitted for foreign doctorates will be readily convinced that our scholars have produced more scholarly work. Our theses have, in many cases, come to be regarded as authorities on the subjects with which they deal."

These are the words of one who views our Post-Graduate Department from outside and who cannot therefore be charged with any bias. In the course of the investigations of the Committee we have been supplied with the work of investigation carried on by members of this department and the list is a creditable one and some valuable work has been produced. We must see to it that the quality of the work is well maintained as it is by this rather than by its quantity that it will be judged. We are all wishful that this University should hold a high position amongst the Universities of India and amongst those of the Civilised World and it is largely by the work that is produced by our research students and by our Post-Graduate Staff that it will be judged in these directions. Let us see to it then that the quality of our research work is of the highest and that we aim at an output in which quality takes the first and highest place.

In the second place I would say that whilst we are fully alive to the need for encouraging in the University practical as opposed to merely literary education no University worth the name can afford to neglect the latter or to ignore the vast materials that the ancient learning of India offers to the student and the scholar. The cultural side of education cannot be entirely neglected for the practical and I venture to say without fear of contradiction that it is the duty of an Indian University to encourage the study of the old humanities of Indian Culture and that an Indian University in its Post-Graduate Department cannot afford to ignore the study of Pali, of Sanskrit, of Arabic and Persian, of Indian Philosophy and Ancient Indian History and Culture and, above all, of the vernaculars of India. There is a vast storehouse of material in the old manuscripts and ancient monuments of India that requires to be unlocked by the keys of knowledge. The ancient archives of this land require the work of the scholar and the student for their examination and decipherment and I am glad to say that some of our Post-Graduate teachers are devoting such leisure as the work of their departments allows them to the furtherance of this task.

And may I in connection with practical as opposed to literary education make an appeal on behalf of the Post-Graduate Department of Science to the generosity of the Province. Money is badly needed for the practical work of the Department notably in connection with Physical and Applied

Chemistry ; in connection with the first I am told that a sum of Rs. 30,000 is required to bring our equipment up to date and in connection with the latter a sum of Rs. 80,000. Amongst some of our needs are plant for experiments in liquid air and a wireless equipment, a foundry, plant for electrotechnology and various such like things. And money is badly needed for the increase and development of the Library of the University College of Science.

It will be of interest to those who are advocates of practical training and who may be inclined to assist the University in supplying the needs of which I have spoken to know that of the students in Physics 90 per cent. have obtained remunerative employment and that if we were in a position to open a department in Applied Physics we are told that openings could be found for all students in such a department for some years to come and that the trade and industry of this country would be materially benefited.

If there are amongst us to-day or outside these walls generous donors who are prepared to help us we shall be glad to satisfy them as to the nature of our wants and as to the benefits which would accrue from their supply. And after all it is to the munificence of private donors rather than to Government that a University naturally turns to supplement its resources. It is to such sources that the Great Universities of the West owe their existence and their means of development and we too in India if progress is to be made must look to them. Such donors have not been lacking in the past in the annals of this University and I feel sure that in the future men will come forward to rival the great benefactions which we owe to Sir Rashbehary Ghose and to Sir Taraknath Palit.

A University is rightly jealous of its independence and needs for its development the air of freedom and not the trammels of official control and although I think we may legitimately look to Government for some help towards our Post-Graduate Department at the present time for the consolidation of our work and for the improvement of the position of our teachers it is to the sources which I have indicated that I would have the University look for a further extension and development of its work.

One further reference to the Post-Graduate Department and I will pass on and it is this that I am satisfied that as in the past so now the University and the Colleges must work hand in hand and that the Post-Graduate Department where possible must look to the Colleges for the provision of its teachers. In the past the remarkable knowledge which Sir Asutosh Mookerjee possessed of the qualifications of those employed in the Colleges was available when vacancies occurred and I am glad to say that the Committee now sitting will suggest a method by which such information may in the future be available to the University.

At the present time a not inconsiderable portion of the work of the Post-Graduate Department is actually and literally undergraduate work or is work that should be done in the undergraduate courses of the University and I think the aim of the Post-Graduate Department should be to so arrange its programme that in the years to come the actual undergraduate work which it now does should be undertaken by the colleges supplemented and aided by the work of some of the teachers of the Post-Graduate Department. And I am not without hope that if a three years' honours course can be arranged for the B.A. degree, further work now done by the department may be undertaken by the colleges with the aid of the department. If these things were possible the department would then become a Post-Graduate Department in a truer sense with a few advanced students studying under the guidance of Professors of different subjects freed from the superabundance of lectures which some of our Post-Graduate students now attend.

I am not unaware that I am treading on thorny and controversial ground in raising these questions but I am satisfied that they must be raised and faced if the improvement of the standards of University teaching which we all desire are to be attained. We must not be content merely to stereotype the present position of the Post-Graduate Department but we must I feel sure look forward to some such changes as I have indicated and we cannot be content to divorce from the affiliated colleges of the University all the higher teaching of the University.

The colleges are handicapped by lack of funds and in some cases by lack of accommodation for the carrying out of some of the work of which I have spoken and it will be the contribution of the University to aid it from its Post-Graduate Department with qualified men for undertaking the work which I have indicated.

I come next for a few moments to the other end of the scale, namely, to the Matriculation Regulations which are in course of consideration by the University and by Government. The lowering of the Matriculation age to 15 which has recently been effected, not I understand without some heart-searching of individual educationalists, is I believe generally welcomed as a necessity in the present state of affairs but I do hope that it may be possible to bring about some raising of the Matriculation standard which I think would be generally welcomed by educationalists in the Province. There is I think no doubt that the lowering of the Matriculation age to 15 years marks an advance so far as the education of girls and young women is concerned and I am told that it will lead to a spread of education in this direction.

The University some two years ago addressed Government on another matter namely the introduction of Vernacular Teaching in the schools and this is still a subject of discussion between Government and the University. Some such change was, as you know, advocated by the University Commission and was universally approved by a Conference of Head Masters of the Schools which was held under the auspices of the University. I hope it may be possible to bring about this much needed reform in the next few months or at any rate to make some advance towards that end. I am sure that it would tend to educational progress and improvement and I hope that our Mahomedan friends, some of whom are doubtful of the wisdom of the step, will realise that if such a change can be introduced the authorities of the University will so far as lies in their power see that Muslim students are not the sufferers and that where special arrangements are necessary to meet Mohamedan needs these considerations will be kept in mind before any change is introduced.

During the last year the following gentlemen delivered courses of Readership Lectures for the benefit of advanced students :—

Mr. R. Swami Aiyer, B.A., on "the Philology of the Dravidian Languages."

Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., on "Harsha," and Mr. S. C. Ghosh, on "Railway Economics".

And in order to promote a desire for original investigation and research among the advanced students of the University and members of the outside public interested in education and culture, the following University Extension Lectures were delivered by eminent scholars on their special subjects :—

By Mr. W. G. Raffé, A.R.C.A., F.L.B.D., F.R.S.A., on

Art in Commerce and Industry,
What is Art?
The Psychology of Art.
Art and Mathematics.
Art, Religion and Nature.
Art and the Future.

By Prof. E. H. Solomon, M.A. (Cantab.) on the 'Protection of Indian Steel' and by Prof. S. G. Panandikar, Ph.D., on the "Wealth and Welfare of the Bengal Delta."

The University Press has again done admirable work under difficult conditions and it has worked at high pressure throughout the year and at times it has had literally to work night and day with double shifts.

The following books and selections have been printed and published by the Press in the past year:

(1) The Development of International Law in the Twentieth Century, by Prof. J. W. Garner.

(2) Comparative Religion by Prof. A. A. Macdonell, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D.

(3) Asoka by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D.

(4) Manu Smriti, Vol. IV, Part I, translated with notes by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Litt.

(5) Adwaita Philosophy by Pandit Kokileswar Sastri, M.A.

(6) Khanda Khadyakam edited by Pandit Babuya Misra, Jyotishacharyya.

(7) Philosophical Currents, Vol. III, translated from the original German by Dr. S. K. Maitra, M.A., Ph.D.

(8) Gopichandrer Gan, edited by Rai Bahadur D. C. Sen, Basantaranjan Ray and Bisseswar Bhattacharyya.

(9) Asamiya Sahityer Chaneki (Typical Selections from the Assamese Literature), Vol. II (Vaisnava Period), Part II.

(10) Ditto ditto ,, III

(11) Ditto ditto ,, IV

These last three works are a continuation of the scheme for a Comparative Study of Indian Vernaculars which were referred to as in the Press by the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in his Convocation Address delivered on the 24th March, 1923.

(12) Protection for Indian Steel by Mr. E. H. Solomon, M.A.

(13) Wages and Profit Sharing by Mr. R. N. Gilchrist, M. A.

(14) Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XI.

(15) Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. XIV, Part IV, Vol. XV, Parts I and II.

(16) Proceedings of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, Vol. VIII, Part IV, Vol. IX, Part I.

(17) Journal of the Chemical Society, Vol. I, Issue No. I.

This is a very creditable record and the output would have been greater had the Press been accorded further facilities. Another Linotype Machine is urgently needed which will cost a sum of Rs. 30,000 and Rs. 25,000 for further Machinery is also needed in connection with the Press. At the present time many books are delayed in publication which is disappointing to the authors and the delay in publication at times makes the books out of date when they are eventually published. The Press is, I am told, a paying concern and were it possible to incur the expenditure I have mentioned it would probably repay itself in a short period.

Shortly after I became Vice-Chancellor I was presented with a complete set of the publications of the Press; they cover a great number of subjects and some really excellent work has been produced which probably otherwise would not have seen the light of day. I only wish the publications were more widely known both in India and elsewhere throughout the world.

In conclusion I should like to say a few words to those who have just been admitted to degrees.

You have finished your University course and you are about to embark on varying careers for which it has been the object of your studies to prepare you both from the point of knowledge and of character. It lies with you to mould your own destinies. Some of you will meet with success and some of you will make mistakes and you will doubtless many of you meet with disappointments and see the shattering of ideals which you have formed during School and College days but do not be unduly elated by success or unduly depressed by temporary failure, the first should only stimulate you to further effort and the latter is probably only a passing phase and mistakes can always be redeemed and I should like in this connection to quote to you some words from a poem of Edward Fitzgerald:

"For like a child, sent with a fluttering light
To feel his way along a gusty night
Man walks the world; again and yet again
The lamp shall be by fits of passion slain
But shall not He who sent him from the door
Relight the lamp once more and yet once more."

And, in conclusion, I would like to quote to you some words from your own great poet, Rabindranath Tagore, which you may well choose as the motto of your lives :

> " This is my prayer to thee my lord—
> Strike, strike at the root of penury in my heart
> Give me the strength lightly to bear my joys and sorrows
> Give me the strength to make my love fruitful in service
> Give me the strength never to disown the poor or bend
> My knees before insolent might
> Give me the strength to raise my mind high above daily trifles
> And give me the strength to surrender my strength to thy will
> with love. "

MY PRAYER

Grant me the gift of dreamless sleep,
That I may find oblivion
From all the petty cares of day.
Or, if I dream, give me the sense
Of oneness with my Beloved ;
That I may walk with him alone
In lillied fields of harmony ;
That I may see his face, and touch
His hand, and know again the joy
That once was mine, so long ago.
Then dreams were sweet, and I would pray
Never to wake to emptiness,
Nor face the day whose light of sun
Banished the glory of such dreams !

LILY STRICKLAND ANDERSON

SOME CURRENCY LESSONS OF THE WAR

IV

Money is a pre-historic institution. Long before precious metals were selected as monetary units, commodity moneys were used by all people to overcome the disadvantages of barter and facilitate exchanges of commodities. Cattle, dried fish, furs, skins, tobacco, squares of pressed tea, wampum, glass, salt cubes, slaves, gold dust, fish hooks, axes, clothing, baked clay, olive oil, powder and shot, sugar, wax, almonds, cocoanuts, cowrie shells, eggs, wheat, maize, and whisky served as money to facilitate exchanges.[1] The development of international trade led to the transition from commodity money to metallic money. Originally gold and copper and later silver were selected as the standard money. But out of these metals gold finally emerged as the most convenient medium of exchange. To supplement the standard coins of gold, token coins of copper, bronze, nickel, and silver were used. During the several processes of the evolution of money many changes have happened. Credit money is devised to aid, supplement and ultimately dispense with the use of metallic money. We have become familiar with such phenomena as bank rates, gold reserves, bank notes and other negotiable instruments of credit which our forefathers hardly dreamt of. The scientific economists realised that the monetary system, which on its being composed of gold was designated as the gold standard, was changing in its value. The value of both

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[1] The inferior commodity money used in India and the Indian Seas were as follows:

Place.	Area.	Material of money.
Calcutta	Bengal	Cowrie Shells.
Cambay	Malabar Coast	Almonds from Persia.
Goa	„	Tin (cast coins).
—	Guzerat	Persian almonds.

See A. Del Mar, "The History of Money."

goods and gold was moving but only at different velocities. The slow speed at which the value of gold was changing led the common people to think that gold was stationary in value and that it was the value of all other commodities that was changing. But before the system could hardly be perfected and before the processes of the gold standard could be consolidated as an international monetary standard, it broke down during the eventful years of 1914 to 1924. A new species of paper money nicknamed "phantom war money" was created to perform money's work.

All the dry and disgusting details concerning the historical development of money can hardly find a place within the limits of this article. But one thing that needs emphasis is that the monetary system has not been perfected even after the lapse of so many centuries after its first invention by man. Though in the early stages of society metallic money acted as a spur to invention still the ordinary people have failed to realise that it is not a vital essential of production and industry. As Prof. Gustav Cassel observes " it is a power like electricity, magnetism or gravity "[1] but the materials necessary for production should be in existence already. Andrew Carnegie wrote several years ago that " a partnership of three is required in the modern industrial world. The first of these, not in importance but in time is capital. From it comes the first breath of life into matter previously inert. The second partner is business ability. Its duty is to provide all instruments of production. The third partner is skilled labour. The wheels of industry cannot run unless skilled labour starts them. Labour, capital and ability are a three-legged stool."[2]

The monetary system is a pure abstraction and it is founded not on a gold basis but on the quantity of necessaries produced in a society. This does not mean that money could be dispensed with but the character of the banks and the financial system might change in the coming future. The banks might no longer be required to handle the rights to goods, *i.e.*, money but they might become the recorders of production and consumption going on in the society and some tickets of the cheapest possible material might be selected as the means of payment. That such a system would ultimately be brought about is clear to every rational man who understands the real sanction, source and function of money in our modern "pecuniary society."

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[1] " Theoretische Societeckonomie," quoted in the Economic Journal.

[2] Andrew Carnegie, "The Problems of To-day," p. 66,

The present monetary system is liable to currency inflation and has no relationship with the volume of goods produced on the other side. Such a thing as this makes possible the financing of a great war. If the currency were to expand only with the increase of production of commodities, its value would remain stable. No wonder that humanity tired of the dreadful consequences of the war would ultimately be forced to have recourse to this ideal monetary system. That the present currency mechanism would ultimately be scrapped over is a dead certainty. The maintenance of this currency system in good order requires the constant alteration of the discount rates, thus levying a fine on domestic trade and commerce. A mere draining away of *£2m.* worth of gold from the London money market used to compell the Bank of England to raise the bank rate by 1 per cent. A mere rise of 1 per cent. in the bank rate meant a heavy loss to the industrialists.[1] The present monetary system serves the interests of the wealthy and powerful but the moderately fortunate and particularly the breadwinners do not receive in exchange for their endeavour their full and just compensation. The present monetary system confirms the truth of the Biblical saying "unto him that hath shall be given, but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath." The evils of trade depression are considered as chiefly due to the monetary system and its failure to apply enough money in *effective demand* for goods that are being produced. All writers from Mr. J. A. Holson to Mr. H. Abbati, who emphasize on the unjust and inequitable distribution of income in the modern industrial society, point out that money stops production. Those richer classes which possess money fail to utilise it and the poorer people by virtue of their low earnings are unable to consume the goods manufactured by the entrepreneurs. According to these advocates, the present financial system acts as "a real brake on the wheels of industry and the system of production, instead of helping it, as many of the bankers claim it to have accomplished." [1]

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[1] A. Kitson says "every advance in the bank rate of 1 per cent. costs British borrowers somewhere between £50,000 to £100,000, per week." See his "Trade Fallacies," pp. 80, *et seq.*

Many of the present-day economists emphasize on this aspect of trade depression, unemployment, and misemployment and look towards bank control as the ultimate remedy for these evils. Others including the British Government have gone to the length of creating credits for the foreigners to consume the manufactured goods of British industrialists.[2] This is not the proper occasion to expose the fallacy underlying the grant of credits to foreigners to solve the trade depression in one country. But of late the tendency is to view the several economic changes through the monetary prism alone. Money is considered as the unique cause of all these changes. Sir Archibald Alison was the first writer to overemphasize the importance of money and his bland remark that "the fall of the Roman Empire was due to the deficiency of the precious metals" needs no severe condemnation at the present time. Several other writers have begun to think purely in terms of money. Mr. R. G. Hawtrey attributes the trade cycle to monetary causes. Arthur Kitson, Major Douglas, H. B. Hastings and Mr. Martin lay undue stress on the monetary factor leading to trade depressions. In their opinion the monetary flaw is *the* only cause for economic instability. Several of the contemporary social and economic problems would appear in a new light if the characteristic part that money plays is understood. The recent Unemployment Committee of the United Kingdom remarks that "the effects of a depreciating currency with its consequent revolution of social organisation, decline of credit abroad and lowered standard of life cease to be a currency question, pure and simple, but form part of the world's prospective capacity to absorb British goods." [1] It also argues that for the solution of the unemployment problem in England no undervaluation of currencies in any big trading country like France should be allowed to exist.[2]

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[1] Mr. A. Kitson says "the gold standard is at once the life and death of trade." See his "Fradulent Standard."

[2] *Vide* the Trade Facilities Act of the United Kingdom, 1921-24.

It is as a warning against the "evils of exclusive thinking in terms of money alone" and confounding "money for wealth" that a few gifted economists like Mill, Jevons, and Mitchell have raised their voice in protest. According to Mill "money is only a matter of convenience. There cannot be intrinsically a more insignificant thing than money in the economy of society......." At best it is only "a great wheel by means of which every individual in society has his subsistence, convenience and amusements regularly distributed to him in their proper proportions."[3] Jevons gives no place for money among the fundamentals of economic theory. He only treated it as one "of the higher complications of the subject." These writers endeavoured to correct the mistaken popular belief that "a nation gains everything by holding more money than other nations." Money is only a symbol for wealth and it is never to be identified with wealth itself. This is what the mercantilists have striven for, mainly to increase their wealth by the "materialising" of the symbol.[4] Although their criticism, that money is only the shadow cast by wealth and not the real substance itself, is a justifiable one, they have undervalued the importance of money in the modern days of industrial economy. Money plays an important part in aiding the methods of production, the movement of capital, the efficiency of labour, and the other economic conditions of society.

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[1] *Vide* "Is Unemployment Inevitable," p. 56.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 138-141.

[3] See W. C. Mitchell, "The Rationality of Economic Activity," Journal of Political Economy, 1910, Vol. XVIII, pp. 97 and 197.

[4] It is not the Statesman alone that erred in this direction. Bodin, Locke, Law, Justi, and Steuart have held a similar opinion.

It is as a protest and a reaction against the undervaluing of the utility of money that Dr. Marshall says that "a knowledge of money forms the groundwork of modern business life. Money is the only convenient and exact measure of the strength of human motives." He doubts if there would be any science of economics at all without money. H. G. Wells says, "our civilisation is a cash and credit system dependent on men's confidence in the value of money."

A correct perspective and right understanding of money can be realised only by a keen analysis of the concept of money. Money is an intangible conception denoting the value of goods. Currency is the tangible unit or the 'ticket' or "order" or "token" or the "counter" in which it is expressed. Money really means general purchasing power and does not mean the precious metals of which it is composed. All people take money because of its virtue of exchanging itself for other necessities that may be required. It is true that from the individual point of view more money might be considered as an evidence of his wealth. But from the national point of view, no nation is rich or gains anything if it holds more money. Other things being equal, the economic prosperity of a nation depends on the productive efficiency of its labourers working successfully on the raw materials afforded by nature.

Currency, which is the visible body of the intangible conception of money, ought not to influence the value of money. This is the supreme test of the efficiency of the currency mechanism. Any instability in the value of money leads to unpleasant consequences on business life. To be precise "unemployment, the precarious life of the workers, the disappointment of expectation, the sudden loss of savings, the excessive windfalls to individuals, the speculator and the profiteer"[1]—all proceed in a large measure from the instability in the value of the monetary standard.

Currency not only acts as a medium of exchange but sometimes as a store of value, when it is stored up for future use it should not lose its value as a result of the action of extraneous influences. Currency is not amassed for its own sake but only for the purpose of providing oneself with the necessary supplies of life. This is the real meaning of the statement that "currency has no final consumer and like the battledore and the shuttlecock passes backwards and forwards."[2] This is never understood by the illiterate people who tend to retard the rapidity of circulation of currency by hoarding it. This retarded rapidity of circulation has to be deplored as leading to a loss of wealth.

The recent war has freed money and currency of its golden fetters. Unsecured paper circulates freely in spite of the absence of adequate gold reserves. Prior to the war, the banking system always attempted to make paper currency "as good as gold" itself. But the state has practically put the gold reserves out of function by its laws or decrees prohibiting the exchange of gold for bank notes and levied embargoes on gold exportation out of the country. The rapid development and successful working of the cheque system opened the eyes of all keen observers as to the real position that a gold reserve has to occupy in the modern society. The gold reserve acts as a guarantee fund ensuring the capacity of the bank to fulfil its obligations when called upon to pay a balance. As Professor Taylor puts it "money is fulfilling just the same function now as it did on its first invention."[3]

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[1] See J. M. Keynes, "Preface to the Tract on Monetary Reform."

[2] *Vide* H. Lowenfeld, "Money in Fetters". p. 18.

[3] Taylor says, "Credit documents have been elaborated into the common medium exchange which gold retains its original quality that which imparted to it the primitive provisional attribute of circulation, namely, the storing of value."—*See* his "Credit System," p. 294.

The evolutional development of the Clearing House clearly separates the functions of credit and money. Metallic money is to act as a store of value and the duty of exchanging commodities is to be thrust on the shoulders of credit. But this distinction gets blurred during the periods of a crisis. All functions, *viz.*, store of value and medium of exchange, devolve on metallic money. The peaceful substitution of credit for metallic money becomes an impossible task during such times of disturbed confidence. Theoretically speaking under sound banking conditions aided by an efficient Clearing House mechanism, credit is capable of indefinite expansion. Some of the shrewd economists who realise the infinite possibilities underlying the creation of credit have gone to the extreme length of declaring that "in a perfected society where human nature is less liable to errors of judgment, metallic money can literally be dispensed with." H. D. MacLeod says that "the Clearing House system can go on for an indefinite length of time without a single coin being required. The wider the net that the banks spread the greater the number of people that are included within this net, the more possible is it to equate all payments in and out of the banks." Mill dreams of the possibility of the entire nation keeping accounts with one bank only and "in such an ideal instance there would be no money anywhere but in the hands of the bankers who might then safely part with all of it by selling it as bullion or lending it to be sent out of the country in exchange for goods or foreign securities. But there would be no money in possession or ultimately perhaps even in existence money would be offered and commodities bought with it just as at present. People would continue to reckon their income and their capital in money and to make their usual purchases with orders for the receipt of a thing which would literally have ceased to exist."

It is true that credit is being extended into different fields and the principle of "set-off" on which it is based can extend its use on a large scale but metallic money is still necessary in matters of retail trade and payment of wages. The generality of people have not understood money as mere purchasing power. They still conceive money in the sense of metallic money. The average man with his partial knowledge and superstitious belief is a metallist. He is unable to realise that a metallic basis is not required for currency. This is the *pons asinorium* of money and it is the theorists alone that understand this conception. In the words of Herr Knapp "the natural man is a metallist; the theorist is forced to become a nominalist."

The recent war has performed another significant service in reminding the people of the real function that gold has to perform. "The sacrosanct theory of the gold covering" on which the modern banking business depends is purely a fallacy. Unsecured paper can serve as money or possess purchasing power. No financial panic has resulted when the gold in the Central Banks was insignificant against the mountain of credit and this unsecured paper circulated freely in France, Italy, Romania, Czecho-Slovakia, and England. Although their paper was inconvertible, yet they had as ready a market on the Stock Exchanges, as were those of America and Switzerland which could be converted into gold. The use of paper money has almost become an economic habit with the people of the European countries and Emile Burns was no doubt justified in forecasting that "if Bradburys are ever withdrawn it is very probable that the Bank of England notes of similar values will take their place."[1]

Gold is not only not used in the channels of internal trade but it is not even sent out of the country. The stock of gold is so small that it would be futile in attempting to correct the huge balance of payments with it. Besides this there has been an appreciable increase in the cost of insuring and transporting gold out of the country.[2] Goods alone are exported and the fundamental but oft-neglected truth that "exports pay for imports" is once more brought to the forefront. Even before the war, gold was only sent out of the country as a last resort to settle the balance of indebtedness. Bartering of goods was the method followed but it was not the same old primitive barter. The barter of modern international trade consists in changing goods for the money of account. Hence Prof. Stephenson observes "gold is no longer the sound and stable basis of international monetary transactions which it was before the war." The majesty of gold is gone and although the man in the street might fail to realise this, the theorists do not like the unregulated gold standard.[1] Even gold-producing countries have virtually abandoned the gold standard[2] and their internal money is mostly paper money. Exchange is maintained with England by amassing bank reserves in the Dominions and the mother country. Even Egypt, the classical example of a gold standard country with gold currency, no longer possesses gold currency at present.[3]

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[1] See Emile Burns, "Modern Finance," p. 55.

[2] Prof. J. Stephenson, "Principles of usiness Economics,'

War time experience tells us that it is not only not necessary that currency should be composed of metallic coins but there is a distinct disadvantage attached to such a currency composed of metallic substance, be it gold or silver. Even standard metallic coins tend to develop two values; one the fluctuating metallic or intrinsic value and secondly, the stable nominal value which the laws of the various countries have given to them. Like token coins, they tend to develop two values. Before the war, the States always took care to regulate the token coins according to well-understood laws, so as not to destroy their nominal values by overissue, or by neglecting to make satisfactory arrangements for converting them into standard coins.. As the intrinsic value of the metals begins to rise higher and higher a rise in the nominal value of these coins had to be brought about by the action of the state to avoid any loss by the under-valuation of its currency or it had to withdraw the coins altogether from circulation and abstain from minting fresh coins.[1] It was not the standard coins alone that were subject to the experience but as the melting value of the minor or silver token coins in France, Italy and some of the gold standard countries become higher than their nominal exchange value as money, they also have disappeared from circulation. Where the depreciation was greatest as in the case of Russia, Austria and Germany even nickel coins whose value was quite insignificant in the pre-war days, disappeared from circulation.

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[1] Prof. J. M. Keynes says that "it is unwise for England to return to the gold standard and the United States of America is strictly speaking on a dollar standard making elaborate arrangements to secure the conformity of the value of gold to that of the dollar." See his "Tract on Monetary Reform."

[2] This is what the Economist says : "the interests of the Gold-producers plainly lie in the earliest possible restoration of the gold standard throughout the world. But the fact remains that the idea of an independent return to the gold standard is not so much as mentioned in Australia, while in South Africa it found small support and was deliberately rejected in 1920." It has recently been announced that South Africa would resume the gold-standard in July, 1925.

[3] Before the war, Egypt was the only gold standard country with gold currency in actual circulation and no attempts were made to economise it by the use of paper money or of bank deposits. See J. M. Keynes, "Indian Currency and Finance."

If we take the concrete example of the Indian Silver Rupee one would be able to understand this peculiar phenomenon. Owing to a rise in the price of silver the Rupee could not be valued at 1*s*. 4*d*. rate and the Government had to raise the exchange value of the Rupee to 2*s*. (gold) causing much hindrance to trade. How the imports flourished under the stimulating regime of a high exchange and how the Indian labour market was upset as a result of the contraction of exports are too well-known to need any mention here. The same thing happened to the Swedish gold coins during the war. Its purchasing power rose above its melting value with the consequence that more gold began to flow into Sweden and the State aad to prohibit importation of gold at the stage. The action of the Swedish Government can be justified on the ground that if it had not prohibited the importation of gold, excessive exports out of the country would have been the result. The country would soon have been deprived of the very necessities of life. The basis of legal tender money had to be altered thus breaking the sanctity of an established contract between the State and the people and cause serious inconvenience to the daily life of the people. Such was the experience of the neutral countries. While the belligerent countries suspended the gold standard and the actual cash payments in gold, as a result of the inflation of credit, it was a mere mockery of fate that the same thing should have befallen to the neutral countries. They had to pass similar measures bringing about legal or *de facto* suspension of cash payments in gold.

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[1] This was the situation which led Samuel Montagu and Company the well-known bullionists of the L. M. Market to write that "the doom of silver as the material for the subsidiary coinage in many countries is imminent; as in Germany and France. The U. S. A. and Canada instead of demonetising silver were reducing the quantity of silver in the coins." Weekly Report, 22nd January, 1920. This prophecy proved to be a correct one and the price of silver fell during the course of a few weeks in April, 1920 chiefly because a large quantity of melted silver coins became available in Europe.

But the experience of the neutral countries is a curious thing. Firstly, the exportation of gold was prohibited by all the neutral countries to prevent the belligerent countries like England, France and other countries from mobilising their short-term credits and selling them in their markets. This was only for a while and as soon as enough gold came in as payment for the goods sent to the belligerent countries cash payments were resumed as in Sweden in 1915. But unfortunately their superfluity of gold tended to the depreciation of currency. Hence the Swedish government had to prohibit the importation of gold. The other neutral countries like Spain had to impose difficulties in the way of accepting gold at the Central note-issuing banks. Practically speaking these measures amounted to a stopping of the free mintage of gold. All this has been due to the fact that the standard of value rose above the gold equivalent. If one studies the currency history of Austria and Russia a similar situation reminding the student of the very same lessons can be seen in the currency conditions of the seventies of the last century. Their paper currency remains stationary in value while metallic currency made of silver was fast depreciating. Fixity of value between the various components of the currency is the primary requisite of a good monetary system and during the war period this could not be successfully maintained by any monetary standard.

All the above illustrations go to prove the following statements: (1) The currency unit need not possess any metallic substance in it to yield "circulatory satisfaction!" To quote Prof. Knapp "the soul of currency is not the material of the pieces but in the ordinances which regulate their use." (2) Any commodity can circulate as money, as long as the state confers value on it and accepts it in payment of dues or taxes. As Knapp would say "money is a creature of law, it is only a chartal means of payment." Mr. Dibble observing the free circulation of the "phantom war money" in payment of wages as in Central or Eastern Europe says that "legal regulation relying on confidence in appearance can it appears be carried to extreme length never before deemed possible."[1] (3) Money would possess stable value provided it is regulated by the state on intelligent lines. In the language of Prof. Knapp "the monetary system is like the army. It is solely a question of administrative phenomenon. Just as an army can be composed of breech-loaders to make it a better match for the enemy so also the state may endow a community with the best means of payment. The lytric control of currency aims to give a fixed price to a certain metal by special hylodromic measures and the unconscious aim of this lytric policy is to facilitate the means of payment between the different trading counries." (4) The capital locked-up in metallic currency is nothing but a tax on the productive resources of the community. It is true as James Wilson writes that "the time and labour which are saved by the interposition of coin as compared with a system of barter form an ample remuneration for the portion of capital withdrawn from productive resources to act as a single circulator of commodities by rendering the remainder of the capital of the country so much the more productive."[1] But metallic money can become worse than useless. Good money is required for circulating in society but the oft-conceived notion that metallic money is good money is absolutely incorrect.

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[1] G. B. Dibble, "The Psychological Theory of Value," p. 57.

It is true that Kant and other earlier writers could realise these ideas. But there was no explicit statement of these points in such a lucid manner as Knapp has done. War-time monetary experience clearly proves the truth of Knapp's assertions. All the modern currency reformers from Cassel downwards to Hawtrey and Keynes have been only elaborating each in his own individual way this fundamental theory. Prof. Cassel realises that the value of gold can be stabilised by close co-operation between the government of the United States of America and Great Britain. This would give a high degree of stability to the general level of gold prices and would make possible the early restoration of the Gold standard. Mr. Hawtrey's instance of "credit without money and operated by a bank" is only a logical development of Knapp's idea. The monetary experts assembled at the Genoa Conference have recommended the stabilisation of Central European countries' currencies at their present level of values and fixed exchanges can result out of such a step. World's commerce and production can only recover under the assurance of a stable monetary standard for "money is important for exchanging goods as language for the exchange of ideas and thought."[2]

This conscious consistent guidance of currency advocated by the modern currency reformers has been first advocated by Knapp in the following language. "To the chartalist, the ordering of the currency is a branch of the administration of the state. He demands first a conscious consistent guidance in place of piece meal measures suggested by the heads of the Mints and the Central Banks, with good practical instincts but without any grasp of theory. The lytric administration must be delivered of this empiricism; after knowing its own aims it must proceed to clearly conscious action entrusting the direction of it expressly *de jure* to the office which has *de facto* dealt with these matters in the past."[1]

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[1] James Wilson, "Capital, Currency and Banking, p. 15.

[2] Devenport "Economics of Enterprise"—Chapters II and III,

Before the recent war there was more production of goods and less of currency with the necessary consequence that all producers denounced the monetary system. During the war there was more of currency and less of production of goods. A monetary system like the recent unregulated gold standard that we had before the war was open to both these defects. A rational monetary standard equipped with iron, leather, wood or paper currency would no doubt possess all the necessary functions of a medium of exchange. The amount of this money must exactly correspond with the goods produced by the entrepreneurs of the society. The production of this money has to be so done by the State that the unit of money itself does not change its value causing uncertainty and confusion in the business and trading circles of society.

(*To be continued*)

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

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[1] See Prof. G. Knapp, "State Theory of Money," p. 301.

THE HINDU IDEA OF FOUR-DIMENSIONALITY

(DIK-KÂLA)

The assertion, that *Dik* and *Kâla* or Space and Time are ultimately the one and the same principle, might startle some to open their eyes a little too wide, and induce others to indulge in a derisive smile, as if to say that such raving is beneath their notice. But when we turn our attention towards the theory of Relativity, which is making such a noise in the scientific as well as the philosophic sky of the Western world, we find that this theory also is striving to arrive at almost a similar conclusion in the shape of Minkowski's "absolute world" showing Time and Space in a "shadowy perspectivity." Dr. Eriksen again has, by a synthetic process, made strenuous efforts in establishing a coherence or continuity between the phenomenal world and its origin by the help of psychology seen through the light of four-dimensionality, which assumes that time is the fourth dimension of space.

It is self-evident that for the purpose of knowledge or experience there must be a subject and an object, so much so that even "the Supreme experience called *Parâsamvit* is not a mere abstract objectless knowing (*Jnâna*)." (Garland of Letters, p. 90.) In another connection the same author has said "Though *Chit-Svarûpa* is not a knowledge of objects in the phenomenal sense, it is not, according to *Shaiva-Shâkta* views (I refer always to *Advaita Shaiva-darshana*), a mere abstract knowing (*Jnâna*) wholly devoid of content. It contains within itself the *Vimarsha-Shakti* which is the cause of phenomenal objects, then existing in the form of *Chit* (*Chidrûpinî*)." (*Shakti* and *Shâkta*, p. 126.) There is no doubt that in our ordinary experience we feel and perceive objective space and objective time as two distinct entities, as two "intuitional factors." But this feeling is induced by our senses, which we ought not to forget, depend for their efficiency on a common medium, *viz.*, the consciousness at the back, and so all our sensual appreciation is really due to change of condition brought on in our consciousness. Svâmî Vivekânanda has said,—"whatever we know we have to know in and through Him," *i.e.*, Consciousness whom *Vedânta* calls God. Metaphysically "though time and space must *correspond* to something real in the nature of things outside of our minds, yet neither can be *identical* in kind with anything extramental."

Still Space and Time, we shall see, may ultimately be traced to mere psychological phenomena arising out of objective presentation to, and subjective perception by, Consciousness regarding one and the same dynamic Reality; that is, we shall show that these intuitional factors owe their origin to the same change of condition in the ultimate Consciousness or *Chit.* It is true that space is conceived as dimensions of material bodies; but "dimensions are aspects of reality," causing the appearance of limitation in it, and not reality itself. We can realise space through the help of our external senses only as an objective presentation, but to realise time, which is a subjective and so psychical perception, we must have the use of our internal senses, so much so that for intellectually purifying empiric time we shall have to objectify it by substituting space for it in the shape of the dial of a clock. Dr. Eriksen says—"While the geometric purification of empiric space is possible without taking time into consideration, space cannot be dispensed with as a basis for the intellectual purification of time. If the subjective time-perception is to be corrected by objective time, the latter must be fixed and made measurable by means of space." (p. 129.) Psychologically Dr. Eriksen thinks that "The child lives in the present revealing itself in sensual space. It is interested in the *things,* not in the time-relations between them. But the consciousness of time is thrust upon it, when it is obliged to *wait* for a desired object." (p. 43.)

We shall see later on that space and time play an unique part in case of transition of a sensation from motional to psychical sphere; since both the concepts of space and time owe their origin to the same movement of *Chit* or Consciousness, the ultimate Reality. The *Shaiva-Shákta* doctrine also asserts the same thing and says that both manifested simultaneously in the course of the evolution of *Chit* or Consciousness in the form of *Tattvas*, which are defined as follows:

> " *Tatatvât Santatatvâchcha Tattvânîti tato viduh*
> *Tatatvancha deshato vyáptih Santatatvanchakâlatah* "

They are called *Tattvas* because they have got Tata-ness as well as Santata-ness. Now Tata-ness is extension or diffusion objectively perceived, *i.e.*, realised by motion itself so to say, and Santata-ness is the experience of continuity in that extension. subjectively perceived against the background of Tata-ness by a simultaneous presence as succession of phases regarding that extension, *i.e.*, as a transition from motion to rest. Dr. Eriksen considers this dynamic rest in motion "as a negative filling of space in opposition to the positive filling of it, represented by the moving bodies," since this implies. "on the side of the 'psyche' an *inversion* of that relation to space which physical bodies realise by their *motion* in it" (p. Intro. xvii.). So that *Tatatva* serves the purpose of "absolute space of intellectual intuition" which is used "to realise the unity of the world as totality" (p. 143). Metaphysic contemplates that "succession implies change, and change implies continuity of changing states, and this implies a permanent background against which these changes are viewed and understood —something which changes and yet remains the same (something which *endures*)." (Stephen's Problems of Metaphysic, p. 67.) The two together, *viz.*, *Tatatva* and *Santatatva*, will go to signify dynamic continuity in a sphere of motion experienced as time-space in the psychic sphere, when influenced by *Mâyâ*; so that Tata-ness is the objective presentation in the motional sphere and Santata-ness appears as the subjective experience of a psychic noumenon to evolving *Chit* or Consciousness. According to Dr. Eriksen "Time cannot be apprehended in its true relation to space when it is considered apart from the subject and its psychic life." (p. 50). To be more plain, Tata-ness is apprehended as the "*Idam*" aspect and Santata-ness as the "*Aham*" aspect of *Chit*; but both in this light cause limitation to appear in the unlimited, *Tatatva* inheres in space, *i.e.*, the three lower dimensions and *Santatatva* in time forming the fourth-dimension or cause of limitation.

In the infinite calm state of *Brahman*, wherein all experience "rests in the Self," Itself being full, there manifests *Shakti* causing experience to go outwards, through polarisation taking place in the Supreme experience. Sir John Woodroffe says—"owing to this polarisation there is in lieu of the unitary experience a division in the knower, knowing, and known, *Mâtri*, *Mâna*, *Meya*, as it is called. Consciousness then identifies itself with the products of its own kinetic *Shakti*, that is with mind as the subject of experience and with matter as its object." (Garland of Letters, p. 105.) This manifestation of *Shakti* arises out of and in the body of *Shiva* from a *Bindu* (the *Parama Bindu*) and gradually extends out. Such extension, which is of *Shakti*, creates and defines space by motion, which is *Tatatva*; again, since *Shiva Tattva* ever identifies and associates with *Shakti Tattva*, It feels this *Tatatva* which causes induction of the intuition of space (*Tatatvancha deshato vyâptih*), and that owing to this extension being eternally continuous, it generates *Santatatva* or succession of experiences, in relation to the background of *Tatatva*, which causes induction of the intuition of succession of past, present and future, and so of time (*Santatatvancha kâlatah*). Both space and time are *in* this *Tatatva* and *Santatatva* respectively, *i.e.*, the former is *Vyâpya* and the latter *Vyâpaka*. *Tatatva* and *Santatatva*, while in pure diffusion—or *Suddhatattva*-state of

Consciousness, are mere abstract ideas, which ultimately become associated with concreteness by the agency of *Máyá Shakti* or what Dr. Eriksen calls "four-dimensional potency" (the cause of *Bhedabuddhi* or differentiation) and create Space and Time as conceptions of simultaneity of rest in the motional sphere. Hence this *Tattva* state of Consciousness is the common ground where the geneses of space and time meet, since they are generated simultaneously with the *Tattva* state through the Self-movement of *Chit* or Consciousness, and thus "the successive phases of potencies are explicated"; wherein according to Dr. Eriksen "time is the ruling dimension in relation to space" (p. 78), as in *Kálatattva.* In other words, Tata-ness and Santata-ness together represent the transcendental aspect of four-dimensionality; and so Dr. Eriksen, upon getting a glimpse of this transcendent aspect, feels that "the problems connected with space and time, the relations between them and the part they play in reality as a whole," must allow "psychology and epistemology to have a word to say as well, because space and time are factors with which in various forms they have to deal" (p. 1).

Similarly a *Tántrika* has expressed how the movements of *Shakti* create Time in the following terms:—

"*Kramanang padavikshepah kramodayastena kathyate dvedhá*
Āvaranang Gurupanktirdvayamidamamvápadámbujaprasarah"

Rendered by Sir John Woodroffe—"Movement is either *Pada-vikshepa* (step by step in defined direction) or *Kramodaya* (gradual expansion and unfolding in all direction) and is therefore said to be of two kinds, namely, the Shaktis who surround Her and the line of Gurus. These two are the movements of the lotus feet of the Mother" (*Káma-Kalá Vilása*). By *Pada-rikshepa* is meant the power of *Shiva-Shakti* to produce innumerable Shaktis, in the shape of countless millions of rays. The *Bhairava-Yâmala* says that out of these rays the Moon, the Sun and the Fire, *i.e.*, their rays are formed, and these go to illumine the nights, days and twilights respectively, whereby time is divided : therefore these three (Sun, Moon and Fire) are time. The *Shruti* says that *Mahâdeva* as the Lord of creation (*Prajâpati*) is the year. *Padavikshepa* is the motional aspect and so represents *Tatatva*, and *Kramodaya* is the psychical aspect and so represents *Santatatva*, and the combination of the two represents the *Tattva* state. The existence of this *Tattva* state, in connection with the motional as well as the psychical sphere, that is in the object-subject aspect is, according to Dr. Eriksen, the space-time aspect, which gives the idea of four-dimensionality.

From what has been stated above, it is clear that Consciousness while engaged in the act of evolution or manifestation, assumes the aspect of *Tatatva* which generates the psychological experience named Time, because this is the dominant dimension in relation to space in Its subjective aspect. Dr. Eriksen also says—"Time reaches deeper into the subject than space, and by reason of this subjectivity more of its domain may be called unconscious. But in the same degree as the subject is able to survey time (in memory, imagination and thought), it can only do so because it *lives* in a dimension of reality still higher than time-succession, and because the higher dimension implies the lower. It is evident that the aspect of reality by which the subject is able to survey time is the aspect revealing itself to it as the 'ego,' the unobjectifiable part of psychic life, the subjective limit of the reproducible spheres" (p. 48). Again he says—"It is true that the objectivation of time as a fourth-dimension—brought about by the subject transcending it—must result in the surveying of discrete successive moments in time as one coherent whole" (p. 49). But the Experience of *Parâsamvit* or Supreme Consciousness is "spaceless, timeless," *i.e., Kâla* (time) is a principle of limitation that veils the experience of *Parásamvit* as evolution proceeds, for the assumption of *Īshvara, Hiranyagarbha* and *Virât* states in the cosmic (*Samashti*) consciousness itself. There is no doubt that the above quoted conception of Dr. Eriksen may be in connection with the *Vyashti* (individual) state, which is, in the range of evolutions contemplated by the *Shaiva-Shâkta Āgamas,* far below the *Samashti* state of consciousness; since "creation proceeds from the generic to the specific." And we should remember here the Hermetic maxim "As above so below." (Shakti and Shâkta, p. 143.) The "Garland of Letters" says—"when *Laya* as a state of potential stresses passes into *Srishti* which is a system of kinetic stresses we have first the most generic condition of the latter namely *Sámánya Spanda,* that is general undifferentiated movement. It is the manifestation of the tendency of *Laya* to pass into *Srishti.* From the standpoint of Consciousness it is the first stage of 'Seeing' (*Īkshana*) that is cosmic ideation on the Part of *Īshvara.* In the individual it is the borderland between *Sushupti* and *Svapna,* the moment that *Sushupti* is breaking and *Svapna* is drawing to pass into *Jâgrat.* The inertia of the first has passed but the specialised movements of the second and third are not yet in evidence. It is a kind of massive undifferentiated state containing potentially all specialities" (p. 44). *Īshvara* as knower of all is *Sarvajna* and as knower of its varieties is *Sarvavit,* but is always associated with *Máyá,* which does not govern Him although, and so His knowledge does not bind Him. From this it may be concluded that the limitation denoted by Time is the first manifestation of *Máyá Shakti.*

Dr. Eriksen thinks that the objective time of natural science is something altogether different from the time of subjective psychological experience. We shall come to this point presently, but for the present our object is to say that time as the fourth dimension is studied in physics in abstraction from time in subjective experience. The said author further says—" In reality the essence of the problem of four-dimensionality is to be found in the relation of psychic life to the physical processes in nature" (p. 50). According to him, in passing from the world of physics to the subjective world of psychology, we shall find an essential change taking place in the relation between space and time, *viz.*, in the latter world time becomes dominant over space, notwithstanding in the physical world time is a prisoner of spatial motion. Similarly in the presentations to memory space is a servant of our psychic movement through time. According to him "Time is in the 'psyche' the dominant dimension, and its real superiority to the lower dimensions hidden in the world of physics appears in the fact that by means of imagination developed in connection with memory we can picture to ourselves a variety of possible movements to be undertaken by us in the physical world, and follow the 'plan' thus conceived in our real movements" (p. 51). Thus the *Shaiva* and the *Shákta Ágamas* count only Time as the *Kála Tattva* but do not recognise Space as such, because it is only an objective aspect whereas Time is subjective experience. Dr. Eriksen also says that " In reality, where time and space are inextricably interwoven (as in the *Ṭatatva-Santatatva* state) time may, however, be considered as the aspect by which the dynamic nature of reality is specially realised" (p. 121). " Our worldly experience is as it were an inverted reflexion of all this seen in the causal waters of *Máyá*." (Garland of Letters, p. 91.) In our ordinary experience we find, space dominates over time ; so much so that we read time by space on the dial of a clock. But in the world of psychology the relation is reversed, so that time dominates over space.

According to the principle of Relativity, which concerns more or less with the physical world, Time is the fourth dimension of Space ; but of course by time, the *Shaiva* and the *Shákta Ágamas* understood it as it is in itself, *i.e.*, the *Santatatva* extension or continuity in the succession of experiences, from *Bindu* the "centre of causal stress," from which manifestation of *Shakti* begins. This *Santatatva* ultimately appears as *Kâlatattva* by the action of *Mâyâ*. Similarly Space, when interpreted in the light of a psychological phenomenon, becomes the three lower dimensions whereby spatial limitations in a phenomenon become perceptible. Ontologically space is "a real thing containing all other things *in* it, but itself independent of them, so that, if things were annihilated, space would still remain the same" (Stephen's, Problems of Metaphysic p. 65). *Kâlatattva* is the first creation of *Mâyâ*, accordingly it is said :—

> "*Nânâvidhashaktimayî sâ srijati hi Kâlatattvamevâdou*
> *Bhâvibhavadbhûtarûpang kalayati jagadesha Kâlo 'tah*"

Mâyâ, who is full of various sorts of *Shaktis* (*i.e.*, is impelled by numerous Shaktis like *Ichchhâ*, *Jnâna*, *Kriyâ*, etc.), creates *Kâlatattva* in the first instance; which *Kâlatattva* therefore binds the phenomenal world by the ideas of future, present and past. Between Space and Time, we find from our worldly experience, that Time sometimes is more efficacious in touching our mind in the expression of an one-dimensional space even. In expressing the distance of the Sun from the Earth, if we say it is so many hundreds of thousands of miles away from us, that will not impress us with anything more than simply the idea that the distance exceeds all our worldly experience. But when we say that a gunshot with muzzle-velocity will take about twelve years to reach from the Earth to the Sun, then it will be more impressive, because a dynamical extension is established, even in the absence of the knowledge of what a gun-shot-muzzle-velocity is. Here the base of feeling is a dynamical continuum. Accordingly we see that where space fails to express our idea more properly, we seek recourse in time to express ourselves. Dr. Eriksen says that in sensation we partake in the sphere of motion; but "it is, however, not so much in sensation as in association, imagination, memory and thought, that the real character of the psychic sphere—as different from the motional—appears. And by these forms of activity the inherent powers of the 'psyche' are realised in a sort of *inner* space, penetrated by consciousness, in contradistinction to the outer space, by which the true nature of things is veiled. And in this inner space its true formal nature is objectified. By means of the sensations *we* live in space. But by virtue of our conscious inner activity space is *in us*. So the transcendence realised by conscious activity means a sort of *inversion in our relation to space*. By sensation we learn to know the *things in space*. By mental activity we learn to know *the space in the things*, gaining what we have called a power of omnipresence in formal space, by which geometrical constructions and definitions are made possible to us" (p. 124). According to him the inner and direct relation of consciousness to the objects of its activity is called its four-dimensionality. In another connection he has defined consciousness as "the relation between object and subject;" so that four-dimensionality is an aspect of consciousness itself, through the medium of which alone it is possible for us to reach to the ultimate continuum, if we want to achieve same through psychology seen in the light of Relativity from its absolute side.

According to the conceptions of the *Shaiva* and the *Shâkta* Āgamas, *Tattvas* are subjective phases of Consciousness, whereby it gradually becomes limited from the Supreme experience to the experience of an embodied soul, through the potency or veiling power of *Mâyâ Shakti* and her *Kanchukas.* Dr. Eriksen is of opinion that "when time is used for the explication of potencies by means of successive phases" we speak of four-dimensionality, wherein time is the ruling dimension or aspect of consciousness whereby any limitation in it is discernible. And regarding these limitations, he says, "consciousness is conditioned by transcendence above motion, *i.e.*, by a *negation* of it," like what we have as the effect of *Shakti Tattva* on *Shiva Tattva*. As another effect of this psychic transcendence, he says, "space as a condition of motion is not to be found in the psychic sphere," since there "the relations of outer space are replaced by the subject-object relation and time." In short, according to him, "the part played by space in relation to physical changes and motions is played by the subject in relation to psychical changes" (p. 138). So that space is, in the psychic sphere, reduced to what is meant by "*Tatatva* or *Kramanang*" aspect of Consciousness as a motional presentation; since space is defined by motion initially. While the *Santatatva* perception or the psychical perception of such motion, according to him, arises when the experience of motion is continual and discernible in relation to an unchanged background (like the *Tatatva*) for the time being, and the *spatial* continuity of motion finds its correlate in a time-continuity of the perceiving power of the *Bindu Tattva* or the principle of punctualisation or centralisation. He says—"For instance, if I drew a line and in the continuation of it could only be conscious of the point momentarily occupied by the pencil, so that at every point the drawn parts of the line were forgotten, I should continually be at the starting-point of the line, and no line as a whole would be produced. Thus if the line is to be produced, the attention leading the act must be able to look backwards as well as forwards" (p. 134). Again the said author says regarding simultaneity that "In relation to the spatial world it is a means by which the various movements or changes in different parts of space are related to and compared with each other, and the tendency will here be to determine the simultaneity by the impossibility of spatial change, because change of place implies difference of time and is incompatible with real simultaneity. The ideal in this case will therefore be to survey the momentary positions of all points in space in a fraction of time *so small* that no change of place is possible in it, even by a movement of the highest velocity. The unity of time, by which simultaneity is realised, will be reduced in the direction of 0, in order if possible to bring all the movements in the universe to such a momentary standstill as is necessary in order to obtain a simultaneous snapshot of them" (pp. 138-9). The *Shaiva* and the *Shâkta* Āgamas deal with all-pervading Supreme Consciousness, which is called *Shiva*, and for which the existence of space outside Him is impossible. Besides, "the intellectual synthesis of space or spatial reality as a unity is made by the idea of *Simultaneity*." In the psychic sphere, space, as an objective presentation, loses its consciousness by merger in the subjective consciousness of Time (if we may say so) who is *Mahâdeva* Himself.

Although time is objectified by the happening of events in space or non-spatial psychic processes, yet it is more comprehensive than space. Dr. Eriksen says that "It is a remarkable feature in the conscious realisation of space that the whole of it—or *all* points in space—is embraced by *one* moment of time. No part of space can stand outside any 'now' of time". (p. 127). This 'now' in the language of the author cited, is the idea of simultaneity, according to what has been stated above regarding the intellectual synthesis of space or spatial reality as a unity. Thus all motions, through their respective velocities, may be "presentatively connected by the aid of this simultaneity involved in the *idea* of space." In other words, in the language of the said author, "we are able by means of the idea of simultaneity to *objectify* the spatial universe into one whole." Simultaneity is the relativity of subjective perception of time concerning the happening of at least two events. So that when a person says that the distance of such and such a place is about so many days' journey from another place, he speaks from his simultaneous perception of the two places expressed in terms of the time that would be required to "overcome the contradiction or antagonism between extension and simultaneity" (p. 164).

Accordingly "this idea implies an intellectual or ideal transcendence over the sphere of motion," which in the present case is the distance between the two places. This simultaneity sometimes suffers perspective displacement, as in the case of lightning and thunder, but this may be neutralised according to Dr. Eriksen by reference to "an objective time-order (*viz.*, the velocity of light and that of sound) and the simultaneity which can be determined by it" (p. 128).

The velocity of light (298,000-300,000 km. per second) is the highest velocity known to science; but it is not the maximum velocity conceivable in the absolute sphere; since a timeless velocity is required to realise a simultaneous omnipresence in space. Accordingly Dr. Eriksen says—"The highest velocity in real space, then, must be a velocity by which the space is dynamically defined and realised as a simultaneous persence or rest in relation to all slower motions in the world" (p. 159). He further says—"Separate motions are only intelligible within a spatial field already existing, but in the case of the primary spatial extension no such spatial field exists beforehand. It must be created dynamically, *i.e.*, by motion" (p. 162). If we take this as the true definition of *Tatatva*, then the definition of *Santatàtva* according to Dr. Eriksen will be—"the conception of a time-power defining itself in the highest velocity of the universe and using it to unify the whole sphere of motion as an *organic life sphere*" (p. 159). And this is his definition of the fourth-dimension by Dr. Eriksen. Again "when space is defined dynamically time is also involved in it," so he calls the original unity of the world which is the *Tatatva-Santatatva* state, the "time-space," which he further designates as the "abiding uniform duration," and the *Shaiva* and *Shâkta* views conceive such a background as *Tatatva* for the evolution of succession of *Tattvas*.

When time-orders or velocities transcend the power of presentation, *i.e.*, when "the psyche can have no *direct* experience" of the time-orders or velocities, as in the case of the velocity of light, the same can be " made objects of *thought*." And in " the capacity of *possible* time-orders or thought-objects they are indispensable as means by which real time-orders may be compared and judged "—says Dr. Eriksen (p. 130). The hastening or delaying of the time-order inherent in human experience depends, according to Prof. K. E. Baer referred to by Dr. Eriksen, upon the determination of the time required "to become conscious of a sensual impression." This is of course a subjective time-measure, and Dr. Eriksen thinks that by shortening or lengthening this subjective time-measure, " the appearance of the objective world, in which we live, will be fundamentally changed." He further says—" There seems to be an inner connection between this time-order of subjective experience and the rhythm of our organism appearing in pulse and breathing " (p. 130). Accordingly the unit of time chosen by the *Shaiva* and the *Shâkta* Âgamas, namely, a *Lava*, depends upon the conscious experience of time required for the successive piercing by a fine needle of several lotus leaves placed one above the other in one operation ; and so it is said :—

> " *Nalinîpatrasanghalyâng sûkshmasûchyabhivedhane*
> *Dale dale tu yah kâlah sa kâlo Lavasangjnakah* "

In the above experiment unless we start with quite a number of leaves it would be impossible to ascertain the time required for piercing each leave in succession. From the above it may be concluded that " our subjective perceptive power is definitely related to certain rhythmical motions in physical nature," and that " we are as *sensual* beings immersed in a definite time-order determined by organic and cosmic rhythms." Mathematically the highest initial velocity will be $\frac{\infty \text{ space}}{0 \text{ time}}$, but when time is 0, it means simultaneity or *Bindu* of the *Shaiva-Shâkta Âgama*. From this it is easy to conclude that " the maximum of velocity means that the spatial or extensive differentiation is absorbed into a timeless but enduring unity "

(p. 164); which is *Shâshvata Brahman, i e.*, the time transcending aspect of the Self whereby It is able to distinguish between past, present and future experiences.

Lastly, Dr. Eriksen psychologically deduces that "the dynamic continuity of the universe may be considered in the light of rest as well as of motion, the rest appearing in the organising force, by which the highest velocity in the universe is *curved* in such a manner that it is made the medium of simultaneous presence or unsuccessive duration. This curving will then appear as a dynamical background of periodicity and rhythm, real space having the character of a dynamic sphere revolving into itself, a character which very aptly may be expressed in the old symbol of eternity: the snake biting itself in the tail" (p. 160). In the *Mâyika* world what appear to us as space and time are *Tatatva* extension and *Santatatva* experience in the *Suddha Tattva* state of *Chit* or Consciousness, and consequently the latter are the respective transcendent aspects of the former. Our ordinary idea of velocity even may be traced to its root-cause here in this *Tatatva* and *Santatatva* relation of Consciousness as *Chit.* In speaking of Time as the fourth dimension Dr. Eriksen has conceived that "Intuitionally space and time are relative to the observer, *i.e.*, they vary with the subjects and the systems to which they belong. In this relativity and subjectivity we have to seek the cause of the disparity between three-dimensional space and one-dimensional time, as they appear to us," (p. 42). But in the *Santatatva* experience there is no possibility of multiplicity of observers or subjects and their systems; since this is the absolute state wherein qualities coalesce with the concreteness (*Shakti-Shaktimatorabhedah*); and the author cited says that "the 'absolute world' of Minkowski demands the utmost concreteness of our imagination, in so far as the movements of all 'material points' in the universe are mirrored to its four-dimensional view as an infinite complex of interrelated world-lines, in which the successions in time are given as one eternal or timeless presence" (p. 43). The same author thinks that we get three-dimensional bodies by abstracting from time, similarly the plane from the third-dimension and the line from the second-dimension. But the opposite process of concretion—or adding higher dimensions to the lower—is dangerous; and he says—"I cannot produce the idea of a plane by an addition of lines, nor the idea of a three-dimensional body by a mere addition of planes. I can only come to a realisation of the higher dimensions or aspects of reality by virtue of the fact that they are inherent possessions of my nature, the consciousness of which is dependent upon my ability to manage them subjectively as constructive possibilities (of imagination and motion) in contradistinction to the objective reality in which they are manifested" (pp. 44-5). The best objective example of space-time aspect is "an ever-streaming river," which intimately unites—the space- and time-character into one whole (p. 45). From this we can safely conclude that the four-dimensionality as explained by Dr. Eriksen fully corresponds with the *Tatatva-Santatatva* idea of the *Shaiva-Shākta* views.

BEPIN BEHARI NEWGIE

IS HINDU POLITICS THEOLOGICAL

"The Oriental Aryans never freed their politics from the theological and metaphysical environment in which it is embedded to-day." This opinion, coming as it does from Professor Dunning,[1] requires to be carefully and seriously examined.

The implication of Prof. Dunning's statement is that politics as such had no independent status, that it was always tied to the apron-strings of religion and metaphysics and that the ancient Hindus, unlike the Greeks, were perfectly innocent of politics as a distinct branch of learning.

Let us first of all consider the various forms of classification of sciences and arts as known to the ancient Hindus. As tradition has it, the primary *vidyas* or sciences are thirty-two in number, the primary *kalas* or arts being sixty-four.[2] And of the thirty-two sciences [3] Arthasastra is one. But according to Sukracharya, Arthasastra is a two-fold science,[4] *viz.*, Politics as well as Economics. But in pre-Kautilyan ages Politics had been sharply differentiated from Economics—the two other sciences being Anvikshaki and Trayi. The school of Manu held that there were only three sciences, *viz.*, Trayi, Vartta (Economics) and Dandaniti (Politics); the school of Brihaspati opined that Vartta and Dandaniti were the only two sciences that counted. The school of Usanas declared that politics was the only science and it was in this science that all other sciences had their origin and end.[5] With the exception of Sukracharya's conception of Arthasastra, which includes the sciences of Economics and Politics, all the other classifications treat Politics as independent of Trayi and Anvikshaki, *i.e.*, independent of theology and metaphysics. Sukra gives a list of 32 sciences and it is remarkable that the doctrines of Nastikas (sceptics), Arthasastra and Kamasastra are as much distinct branches of learning as Samkhya, Vedanta and the various Vedas. If this *Nastika Vidya* which advocates the predominance of Reason and denies the existence of Vedas and ascribes the origin of all things to Nature and not to God;[1] can be held as a distinct branch of learning even by the "wholly religious-minded" (a misnomer no doubt) Hindus; it is difficult, under these circumstances, to appreciate the opinions of those scholars who would call Hindu Politics theological and metaphysical.[2] Not that some systems—if systems they can be called—of Hindu politics are free from theological or metaphysical taints—but it would be wrong, nay positively untrue, to say that Hindu politics as a whole is theological, *i.e.*, the Hindus could not conceive of positive politics. When Nastika-Vidya and Kamasastra and other ultra-secular vidyas can be conceived of as distinct branches of learning, it is difficult to see why Arthasastra should be denied an honourable and distinct place in the list of sciences and arts.

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[1] *History of Pol. Theories, Ancient and Mediaeval*, Intro. xix.

[2] *Sukraniti*, Ch. IV, Sec. III, line 46 (S.B.H., Vol. 13).

[3] The distinction between science and art is almost the same as that between Vidya and Kala.

[4] Ch. IV, Sec. III, lines 110-11, but see Ghoshal's "*Hindu Pol. Theories*," p. 129.

[5] *Kautilya*, Bk. 1, Ch. II.

According to pre-Kautilyan tradition Politics ranked with Vedas and Anvikshaki as an independent science; but when we come to Brihaspati we come across a remarkable classification of sciences, in as much as only two positive and social sciences are given the appellation of sciences—the rest being deemed negligible or subordinate. It was reserved for Usanas to declare that Politics is "the" science—all other sciences being included within it.[3]

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[1] *Sukra*, Ch. IV, Sec. III, lines 108-9.

[2] How far religious ideas influenced the polity of the Hindus has been described by Dr. Narendra Law in his "*Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*," ch. 9; but he has been careful to add that "the religious aspects of polity summed up in this chapter should not be mistaken for the whole of polity but are mere aspects" (p. 218).

[3] We might, in this connection, recall Aristotle's conception of Politics. Considered from the abstract standpoint, Politics included ethics, though practically he separated the

Critics may point out that this classification which ascribes to politics the character of an independent branch of learning may prove something but not all. That is true, but the importance of the fact of Nastika-vidya being placed along with the Vedas, should not be lost sight of. This raises a presumption, and nothing more is intended, that politics might as well be a secular and positive science.[1] But Brihaspati and Usanas even went so far as to declare that theology (Trayi) and metaphysics (Anvikshaki) are not independent sciences—which implies the extreme secularization of politics.

Next we come to the point that some authoritative Hindu writers of Politics, at least, treated Politics from the positive point of view. A study of Kautilya's Arthasastra leaves no doubt in one's mind, that the whole book is written from a positive and secular standpoint. Kautilya even goes so far as to say that the course of the progress of the world depends on the science of Dandaniti.[2] This means that nothing is pre-ordained, man can shape the future course of the world with the help of Dandaniti. This emphasis on the positive and secular aspect of Politics is remarkable because of the fact that this view-point was enunciated not in the 20th century but more than 20 centuries ago.[3]

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two. As the Greeks could not conceive of anything except in and through the state, it is but reasonable to assume that to the Greeks and to Aristotle politics is the dominant, "architectonic" science—But Aristotle himself often confused the respective spheres of politics and ethics. As a matter of fact it is difficult to completely separate the two, because in all social sciences, standards and norms are sure to come in. See Dunning, *Pol. Theories, Ancient*, pp. 51-54.

[1] *Cf.* "It is however a remarkable fact that the study of statecraft *** might be called a secular science, were it not for the pronounced disinclination of the Hindu mind to conceive the secular life as the antithesis of the religious."—Ghoshal's '*Hindu Political Theories*,' Preface ix. To the Hindus the concept Dharma implies an admixture of socio-ethico-religious ideas—not a purely religious concept.

[2] *Kautilya*, Bk. 1, Ch. IV.

[3] The fact that Kautilya—the minister of Chandra Gupta Maurjya—himself laid the foundation of a well-organized extensive empire by dint of his own exertions, may serve to explain the emphasis which Kautilya laid on the positive aspect of Politics.

Sukra was more emphatic on this point. His enunciation of the doctrine of *Puruskara* might, as well and with good grace, have come from modern writers who believe in the doctrine of the 'open future.' Sukra says that the king is the cause or maker of time,[1] that man's work is the cause of his good or bad luck,[2] that wise men respect Paurusa or Energy, whereas the weaklings worship Daiva or Fate,[3] that the king is the cause of the prosperity of this world,[4] that the faults are to be ascribed neither to the age nor to the subjects but to the king.[5] Now all this involves a positive conception of politics—untainted by theological and metaphysical considerations.[6] In the Mahabharat also Bhisma expresses the view that the king is the cause of time, not *vice-versa*—that the king is the creator of the four ages. In the Mahabharat the origin of kingship is both popular and divine, which means that secular politics and canonical politics got blended together. Sometimes these two schools remained separate, sometimes they approached each other and again sometimes they intermingled.[7] But the fact should not be lost sight of that there was a positive background in almost all the political speculation in the Santiparva.[8] Here and there theological hues appear, but they never overwhelm the positive and secular background. The state of nature so vividly described in the Mahabharat and so strongly resembling that painted by the "contract school"—the election of kings—do not these things suggest the positive and secular aspect of Santiparva Politics? Moreover, deposition and tyrannicide are only sanctioned when kings are "men" and politics secularized,—and Mahabharat sanctions them.

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[1] Ch. I, lines 43-44, lines 119-20, Ch. IV, Sec. I, lines 116-117.

[2] Ch. I, lines 73-74.

[3] Ch. I, lines 95 6. See *Matsya Purana*, Ch. 221 (S.B.H., Vol. 17, Part II).

[4] Ch, I, lines 127-8.

[5] Ch. IV, Sec. I, lines 116-117.

[6] Some theological taint may be discovered in Sukra's conception of the origin of kingship (Chap I, line 375) but here we get a blend of secular and canonical politics. In Sukra we rarely meet with canonical ideas of politics.

[7] On this point Upendranath Ghoshal's "*Brahminical Conception of the Science of Politics*" in *Sir A. Mookerjee Jubilee Volumes* (*Orientalia* I) may be of some help. It is possible as Rai Bahadur Srish Basu opines (see his *Intro. to Yagnabalka Smriti* in S.B.H., Vol. 21) that in course of time the Smriti writers incorporated whole sections of politics written by the secular school. A guess may be hazarded that when the Hindus lost their political supremacy—they incorporated portions of Arthasastras (secular politics) in their sacred laws and thus carried on the village government without coming into contact with the conquerors.

[8] It should be noted that Bhisma in his lectures to Yudhisthira made a significant admission when he said in effect that Rajadharma, as he conceived it, is not based on canonical writings only but also on reason and experience,

The conception of Law is one of the touchstones whereby the secular and positive character of politics can be ascertained. There is an impression abroad that Hindu writers on Politics had no conception of Positive Law. The only conception of law they possessed had its origin and sanction, it is said, in religious scriptures.[1] It will be idle to deny that some writers seek the sanction in scriptures: but it will be untrue to say that no Hindu writer on politics had any conception of positive law as it is understood to-day. By positive laws, we mean laws enforced by a sovereign political authority. [2]

Now if we turn for a while to Sukra, we shall see that Sukra has a clear notion of what positive law is. Sukra says, "The following laws are to be always promulgated by the king among his subjects" and then says that falsehoods must not be practised with regard to weights and measurements, currency, etc.; that bribes must not be accepted; that thieves must not be given protection; that tanks, wells, parks must not be obstructed; that without proper licenses gambling and hunting must not be practised and so forth and that those who after hearing these laws promulgated, act contrary to them, will be severely punished by the king.[3] All the paraphernalia of positive law is present in Sukra's doctrine, namely, a sovereign political authority, clearly promulgated laws and punishment by the king in the event of disobedience to laws.[1]

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[1] Willoughby, *Nature of the State*, p. 12.—We might recall here the Greek conception of 'revealed' laws and the part played by the Delphic oracle.

[2] Holland, *Jurisprudence*, Ch. IV; actual instances of positive law may be seen in Aiyangar's *Ancient India* (Chola Adm.) Some of Asoka's edicts are in the nature of positive law. See Benoy Sarkar's *Pol. Institutions*, Ch. 4, Sec. 5.

[3] *Sukraniti*, Ch. 1, lines 603-624. For some instances of positive municipal law see *Indian Antiquary* 1905, pp. 51-2.

The Santiparva of Mahabharat though not so clear on the point, describes three kinds of Vyabahara or Law; one of which, that arising out of the disputes of the litigants, inheres in the king. Kautilya in his *Arthasastra* distinguishes four kinds of law, *viz.*, *Dharma* (sacred Law), *Vyabahara* (evidence), *Charitra* (History) and *Rajasasana* (Edicts of king).[2] Had Kautilya said nothing further, we would have been justified in assuming that Kautilya's political authority was not legally sovereign. But later on[3] Kautilya says, "whenever there is disagreement between history and sacred law or between evidence and sacred law, then the matter shall be settled in accordance with sacred law. But whenever sacred law is in conflict with rational law (king's law), then reason shall be held authoritative; for there the original text (on which the sacred law has been based) is not available." It clearly suggests that the king is the sovereign law-making power.

To Narada legalism is everything—even ethical judgments are not allowed to encroach on the sacred preserves of law. "Whatever a king does is right, that is the settled rule,"[4]—is a dictum which may frighten away the modern jurists. "As a husband, though feeble, must be constantly worshipped by his wives, in the same way a ruler though worthless must be (constantly) worshipped by his subjects.".[5] We doubt if even the most ardent advocates of the Prussian theory of state would let such a dictum pass unchallenged.

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[1] Holland writes thus in the Chap. on "Positive Laws"—"A law as carried by Pericles, or as imagined by Plato, would conform to Austin's definition as completely as would a constitution of Marcus Aurelius." In the place of "Plato" Holland might have substituted the name of Sukra and the sense would be unaltered.

[2] *Artha*, Bk. III, Ch. I.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Narada*, XVIII, 21.

[5] *Ibid* XVIII, 22—compare the following from *Calvin's Institutes*, Bk. IV, Ch. XX, para. 25:—Even an individual of the worst character, one most unworthy of all honour, if invested with public authority * * * * * in so far as public obedience is concerned, he is to be held in the same honour and reverence as the best of kings. (Quoted by *Dunning*).

An Act of Indemnity passed by the British Parliament is the greatest proof of its legal sovereignty, for it legalises illegality.[1] Is not the same legalisation of illegality evident when Narada asks, "How should a king be inferior to a deity, as it is through his word that *an offender may become innocent* and an innocent man an offender in due course."[2] So much for the argument that Narada had a true conception of positive law as it is understood by the analytical school of jurists. That he also had a secular conception of society, and hence political society, may be inferred from his sloka[3] where he lays down that *Vyabhahara* is superior to *Dharma*, and reason[4] is to be laid under obligation as a source of law when there is a conflict with the Dharmasastras.[5] If by *Vyabhahara* we mean customs, then in a conflict of customs with *Dharma* the latter is to go to the wall; and evidently here customs mean secular customs, otherwise *Dharma* would not have been ignored by Narada. Again, if by *Vyabhahara* the *Vyabhahara* portions of the *Smritis* are meant, then it comes to this that in a conflict between the two portions of the *Smritis*, *viz.*, *Vyabhahara* and *Dharma*—the former is to prevail.[6] Whatever interpretation is accepted, it will be seen that Narada has a distinct leaning towards the secular side though it must not be forgotten that the Hindu mind cannot conceive the attribute 'secular' as distinctly antithetical to the attribute 'religious.'

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[1] *Dicey's Law of the Constitution*, pp. 233, 8th edition.

[2] *Narada*, S.B.E., XVIII, 52.

[3] *Narada* I, 40.

[4] Evidently the reason of the king is implied since there may be further conflict between reasoned opinions of various individuals. Hobbes in his Leviathan once impatiently enquired whose reason is to hold good and answered by saying that king's reason is to held good on the ground that otherwise there would be no end of conflicts of opinion.

[5] *Cf. Kautilya Artha.*, Bk. III, Ch. I.

[6] But Yagnabalka says—Arthasastra is inferior to Dharmasastra in authority II, 21.

We can now see that the conception of Law rises layer by layer till it reaches the heights of Narada's pure rationalistic legalism. It is 'legalism' because Narada would not allow any extraneous or ethical considerations to come in; and it is rationalistic because in reason's conflict with authoritative canonical Laws the latter are to be ignored. And whenever reason is extolled over sacred authority, or for the matter of that, any authority, it is clear, that a secular conception of law and hence of politics, is implied. The conception of law in the *Santiparva* denotes the first stage, the next stage is reached by Sukracharjya, Kautilya carries it a stage higher until we come to Narada's which is ultra-modern in its nature.[1]

Some theories about the origin of kingship go to emphasize the secular aspect of political thought. The Vedic kings were mere mortals and as such often deposed and expelled.[2] Whether the subjects elected their kings as Zimmer says or selected by the people from among the members of the royal family as Macdonell implicitly assumes[3] does not affect our argument, in as much as both of them admit that in the matter of origin of kingship some popular element at least is involved—and that is sufficient.[4] The dictum of *Baudhàyana* that the king is to get the revenue not as a matter of right but as his salary for protecting the subjects,[5] underlies almost all the theories of kingship in the Buddhist and Brahmanic canons and the implication of this dictum is evident.

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[1] No corresponding chronology is implied, but only the development in the order of thought.

[2] S. B. E., Vol. XLIV, pp. 269.

[3] *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, pp. 211.

[4] Of course later Vedic Literature begins to hint divinity to kings "And as to why a Rajanya shoots, he, the Rajanya, is manifestly of Prajapati: hence while being one, he rules over many"—Satapatha-Brahmana V. 1. 5, 14. *Cf.* "This much is certain that neither during the Vedic period nor in the times of Kautilya divine birth or right of kings seems to have been thought of." (Shamastri, *Evolution of Indian Polity*, pp. 145.)

[5] I. 10, 1; see *Sukranity* (S.B.H., Vol. 13) Ch. I, line 375.

In the Ramayana and the Mahabharat, no doubt, we often come across contrary theories; but we must not overlook the fact that both the epics distinguished tyrants from good kings—a distinction carefully maintained by Sukra. Both the epics give no quarter to a tyrant and in Ramayana it is said that a king who is unkingly is no king and therefore no God and hence could be killed like a mad dog.[1] The Mahabharat is equally emphatic on the point.[2] We also find that "Atri was the first to deify a king, so that Gautama called him a sycophant, but Sanatkumara upheld the deification."[3] The implication is that Gautama opposed the deification of kings—which means that to Gautama at least the institution of kingship was secular and human. Even when hereditary kingship is in vogue the tradition of election is kept up as is evident from the Mahabharat.[4] The theories of the origin of kingship as described in the Mahabharat are both popular and divine, and hence involves a blend of secular and non-secular conceptions.

The theory about the origin of kingship as described in the *Dighanikaya*[5] goes to show the secular character of political thought in a very clear and definite manner. Here at first a blissful state of nature as described by Rousseau; is followed by degeneration,[6] wherefore people assemble together to choose one as their king. This king is known as the Mahasammata.[7] In the Jatakas we come across many nstances of election of kings by councillors or people.[1] This principle of election was carried to such a great extent that fish and birds were depicted as choosing their respective kings.[2]. The implications of the contractual origin of kingship are far-reaching, but it is to be regretted that such theories were not followed by systematic theories about the rights of people. Possibly Hindu political thought delighted in laying more stress on Swadharma (duties) than on Swadhikara (rights). Whatever be the reason there can be no doubt that people as depicted in the Jatakas understood the implications of the contract theory and were not slow to take advantage of them as will be evident from some of the Jataka stories.[3] There we find subjects expelling a king for developing cannibalistic propensities, and even killing one for rank ingratitude and all this would not have been common, had the people deified their kings.[4]

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[1] Quoted from Hopkins' *Epic Mythology*, p. 64.

[2] Bhisma quotes Rishi Bamdeva, *Santiparva*, Section 92. In the Anusasana parva subjects are advised to arm themselves for slaying a tyrant, Section 61. Sukra sanctions deposition of tyrants. See Ch. II, lines 549-552.

[3] *Epic Mythology* by Hopkins', pp. 184.

[4] Hopkins' article in *J. A. O. S.*, 1889. See also Jayaswal's article entitled "*Rituals of Hindu Coronation*—their constitutional aspects" in the *Mod. Review*, Jan. 1912.

[5] *Aganna-suttanta*, *Dighanikaya*, Vol. 3, Sec. 27, P. T. S.—*Cf.* Aryadeva's view.

[6] In the Mahabharat there are two accounts. (1) Anarchy to be followed by the creation of a state, (2) Blissful state followed by anarchy—the latter followed by the birth of a state.

[7] A similar elective origin of kingship is to be found in the *Mahavastu Avadanam*. In the Vedas we come across elective origin of Indra's kingship (*Ait. Brah.*, VIII, 4, 12).

Thus, whether we look at the question from the point of view of classification, or doctrine of Purusakara or conception of Law or the theory of kingship; it is evident that Hindu political thought properly so-called—is not theological but predominantly secular and positive.

AJIT KUMAR SEN

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[1] VI, 462; II, 270.

[2] II, 270. See the account where one bird proposes owl's name; another opposes because of owl's owlish face. Finally a golden goose is elected.

[3] *Saccamkira Jat.*, Vol. I; *Padakusalamanava Jat,*, Vol. III; *Mahasuttasoma Jat.*, Vol. V (Cowell's Edition).

[4] Sukra's king must have god-like attributes—otherwise he would be turned out. See Ch. I, lines 141-3; lines 139-40, lines 363-4. The ruler, according to Sukra, has been made a *servant* of the people by the *Brahma* getting his revenue as his wages. A blend of secular and canonical idea no doubt, but one who runs may perceive that Sukra's conception of niti-sastra is emphatically secular and positive.

For some theories about kingship in ancient India see an article entitled "Kingship in Ancient India" in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1920, Volume VI, by J. Samaddar. In connection with deification of kings it may be added that Buddhism with its agnosticism cannot sanction divine origin or rights of kings. The later Brahmanic conception of divine kings was necessitated by the fact—so Shamasastri says (pp. 146, *Evo. of Ind. Polity*)—of "hiding the low birth of restored Dravidian kings of the Buddhist period and of strengthening their royal power so as to be able to guard the interest of the Brahmanas."

THE HOUSE OF HOLKAR

When the Emperor Aurangzeb resolved in the second half of the 17th century to extend the authority of the Mogul dynasty over Southern India there rose up unexpectedly in his path a confederation of Hindu patriots who embarrassed his plans and finally brought to naught the design of establishing a solid Mahomedan realm south of the Nerbudda. This confederation was composed of the Maratha clans who inhabited the fertile province of Kandeish and the fairest portion of the Deccan. They found an astute and able head in Sivaji, who ranks among the greatest leaders of cavalry in history, and who left after him a tradition of strategy which remained the ideal of every subsequent chieftain of his race.

A hundred years have passed. The Mogul Emperor remains, but his power is in decay. The descendant of Sivaji remains, but he retains only the semblance of regal authority. The power of the Marathas alone has waxed amidst this general process of dissolution, but it is under a new impetus. For a military head is substituted a political. The able and ambitious Peshwas rule in Poona with all the attributes of sovereignty, although they at each accession observe the formality of investiture at the hands of the descendant of Sivaji in his palace at Sattara or Rajghur. They make peace and war, they form alliances on equal terms with the highest, they receive the salutes accorded to royalty, and the semi-sanctity of this Brahminical dynasty becomes the most cherished tradition in every Maratha court and camp long surviving its fall; and perhaps not wholly extinct to-day when more than a century separates us from the deposition of the last of the Peshwas.

The Peshwas were Brahmins, that is to say, they left others to do the fighting, although occasionally some of them, like the Popes of Rome, put on armour and figured at the battle front. But as a rule their presence was symbolised by the unfurling of the Jurry Put or royal standard which in days of peace lay idle with the State treasures in the Poona palace. It was also the practice of the Peshwa on the commencement of hostilities to quit the palace for a camp which was pitched at a few days' march from the capital. The command of the armies in the field was entrusted to professional soldiers or military chiefs while the Peshwas weaved the threads of diplomacy, and statecraft in their own fashion, receiving their share of the spoil and the tributes that followed the progress of the Maratha forces towards Bengal and the Punjab and far to the south against the Nizam and Mysore. Eventually the greater number of the princes of Hindostan became their tributaries on the basis of the Chauth or the fourth part of their revenue.

Among these military leaders who in the course of time became ruling chiefs and sovereigns, two attained equal pre-eminence. They became known as Holkar and Scindia, and the style inaugurated by the founders of these two Houses has been perpetuated by their descendants, and still remains in universal usage. It is with the family of Holkar that this paper is concerned.

The Holkars came from that part of the Deccan which used to be called the Desh or 'our country' and the name is derived from the village of Hol which was associated with their early history. They were the sirdars of that region, and had for many generations held high military rank in the Maratha armies from the time of Sivaji. Tradition accords them a more imposing lineage back to the days before the Marathas separated from the parent stem of the Rajputs of Rajasthan. This family stood highest of all the warrior chiefs in the confidence of the earlier Peshwas, and proof of this might be found in the fact that when the Maratha armies marched northwards to try and save Delhi from the Abdali Afghans it was to Mulhar Rao Holkar that the Peshwa entrusted the guard of his treasure and the safety of his heir. From the fatal battle of Paniput in 1761 Mulhar Rao was the only Chief to bring back some portion of the beaten army and the bulk of the treasure committed to his charge. Distinguished from the other bearers of his name by the appellation of "the Great," he continued to rule over the wide stretching dependencies which he had rapidly acquired since his conquest of Malwa in 1726, until his death in 1768.

His only son Khande Rao predeceased him having been killed at a minor siege the year before his father's death. Khande Rao left one son Malle Rao who succeeded his grandfather, but died in a fit of madness within a year. The fortunes of the House of Holkar seemed on the decline.

At this critical juncture two remarkable personages appeared on the scene. Khande Rao had left a widow, the mother of the ill-starred Malle Rao, who proved herself one of the ablest rulers and most remarkable women in Indian history. Her name was Ahaliya Baiee. But for the effective control of a Maratha organisation there was also needed a man. He was forthcoming in Tukoji Holkar, the nephew of the great Mulhar Rao, and by Hindi usage and law he was adopted by that ruler's widow, Goomaree Baiee, as well as by Ahaliya Baiee as their son and heir; but for her life-time Ahaliya retained in her own hands the civil power leaving to him the conduct of all military and political affairs at Poona and generally south of the Nerbudda.

The thirty years during which Ahaliya Baiee flourished were among the stormiest in Indian history. They witnessed the rise and decline of the Moslem state of Hyder Ali and his son Tipoo Sultan, the first British War with the Marathas and the beginning of the feud between the Houses of Holkar and Scindia, but within the realm of this great Princess there was peace and prosperity. She fixed her capital at Meheysir, a picturesque cluster of Tower and Temple crowning steep cliffs above the Nerbudda, and thence she dispensed justice throughout the vast possessions and dependencies that in one form or other owed allegiance to the Head of the Holkar family. Her system was simple being based on strict and impartial justice. On only one instance did she resort to force, and that was against a hill robber who plundered travellers. Her awards were accepted without cavil; those who could find justice nowhere else came to the Court in which she sat uncovered to solicit it, and when she found it impossible to decide between plaintiff and defendant she decided in such a manner as to non-suit both, and there is no case on record in which her orders were challenged or disobeyed. Even to-day the *ryot* speaks of the golden age of Ahaliya Baiee and wishes that things were ordered as in her time.[1]

The record of Tukoji Holkar was different but it was not less creditable. He was the faithful lieutenant of the Peshwa, and allowed no undue personal considerations to qualify his allegiance. In all the Councils at Poona he stood at the right hand of the Peshwa, and restrained the overweening pretensions of Scindia, who from a friend and comrade was developing the ambition to become a rival and the sole arbiter of Maratha policy.

The bitter lesson of Paniput had shown that great battles cannot be won by cavalry alone, and that a more serious discipline was needed than that existing under the loose irregular organisation of the Maratha confederacy to attain durable success. If Paniput did not suffice there were the unending successes of small bodies of British troops after Plassy to confirm the moral. Scindia, more exposed than Holkar, took the lesson first to heart, and at that moment a plausible and able French adventurer came to his Court in the person of

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[1] The *Calcutta Gazette* of March 8, 1787, contains the following interesting notice—"Ahalla Bhye, a Mahratta lady, who is building a temple at Gya has just deposited in that Holy Ground three marble images of exquisite workmanship, one of Bishun, another of Lutchmi and the third of herself. No doubt in a few years she will be deified and adored."

De Boigne. He said to Mahdaji Scindia—"Give me the treasure and the lands for its support, and I will give you an Army that shall be the first in India," and he was very nearly as good as his word.

De Boigne's corps, trained and led by a very efficient body of French officers, established Scindia's military supremacy, and Tukoji Holkar, probably instigated by the Peshwa, decided to follow his example. He engaged the services of another French adventurer, the Chevalier Dudernaic, and commissioned him to raise four battalions of infantry. It happened at this time that Scindia was employing his new army in extending his authority over the Chiefs of Rajputana and in increasing their tributes, but by the Maratha code all such acquisitions were not only made in the name of the Peshwa, but on the basis of an almost equal division of the spoils of war between the Peshwa, Holkar and Scindia. On this occasion Scindia having acted alone revealed an intention of overlooking his partners. There was much anxiety at Poona, and at last it was decided to send Tukoji Holkar with all the forces he could collect, including his four trained battalions, to the scene of operations so that he might at least counterbalance the growing influence of Scindia. As Holkar represented the authority of the Peshwa it was not thought that Scindia's audacity would carry him so far as to induce him to attack him; besides there existed between them at that moment an unbroken friendship of nearly a century. None the less Holkar's movement with a very inferior military force north of the Nerbudda had placed him at Scindia's mercy if that chief were disposed to proceed to extremities.

Tukoji Holkar, unmindful of warnings, took up a pronounced attitude. He claimed for the Peshwa and himself their shares of the conquests made by Scindia alone, and he occupied many forts and seized some of the Ghats or mountain passes. Negotiations began and were long drawn out. Madhaji Scindia having the conviction of superior Power would not yield, Tukoji Holkar believing his claims to be unanswerable would not give way, and the predicament might have remained unsolved but for the action of De Boigne. Among the passes referred to that of Lukharle was of paramount importance. It gave the best admission into Malwa, it secured the main road to the heart of Scindia's dominions, and Holkar had not only seized it but he had ordered Dudernaic to fortify it to the best of his means. The Holkar artillery was there, also the four battalions, and a choice corps of cavalry, and so long as the pass was held Holkar's other forces were safe from molestation.

De Boigne offered to capture the pass, and to destroy the force holding it. It is not probable that he delayed his march to receive the Maharaja's assent, for he too was an interested party. If the Holkar claims were substantiated there would have been so much the less left for him and his lieutenant Peron to carve out those fine and extensive jagheers in North-West India which bore for a short time the name of the French State. And so without a word of warning De Boigne bore down upon Lukhrale with his twelve trained battalions, and his well equipped artillery. His troops had often been under fire and they were animated by the confidence inspired by constant victory. On the other hand Dudernaic's men were untried. They must have been brave, for, outnumbered as they were, they were only defeated at the end of a long and stubbornly contested struggle. The consequences of this action were most serious. Holkar's forces of all kinds were compelled to retreat south of the Nerbudda, and the expedition which it was hoped would curb the ambition of Scindia resulted in placing his predominance in an unassailable position. On one hand he held the Mogul Emperor in Delhi under restraint, and he was now in a position to serve his titular master, the Peshwa, very much in the same fashion if he displeased him. Of all the victims Tukoji Holkar fared worst. This was shown when the Marathas joined the British in their first war with Tippoo. The Holkar contingent was small, and assigned a subordinate place, and Tukoji was ignored when the division of the spoil took place. At that juncture Ahaliya Baiee died (1795), and two years later Tukoji himself followed her to the grave. It seemed that the glory of the House of Holkar must have departed.

Tukoji left four sons, and on his death-bed he nominated the eldest of them, Kashi Rao, as his heir, but Kashi was a poor creature unequal to the charge, while the next son, Mulhar Rao, was at least brave and ambitious. Mulhar contested his elder brother's right on the strange plea that, at the time of Kashi's birth, their father had not come into the possession of his estates, whereas at Mulhar's own birth Tukoji had attained the plenitude of his power. It was a strange piece of sophistry, but it secured adherents for the pretender, and, among others, his two younger brothers Ettulji and Jeswunt Rao attached themselves to his cause.

As the consequence the Holkar power, already reduced, was split in two. There was the Kashi camp at one point, and the Mulhar Rao camp at another; and to make matters worse Scindia intervened to foment the rivalry of the brothers and thus promote his own ends. It was no longer the same Scindia. The young and ambitious Dowlut Rao had succeeded the aged and somewhat wearied Mahdaji, and felt no restraint on his desire to reduce the rival family of Holkar to the position of a vassal. The supplications of the weak-minded Kashi Rao for his aid promised to facilitate the design, which was made the more attractive by the prospect of acquiring some part of the Holkar treasures. Moreover, Ahaliya Baiee had lent Mahdaji sixty lakhs and his bond was in existence. All these circumstances made Dowlut Rao Scindia very anxious indeed to bring the Holkar family under his complete control.

Finally the task seemed easy of accomplishment. All the parties were in their respective camps outside Poona, and that of Mulhar Rao was the weakest. Still he was on his guard, and had secured his rear by basing it on a *nullah*, the rocky bed of a river sometimes dry and sometimes a raging torrent. For some unknown reason the Peshwa went out of his way to assure Mulhar Rao that he was perfectly safe from attack within the precincts of Poona, and that there was no necessity to adopt obvious military precautions. Unfortunately for himself Mulhar obeyed this veiled admonition not to reveal doubt of the Peshwa's ability to afford protection to all his vassals, and Scindia saw that the time was approaching for his long projected spring. Everyone, to judge from the British Resident's letters, seemed to realise what was about to happen except the intended victim.

Scindia had in his service just the man for such an exploit as he contemplated in the person of Catielho Filose, an Italian adventurer devoid of scruple. The news came that the *Nullah* behind the Holkar camp was full of water and impassable. No line of retreat or flight lay open to its defenders, and the moment had arrived to carry out the fell design. To hide the commotion in Scindia's camp it was given out that the Maharaja was going forth to a great tiger hunt, and in fact he did observe that intention, but when he drew near Holkar's camp he and his escort turned aside, and followed another route. But Filose's corps pressed on, and forced their way without opposition through the outer barriers of the camp which they found unguarded. It was just at daybreak, some vain resistance was offered, and Mulhar Rao Holkar, half-armed, fell fighting bravely. The fall of the Chief ended the resistance and a massacre began, but a strange thing had happened. During the night the torrent fell in the *nullah*, and a certain number of the Holkar followers got across. Among these were the two brothers, Ettuljee and Jeswunt Rao, the former making his way into Poona where he concealed himself, the latter riding off with thirteen followers to the Deccan to begin the adventurous career which has no counterpart in the annals of India.

The British Resident at the Peshwa's Court commenting on this occurrence, which had happened just outside his garden wall, declared that "the supremacy of the House of Scindia was assured" and "the fortunes of that of Holkar were reduced to the lowest ebb verging on extinction." The assumption seemed at the moment to be plausible enough, but the result was to show the danger of prophesying with regard to the unstable fortunes of humanity. Within a very few years it was Holkar that was in the ascendant and Scindia on the decline. This change provides the material for the romance of Jeswunt Rao Holkar.

That fugitive set his horse's head towards the Nizam's territory, intending to enter that prince's service, but on his way he met an American officer, named Boyd, who had held the rank of Colonel in the army of Tukoji Holkar, returning from the same destination. He advised him, as the Nizam was retrenching, to turn elsewhere, and for a time Jeswunt Rao disappeared in the jungles of Berar. Some months later he had gathered round him a band of daring and desperate men to the number of 350. This was the period when he declared that "he trusted to his spear for sustenance, and to his horse for safety and for shade when he lay down against the noon-day sun." A horse and a spear became the crest of the House of Holkar.

He next appears at Nagpore, the capital of another Maratha Prince, styled the Bhonsla, who as a descendant of Sivaji, enjoyed special consideration in the confederacy. The Bhonsla was not ill-disposed to the Holkars, and took the fugitive and his followers into his service intending to employ them on the southern frontier of Berar, where he was in continual dispute with the Nizam. But Scindia on hearing of these doings protested, and as it was more important to please him than to shield a fugitive prince the Bhonsla promised satisfaction. Still Jeswunt Rao was his guest, and it was necessary to observe the forms. The Bhonsla sent for the young chief, and ordered him to start for the south, and loaded him with presents. There was no reason to suspect any treachery, but at the end of his first day's march Jeswunt Rao found a large body of the Bhonsla's troops waiting for him. Resistance was useless. His force was disarmed and plundered, and the young Holkar was carried back to Nagpore and cast into prison. He realised that his shrift would be short as the Bhonsla only awaited Scindia's pleasure. Within a few days from his capture Jeswunt Rao in a woman's clothes escaped from his prison. He saw clearly that he could no longer trust in the faith of friendship of any man He could only rely on himself.

Those followers of the Holkar's, who had preferred Mulhar Rao to Kashi Rao attached themselves to him; many others, and those the boldest, discerned in him a leader after their own hearts; the Afghan adventurer Ameer Khan, bringing with him a numerous horde of mercenaries, joined hands with him; and that was sufficient in those days to form the nucleus of a formidable army if the promise of plunder seemed likely to be answered by the reality. That he obtained a considerable sum of money about this time is certain, but its source is uncertain. He may have discovered a secret hoard of the thrifty Ahaliya Baiee, or he may have seized some of the treasure of Kashi Rao, but on the whole it seems most probable that the funds were provided by the widow of Mulhar Rao anxious to see her posthumous child, Khande Rao raised to the Gadi of his ancestors. Whatever were the sources Jeswunt Rao had become a considerable power in Central India, and success alone was needed to consolidate and make it formidable. He determined to attain his ends at the expense of Scindia.

In these years of struggle for Holkar following the night attack at Poona on 14th September, 1797, the power and authority of Scindia had greatly increased, and his supremacy in the Maratha Confederacy had become incontestable. Kashi

Rao Holkar was a puppet in his hands, and the Peshwa himself was overshadowed by the power and prestige of one of his satraps. De Boigne had retired from his service, carrying back to France the largest fortune any European had ever derived from India, but his place had been taken by Perron who was supported by a considerable corps of French officers. Scindia besides had the control of many tributaries who were bound to provide men and money and his resources were equal not only to the maintenance of a large army, but also to bestow lavish rewards on those who served him.

The one cloud on his horizon was caused by the sudden and mysterious appearance of the young Holkar, whose reputation had been enormously increased by the elusiveness of his movements and by the uncertainty generally felt as to the sources and extent of his power. Scindia resolved to end this suspense, and in the name of Kashi Rao Holkar he declared war on Jeswunt Rao. This step was an unnecessary formality as Jeswunt Rao had struck the first blow. Although there was no comparison between their respective power and resources Holkar had one great advantage. All his forces were collected under his own hand and immediately available while those of Scindia were very scattered and separated by great distances. Perron and his best troops were in the Doab, others were at Agra, a considerable corps was far in the south on the banks of the Godaveri. As he looked all around him Holkar saw nothing but the formidable forces of Scindia, but he held the central position, and he soon proved that he knew how to turn it to account.

Jeswunt Rao was encamped outside the rich city of Ougein engaged in the task of extracting as large a sum as he could from its bankers and merchants. There was a small garrison in the place of Scindia's troops, and that prince moved reinforcements from various quarters to its support. The story of this campaign is given in the following extracts from the unpublished despatches from Captain Collins, the British Agent with Scindia:

"*May 31, 1801.* Dowlut Rao Scindia, some time ago, detached five battalions of sepoys under Mr. John Hessing with instructions to proceed towards Ougein to check the depredations of Jeswunt Rao Holkar in the Malwa Province.

June 15. It appearing that Jeswunt Rao Holkar meditates an attack upon the battalions stationed at Ougein Scindia has enjoined Mr. John Hessing who commands there to act simply on the defensive until he be joined by the main body of the army.

July 10. Recent advices from the camp of Jeswunt Rao Holkar state that on 25th ult. this Chieftain attacked and defeated two battalions of sepoys and 500 horse, that had been detached by D. R. Scindia for the purpose of reinforcing Mr. John Hessing. In this action Holkar took 3 European officers prisoners, and captured 200 horses, 400 firelocks and 7 guns. It is said that encouraged by this success he means to advance without delay against two battalions of Sutherland's Brigade, which are at present posted on the north side of the Nerbudda in charge of a large portion of Scindia's park of artillery. Mr. John Hessing on receiving this intelligence evacuated the fort where he had taken post and marched to effect a junction with Juntoo Punth who has with him nearly 5,000 cavalry. Scindia's late procrastination, which cannot be accounted for on rational grounds, has exposed a considerable part of his forces to the danger of being cut off in detail.

July 18. After his success Jeswunt Rao supported by M. Dudrenec attacked Scindia's artillery, but was repulsed after a very long and severe action, and in which he seems to have failed only from the circumstance of some Sirdar of distinction being killed, as his troops retreated the moment that the fall of this person from an elephant was perceived.

July 24. On the 4th instant, Jeswunt Rao detached Mr. Plumet with four battalions and a body of cavalry for the purpose of dislodging two corps of Sutherland's brigade that were posted on the north side of the Nerbudda. Though Holkar's sepoys behaved with great spirit on this occasion yet the immense superiority of the fire from Scindia's artillery obliged them after a sharp contest of two hours to fall back in some confusion with the loss of eight pieces of cannon. Led by Jeswunt Rao in person they returned to the charge and retook six of their guns. After this success, however, they were again driven from the field with considerable slaughter.

Mr. John Hessing having effected a junction with Juntoo Punth is returned to Ougein, which city may now be considered as perfectly secure against any attack by Holkar.

July 29. On 17th instant Jeswunt Rao having been reinforced by Ameer Khan attacked with his collective force Mr. John Hessing and Juntoo Punth in the vicinity of Ougein. The action continued from noon until evening when Holkar retreated and encamped at a few miles' distance from the field of battle. It appears, however, this Chieftain renewed the engagement with increased vigour the next morning early, and after a sharp and severe contest succeeded in completely routing Scindia's troops. Mr. Hessing and several of the European officers under his command were wounded and one was killed. Thirty pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the victors who seem to have gained a most decisive advantage, the consequences of which may prove fatal to Scindia. The defeat of John Hessing was quite unexpected and has produced a panic in Ougein."

So far all had gone well with Holkar. He had won at least three encounters, and he had acquired a considerable number of guns in which he had been weak. He had also established his reputation as a successful military leader, but of course he was still very far indeed from being Scindia's equal in power. Negotiations were started in the hope of effecting an accommodation between the two Chiefs; it is dubious if they were sincere, it is certain they were abortive.

A brief lull sufficed to allow of the concentration of Scindia's main forces. We resume the record.

"*October 23.* Surjajee Ghautky and Colonel Sutherland joined the troops near the pass of Ochoonda on 1st instant. Since then Scindia's army has advanced within a few miles of Indore, the capital of the Holkar Chiefs. In consequence of this movement Jeswunt Rao immediately withdrew the whole of his force from Ougein and proceeded by forced marches to Indore where he arrived just in time to protect the city from insult and plunder.

October 25. I have this instant been informed by my native agent at Ougein that on 14th instant, the forces of Dowlut Rao Scindia gained a complete victory over the troops of Jeswunt Rao Holkar in a general engagement which took place in the vicinity of Indore. My intelligence merely states that the action was extremely severe, that all the artillery and baggage belonging to the enemy had fallen into the hands of Scindia's officers, and that a detachment of cavalry had gone in pursuit of Holkar.

October 31. The recent victory which was so easily obtained by Scindia's force may in a great degree be ascribed to the treachery of the officers who commanded Holkar's infantry on the occasion, they being accused of acting in concert with Surjajee Ghautky, and there can be but little doubt that the defection of Mr. Plumet had considerably weakened the attachment of many Sepoy Corps to the cause of Jeswunt Rao. The city of Indore was exposed to all the horrors incident to an indiscriminate plunder during two successive days to gratify at once the vengeance of Scindia and the rapacious avarice of his troops.

November 16. Indore has been retaken by Jeswunt Rao's partisans. Even now Jeswunt Rao's force consists of 20,000 horse and foot, and I understand he is to be shortly joined by Lulwa Dada who independent of the troops he will bring with him must be allowed to be a considerable acquisition on account of the acknowledged superiority of his military talents..

February 19. Holkar has defeated Mr. Syms who commanded a battalion of sepoys at Rampora on the part of Mr. Perron, and obliged him to take refuge in the fort with the loss of 8 guns."

It will thus be evident that despite the great reverse at Indore, Holkar was still formidable. He wanted successes to re-establish his strength, and had no intention of breaking his power in a vain struggle with Scindia by attacking him where he was strongest. He decided to change his scene of operations. Filled with great ideas he resolved to give the Marathas a new Peshwa who should be amenable to his influence and not to that of Scindia. The claimant was ready to his hand in Amrut Rao, the elder half-brother of the reigning Peshwa Bajee Rao, who had, for a brief space after the accidental death of the young Peshwa Madhoo Rao in 1796, controlled the government of the Maratha State. Amrut Rao developed some compunctions in following implicitly the behests of Jeswunt Rao, but they did not go beyond the proposed substitution of his son Venaik for himself in the seat of titular power which he reserved for himself the more modest station of Dewan.

In April, 1802, it became known that Holkar's army had crossed the Nerbudda, and was marching for Kandeish, where the original possessions of his family were located. A few weeks later he had fixed his headquarters at Chandore, and his troops were operating in the valley of the Godaveri. From this post of vantage he presented an ultimatum to the reigning Peshwa, calling upon him to order Scindia not only to restore all the Holkar possessions, but also to hand over the portion of his conquests in Hindostan which should have devolved on Holkar by the old agreement. The Peshwa, even if he had the will, had not the power to comply.

By the end of July the position had developed. Jeswunt

Rao had gained various minor successes, he had increased his artillery by at least 15 good pieces, and he had raised four battalions of infantry which he placed under the command of English Eurasians. He had advanced to the Bheema while Scindia's forces under Sudasheo Bhow were on the Tapti. They mustered at this moment 4 battalions of 450 men each under Europeans, 5,000 cavalry and 16 guns. There was also a considerable body of untrained irregulars attached to it. As Holkar had not less than 15,000 excellent horse and an overwhelming superiority in guns it was clear that Sudasheo needed reinforcing, but Holkar had outwitted Scindia and placed too great a distance between them for it to arrive in useful time. Besides he had again secured the central position and closed all the lines of approach.

Events now moved rapidly. The Peshwa, realising that Poona was in danger, sent out all the forces he could collect to co-operate with Scindia's. Holkar fell upon them, and scattered them to the winds adding 18 more guns to his artillery. There remained only Sudasheo Bhow to deal with. The decisive battle between them was fought on October 25, 1802, outside the walls of Poona and the British Resident in that city thus described it:

"The action yesterday between Holkar's army and that under Sudasheo Bhow commenced with a warm cannonade at half past nine and lasted with great vivacity till 12 when the cavalry of the former Chieftain having made a general charge drove back Scindia's cavalry and cutting in upon the line of infantry obtained a complete victory. Holkar became master of the whole of Scindia's tents, stores, baggage and guns. Of the four Europeans who served with Scindia's infantry three were taken wounded, the fourth appears to be missing. The senior European officer of Holkar's infantry was killed by a cannon shot towards the close of the action. Sudasheo Bhow is supposed to have escaped with the greater part of his horse. Holkar has given orders that the City is to be spared and has taken steps to prevent the Pindarries molesting the Residency. Holkar is supposed to have upwards of 30,000 good horse, his infantry, mostly new troops may amount to 8 or 9,000 men and his train of artillery is very large."

On Sudasheo's defeat the Peshwa Bajee Rao fled to British territory, and on November 7, Amrut Rao entered Poona. He remained there until April 20, 1803, when Sir Arthur Wellesley arrived suddenly from the Deccan, and a few weeks later Bajee Rao was brought back by another British corps, and reinstated on his throne in Poona. Two things had happened in those few months. Holkar had revealed himself as one of the great Indian leaders and Bajee Rao had signed the Treaty of Bassein.

Before passing on it may be interesting to give a first hand picture of Jeswunt Rao Holkar at this period. Colonel Close, the Resident, wrote as follows four days after the battle:

"*October 29.* I proceeded to pay the visit to Holkar. I found him sitting on a cot in a small tent situated in the centre of his army. He seemed to be in much pain from wounds in each hand which he received in the late action. He received me with much politeness, talked of the injuries which his family had received from Scindia, complained of the Peshwa who had promised to arrange matters for him with Scindia, but had in truth only amused and deceived him, observing, however, that he considered the Peshwa as his Lord. I replied that I always understood that no material difference subsisted between him and the Peshwa, and that I did not see any cause why His Highness and he should not be reconciled. He then remarked that the Peshwa had again acted very wrongly by flying to the southward, that he was not averse to come to an arrangement with His Highness, and that he was desirous of having my assistance on the subject. I told him that I should be ready to receive any person he might depute to me for the purpose of explaining his sentiments. He appeared to be satisfied with this and said he would send his

Dewan to me. He then presented me and the gentlemen of my party with shawls and we withdrew. Holkar is a man of middling size and in the prime of life. He has lost one eye, the right one, it is said by the explosion of a levelled fusil in his own hand a long time ago."

Writing sometime later and recording his final impressions of Jeswunt Rao Colonel Close predicted :—

"Circumstances may yet require us to regard this Chieftain as more worthy of our amity than some of his neighbours with whom we are bound in treaties of peace."

We have now reached a stage when the rivalry of two Indian Chiefs fades into insignificance before the struggle for supremacy between the British and the Maratha Powers. It was one of the most dramatic episodes in Indian history. On the last day of the year 1802 the fugitive Peshwa Bajee Rao signed the treaty at Bassein which placed his dynasty and his State under British protection. The Peshwa thus placed his sovereignty in the lap of the English. When the great ruling Chiefs learnt the news they refused to believe it, and Scindia in particular took umbrage because his predecessor had been the Guarantor of the very different Treaty of Salbye, and claimed that he had a right to have been consulted prior to its signature. The great Chiefs agreed in the policy of denying assent to the Treaty. Could they agree in the measures to be taken to uphold their view? Scindia and the Bhonsla quickly agreed and concluded an offensive-defensive alliance. Could they induce Holkar to join them? The fate of India at that moment may well have rested on his decision.

Not less than the others was Holkar perturbed at the terms of the Treaty, not less did he wish to set it aside; but personal considerations had some play. If he joined the confederates and they were victorious it was quite clear to him that Scindia would become supreme. He would be contributing to the triumph of his enemy, the man who had attempted to take his life and to injure him and his family in every way.

If they were defeated he felt quite sure that he would get much worse terms from the British than either of his confederates. He might expect nothing short of personal extinction, for the Marquis Wellesley, the Governor General, had declared that he would recognise Kashi Rao alone as the true head of the Holkars. In this as in much else he differed from his brother Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington.

For these reasons Jeswunt Rao Holkar determined to be a spectator rather than a participant. It was said that had they not felt sure of his co-operation Scindia and the Bhonsla would not have moved, but they had gone too far to be allowed to retract. The moment had arrived to place the issue beyond dispute, and Lord Wellesley began operations very astutely. In July, 1803, he summoned all British subjects in the service of Indian States to quit their employment, and to return to British territory guaranteeing them the equivalent of their emoluments. He did more. He notified all the foreign officers, chiefly French, in the service of the Princes that the same terms were open to them, and as the Treaty of Amiens happened to be in force it was possible to treat the French as belonging to a friendly nation. The result was that all the British officers, and all the foreigners quitted the service of Scindia and the Bhonsla, and hastened to come in. Whatever we may think of the conduct of these highly paid and much rewarded adventurers, the astuteness of Wellesley's step cannot be questioned ; without firing a shot he had reduced the strength of his enemy by one half.

(*To be continued*)

DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER

THE OMAYYADS[1]

With the murder of Othman, say the Arabs, the door of trouble was opened, never to close again. The real cause lay in the conflict between the Islamic and the Arab outlook. Mohamed had made no arrangements for a successor; but, on his death, the necessity for one became only too obvious, and the more the kingdom of Islam grew the more pressing became this necessity. Settled for the Muslims, then, was the question of a successor, and equally so the question of the extent of his power. Every Muslim was deemed eligible for the Caliphate—the most honoured among them being, of course, chosen. This conception corresponded to the democratic spirit of Islam. But it was not the general Muslim opinion. It was only the opinion of the Medinites. The rest remained Arabs in the old sense of the word. Unaffected continued their views regarding their duties to the family and the tribe. For them there could be no other title to the Caliphate than kinship with the Prophet, or kinship with the most distinguished of Arab families. Such was the trend of thought in Arabia—pre-eminently so at Mekka.

Now it so happened that the Medinites themselves had chosen Othman as Caliph. To the pious electors he was naught but an old, honoured companion and son-in-law of the Prophet, and as such their choice fell upon him. To the Mekkans, however, Othman was a member of the most distinguished family of Mekka—the family of Omayya. And in the true spirit of the Mekkans did Othman feel and act. He was an Omayyad first and foremost; and, therefore, to fill up the high offices of Government with his kinsmen, appeared the most natural thing to him. This partisan spirit—this spirit of nepotism—provoked resentment, and Othman eventually fell a victim to the wrath of the Medinite coterie, consisting of the austere and sorely-stricken faithful. Thus, within the Empire itself, there arose a deep line of cleavage between the party of the Medinites, with their democratic conception of the Caliphate, and the party of the Mekkans, with their rigid view of the family and the tribe. These divergent views led to the bloody wars which followed the death of Othman, for thirty years diverting the strength of Islam from its frontiers, to be frittered away in conflicts at home.

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[1] Joseph Hell, Chapter IV.

The murder of Othman was a signal for Civil War. To curse Othman was the watchword of the Medinite—to call for vengeance for his blood the war-cry of the Mekkan. The first phase of hostilities ended with the victory of Ali—the Medinite candidate—as against the Mekkan Talha and Zubair. But by far the most important for the development of Islam was the second phase—the war between Ali and the Governor of Syria, Muawiya. In the course of this conflict two parties arose in the army of Ali, which quickly assumed religious colours, and which have continued as religious sects, up to the present day. One of these cut itself adrift from the army of Ali, and clamoured for reversion to the old theocracy of Islam—claiming the right to elect and depose Caliphs. The other—loyal to Ali—emphasised the hereditary right to succession to the Caliphate, and thus paved the way for the strict dynastic conception of the Shias, which, to this day, is lovingly cherished in Persia and Mesopotamia. In 641 A.D. Ali fell to the dagger of an assassin. In 680 A.D. his son Husain perished at Kerbala. Although, after the death of Ali, the Omayyads were virtually the rulers of the Islamic Empire, they had yet to fight for thirty years to secure complete recognition. Scarcely had Husain been removed from the scene when Abdullah, the son of Zubair, set himself up as a rival Caliph against the Omayyads. It taxed the entire strength of the Omayyad Caliph Abdul Malik to conquer Abdullah, which he did in A.H. 72 (692 A.D.)

Not until 73 A.H.—after thirty-three years of struggle—did the Omayyad rule become firm and secure.

Now let us glance at the internal conditions.

In Ibn Zubair passed away the last champion of the old faith, representative of Medina. About this time Medina herself was fast losing her importance. Ten years later her fate was sealed. Believing that by bringing the Medinites into closer touch with the court, he would appease or end the hatred of the pious, the Omayyad Governor, in A. H. 62 (682 A.D.), sent nine distinguished *Ansar* (Helpers) to Damascus. They were received with honour and given rich presents. Their demands were sympathetically listened to. Nevertheless, the pious visitors saw in the Caliph naught but a man without faith, a slave to drink and dancing girls, fond of dogs and riotous revelry. And such was their report at Medina. Soon after, all Medina rose in revolt, and the Omayyads and their supporters were driven out of the town. The reaction was not long in coming. An army of 12,000 strong appeared before the walls of Medina, and, after a severe fight, defeated the *Ansar* and the *Muhajirin*. The victory was signalized by a fearful devastation of the town, and a merciless massacre of the inhabitants. Medina, henceforth, ceases to be the intellectual and spiritual focus of Islam, and with the sun of Medina sets the sun of the true Islam of the Prophet. That Islam, however, is not altogether unaccountable for its fate. On the one hand Islam strove to transform the Arabs into true Muslims far too suddenly; and on the other it strove to call a halt to the development which was inevitable within Islam itself. Neither the one nor the other was possible. The various component parts of the Empire—the various nations comprised therein—nay every important town—all followed of necessity their own independent paths of development; and not until a remoter age did the common element emerge and a common tie unite them all again. Even before the Omayyad rule Mekka had begun to use its immense wealth for purposes of pleasure and amusement. Under the Omayyads it went further and further on this path, and ended by becoming the central hearth of the joy and gaiety of the Islamic Empire.[1] Above all, it became and remained the centre of music and song.[2] The impulse coming from Persia found a warm response in Mekka. Sons of rich Mekkans squandered fabulous sums on musicians of either sex, and the Court of Damascus looked for supply, in this direction, to Mekka. In singing, with all its accompaniments, women did not lag behind men. And these women set the fashion in dress, and wherever they are referred to their dresses are minutely described and lavishly praised. We are told of one that she used to hold receptions and entertain guests in great style and in a striking toilette, and, to make the setting suitable to the occasion, was wont to dress up her slaves in germents of variegated colours. The advent of these female singers tended to lower the position of women. High, indeed, was the status of women in the earliest times, and unhampered was their freedom. Socially, intercourse with them was common, nor were cases of ladies receiving male friends unknown or infrequent. Ever chivalrous had been the attitude of the Arabs towards women, and wherever *Arabism* was not affected by central Asiatic influences—in Spain, for instance—that chivalrous attitude continued unimpaired. To kill or even injure a woman was reckoned the most dishonourable of acts, and the oldest Islamic Law of War would not sanction the killing of enemy women and children—even though they were of other than Islamic faith. Thus does an Omayyad poet charmingly express himself: "Our lot (*i.e.*, man's lot) is to kill or be killed or be taken captive—woman's part is gracefully to manage her train."[3]

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[1] Von Kremer's chapter on Damascus is still by far the best account of the Omayyad social life. See my *Orient under the Caliphs*, pp. 130 *et sqq.*

[2] Khuda Bukhsh, *Islamic Civilization*, pp. 13, 14, 88. I have dealt fully with this subject there. See also *Orient under the Caliphs*, Chapter II.

[3] Perron, Femmes Arabes. Paris 1858.

At a time when the West knew not what love-poetry was—in Arabia it had attained its culminating point? The prince of this form of poetry was Omar Ibn Rabia.[1] His poems were in every one's mouth, and happily some have come down to us. In language of intense passion and exquisite felicity he sang and immortalized his love, which not only claimed the most distinguished contemporaries but even the very princesses of the House of Omayya. In him we have a foretaste, and hear the accent, of Heinrich Heine.

Towards the end of the Omayyad rule, when free intercourse between the sexes may have degenerated into secret love and intrigues, we are suddenly confronted with the rise of the *Harem system* and the rule of eunuchs. The fact, however, that the eunuch-trade was in the hands of the Byzantines, satisfactorily shows that neither Islam nor Arabism was responsible for the position of women as it later shaped itself. In Mekka—the seat of pure Arabism—the position of women remained high and honourable, despite the vicissitudes of the times. But we should not forget that *Arabism* had inherited from Islam nothing more than the conviction of its *Imperial sway and its destiny to enjoy all the good things of the Earth, as then envisaged.*

The character of those towns which had sprung up in Babylonia out of military cantonments—the towns of Basra and Kufa—stands in sharp contrast to that of the old Arab commercial town—so little affected by changed circumstances.

Here, in consequence of the conquering campaigns, a new world had come into being. The contact between the Arabs and the gifted Persian population stirred the Arabs to their depths, and transformed them, so to speak, into a new, special race of men. The rapid growth of these towns—about 50 A.H. each counted 150,000 to 200,000 inhabitants—and the stimulating influence of the Persians—called forth a lively intellectual movement ; and thus Basra and Kufa became the most animated intellectual centres of Islam. The intermediary position—geographically and intellectually—which they held between Medina and Damascus tended to promote egotism and to foster a spirit of independence. Therefore no authority there was immune from challenge—whereas every rebel was sure of a hearing. Just as they upheld freedom in politics, so also they upheld independence of thought in the domains of art and science. Here, earlier than elsewhere, attention was directed to the scientific study of the Arabic language. The contact between Persian and Arabic on the one hand, and the deviations between the language of the Qur'an and the vernacular on the other, evoked this linguistic and philological activity. Not altogether free from doubt is the question as to who were the pioneers in the field of Arabic philology. It is probable that foreigners—notably Persians—did the groundwork of this branch of knowledge ; but, be it noted, in no case could it have been done without the material co-operation of the Arabs.

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[1] See, Orient under the Caliphs, p. 43, and Schwarz's charming monograph. 'Umar Ibn Abi Rebia.' Leipzig 1893. See also Prof. Mackail's Arabian Lyric Poetry in his Lectures on Poetry. (Longmans & Co., 1914).

No less striking is the general intellectual activity in Basra in the beginning of the second century of the Hegira. We see a small circle formed, where political and religious questions of the day were considered and discussed. They argued the credibility of Islam ; the excellence of Buddhism ; the doctrine of Predestination ; and a certain Wasil Ibn Ata laid the foundation of a school of Rationalism. It is, alas ! but a dim light that chance sheds on the earliest free, intellectual activities of Islam. But dim, though the light be, it suffices to reveal the fact that the *craving for knowledge and truth* had indubitably been awakened among them. While in Mekka the old Arab traditions steadfastly held their ground, and the old Arab tendencies became more and more marked, life and activities in the new towns of Babylonia showed a new form of *Arabism.* It seemed as though a new race-type had come to life : proud and frank, farsighted, but full of fun, like the old Arabs of Hejaz, but *more* *cosmopolitan in tone and temper.* The inhabitants of Basra and Kufa had broken with the conservatism of their forefathers, whose customs and habits had hitherto been the unassailable touchstone of excellence. Now, they themselves set out on a voyage of intellectual discovery.[1] Among the conquered towns of culture Damascus alone enjoyed the glory of being raised to the seat of Government. In Mesopotamia and Egypt—however much the governors might like the old towns—they had to reside in the newly-established cantonments and build afresh.

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[1] "Al-Kufa, the northernmost of the two military colonies founded by the Caliph Umar for the domination of the great Mesopotamian plain, was, during the period of Omayyad and early Abbasid rule, a place where the work of collecting and recording the poetry of the pre-Islamite time was pursued with ardour. Both Al-Kufa and Al-Basra were situated on the borders of cultivation, with the healthy high land of the Desert behind them, in the immediate neighbourhood of ancient sites which for centuries had been points of resort familiar to the nomad tribes. The former was in close proximity to Al-Hirah, the famous capital of the Lakhmite kings, which lay three miles to the south, while Al-Basra was only a few miles inland from Al-Ubullah, an ancient mart on the united stream of the Euphrates and Tigris, commanding the great trade routes east and west, north and south, by land and water. These two centres were the places where the armies of Islam, drawn from the tribes of the Peninsula were collected for their annual campaigns for the extension of the faith into the empires of Byzantium and Persia, and when the latter had fallen, into Central Asia. Thus both war and commerce brought to Al-Kufa and Al-Basra tribes from the remotest parts of Arabia, and many of their chiefs took up their abode permanently there. The study of the Arabic language, its word-stock and grammar, had, early in the life of the new Dominion, become the care of the religious heads of Islam. The Caliph, Ali, who made Al-Kufa his head-quarters, is said to have been the first to insist upon the necessity of taking special measures for maintaining the purity of the language of the Qur'an, which was in danger of being lost by the deterioration of the speech of the Arabs who had settled among the Aramaic-speaking populations of Mesopotamia; and under his direction the earliest Arabic grammar is alleged to have been drawn up by Abu-l-Aswad of Du'il, a section of the tribe of Kinanah. After this first impulse, interest in the subject spread rapidly. Both Al-Kufa and Al-Basra became the head-quarters of a school of active grammatical and linguistic research, for the supply of which the national stores of poetry, preserved in the memory of the tribal traditionists or *Rawis*, were drawn upon. In the pre-Islamite period Al-Hira (adjacent to Al-Kufa) had been the resort of numerous poets who composed odes in praise of the Lakhmite kings, and it is said that a volume containing some of the works of the most eminent poets, and especially poems in praise of the last king, An-Numan, and his predecessors had been preserved in the family of the Lakhmite princes, and passed into the hands of the Omayyad house of Merwan. It was natural that poetry-research should be most active at Kufa. But at both places the evolution of grammar and lexicography was pursued with energy, and considerable rivalry existed in the early Abbasid period, the school of Baghdad, which finally became the standard, was built upon the foundations of both, with a leaning towards the system of Basra rather than that of its rival." Lyall, Introduction to the '*Mufaddiliyta,*' pp. XI-XII.

In Damascus the Semitic Arabs came into contact with a civilization which was akin to their own—the Aramaic civilization. The delightful town, close to the edge of the desert, with rippling streams and shady nooks, exactly suited their taste. With extraordinary rapidity grew the Arab population. In the year 710 A.D. it numbered 120,000. For the proud, pleasure-seeking Omayyads, no place could be more welcome or more happily attuned to their mentality than Damascus. Byzantium supplied articles of luxury; Mekka—musicians; Basra and Kufa—fruits of the mind. Nor were the Arabs slow in their appreciation of things of art and beauty. But unaided they could not shine in esthetic creations. Byzantine art laid its spell upon them, and to that spell they yielded. Forthwith they sought and obtained Byzantine aid. The Caliph Abdul Malik caused a cupola to be erected on the Temple at Jerusalem (wrongly called the Omar Mosque), which, with the addition of the later times, is, to-day, by far the finest architectural monument of the world. His successor Walid could not resist the temptation of appropriating the Church of St. John (which, hitherto, had been equally shared by Muslims and Christians), and transforming it into a beautiful mosque. Already *these buildings show deviations and departures from their Hellenistic models, indicating thereby the rise of a new, original art, purely Islamic.* How this happened—regard being had to the fact that all architectural work was in the hands of the subject races—is still an unsolved mystery! Unfortunately, of the palaces of the Omayyads nothing has survived. But the pleasure-castles which have recently been discovered in the Syrian desert, and which are traced to the Omayyads, testify to their endeavour to make them as lovely and beautiful as was possible in those far-off days. In the account of an Arab reporter we find the proto-type of all later Arab palaces. "We came," says he, "to a great palace which was floored with green marble. In the midst of the court-yard stood a great basin, with an unceasing flow of water which watered the garden. In the garden were all kinds of lovely plants and shady trees and birds that sang the sweetest, rapturous notes." The splendour of the palace was in keeping with the pageant of the court. What a mighty change from the early days of the Caliphate! Mohamed had worn no token of his high office—nor was he in any way distinguished in his dress from the rest of the simple Arabs. And so had it been with Abu Bakr, Omar, Othman and Ali. But it was to be different now. The first two Omayyad Caliphs, who still conducted the five daily prayers and delivered the Friday Sermon, appeared, on these occasions, dressed absolutely in white—head covered with a pointed cap—a signet and a sceptre-like staff in hand. Dressed in a style more gorgeous still, were the Caliphs on other public occasions. When holding receptions the Caliph sat on the throne with crossed legs, surrounded by his paternal and maternal relations, his brothers and sons—separated at a suitable distance from the officials, clients, poets and petitioners. The first Omayyads were active, competent rulers, who devoted a large portion of the day to administrative work. Evenings and nights were set apart for amusement. In the beginning they loved to hear historical recitals—preferably South Arabian legends. To this were added poetical recitations. But soon innocent amusements passed into questionable enjoyments. Musicians were summoned from Mekka and Medina, and cider and rose-sherbat, which in the beginning had satisfied their cravings, were now exchanged for wine. Yazid I was almost always in a state of intoxication. The great Abdul Malik gave himself up to wine once a month, and like the Romans used to have recourse to emetics to empty his stomach. His son Walid, under whom the Islamic Empire attained its widest sway, held drinking carouses every second day, and the Caliph Hisham—the last great prince of the House of Omayya—every Friday after divine service. These feasts were not, however, without significance to Arab culture. They meant opportunities for artists and poets to display their talents before the Caliph. According to the Persian custom, separated from the guests and artists and poets by a transparent curtain—let down in the middle of the saloon—sat the Caliph, listening to music and song. In time this love of music and song degenerated into a sickly, morbid, demoralizing passion. Yazid II, it is reported, fell into such an ecstasy, on one occasion, at the song of the Mekkan musician Maa'bad, that he sprang to his feet and danced round the saloon. Walid II, who lived in his pleasure-castle in the Syrian desert, used while the music was on, to sit in a large saloon, in the midst of which was a huge basin, half-filled with water and half with wine. So overpowered was he, at times, at the songs of Maa'bad, that he would fling his mantle aside, jump into the basin, and have a mouthful of wine out of it. Slaves, then, would rush up to him with fresh garments, perfume and ointment, and the whole scene would close with lavish presents to the singer, with an injunction to keep the incident for ever under the seal of secrecy.

Walid II was not only fond of music and song: he was a good musician himself. He wrote poetry, played on the lute, composed, and his attainments were distinctly of a high order. Like him, highly-gifted were most of the Caliphs of the House of Omayya. They showed interest in and gave encouragement to all forms of intellectual activies. It is no wonder, then, that in such conditions and circumstances learning should have thriven.

But alas! in the political turmoil and tumults of the succeeding centuries everything that was done in the domain of science and art perished—never perhaps to be recovered. We know nothing more than the mere names of the heralds and pioneers of the Arab culture of this age. Of Yazid, an Omayyad prince (d. 704), we know that, instructed by a monk, he busied himself with the study of alchemy, and wrote three works on that subject. The first of these works dealt with his teacher and his instructions. We are entirely in the dark as to the beginnings of the study of natural sciences among the Arabs. Even of the beginnings of historical studies we only know this much, that the Omayyads helped and encouraged such studies by their interest in South Arabian songs and legends.[1]

The two South-Arabians who were summoned to the court of Damascus to relate the history of the kings of Yaman and narrate biblical legends were busy literary men. One of them, Abid Ibn Shariyya, composed a 'Book of kings' and of 'past history' which was very much in demand in the first century of Islam. The other—according to the statement of Arab bibliographers—wrote books on the Wars of the Prophet, on the Diffusion of Islam, and on the Israelites. A third writer of the same age is said to have written no less than 32 treatises, of which only the titles have come down to us. A Medinite—traditionist, jurist, theologian—wrote at the court of Damascus a book on the first Wars of Islam, and his pupil Al-Amiri is the first and the oldest known author of a work on 'Tradition'—still to be seen in MS. at Cairo. We also possess a MS. of a small collection of the Sayings of the Prophet, and we know that collections of Maxims and Proverbs were industriously made at the time of the Omayyads. Most congenial, indeed, was the soil of Damascus for theology. The Christians were held in high esteem at court, and the father of the last great theologian of the Greek Church—John of Damascus—was a favourite of the Caliph Abdul Malik. Peaceful exchange of ideas between Muslims and Christians was thus inevitable. It was in such circumstances that John could pen an apology for Christianity, and so influence Muslim thought as to lead to the formation of numerous sects.[2]

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[1] Von Kremer, *Culturgeschichete des orients*, Vol. II pp. 414 et sqq. *Die Orientalischen Literaturen* (Berlin and Leipzig 1906, p. 150). Wüstenfeld, *Die geschichtschreiben der Araber*, p. 8.

[2] See the Eng. tr. of Ibn Tahir-al-Baghdadi's book on *Muslim Schisms and Sects*, New York, 1920. (The author died in 1037.)

Thus we see how theology owed its rise to Christian inspiration—historical learning to Persian influences—jurisprudence to the legal systems of the subject races. However slight and slender the remnant, it is impossible to overrate the value and importance of the intellectual work done under the Omayyads. Of this intellectual activity we find in Omayyad poetry the clearest proof. That most of the poets should dedicate themselves to singing praises of the Caliphs is not in any way surprising, nor is it surprising either that a Christian poet—Akhtal—should be a favourite of the Caliph of his time; for were not the Omayyads tolerant, large-hearted, liberal-handed?

Apart from court poetry, thousands of verses have come down to us, revealing to the expert the Omayyad period in all its manifold phases. Unfortunately those verses—priceless for historical and linguistic purposes—are clothed in language at once so obscure and concentrated, that even their translation yields but little meaning to the layman. To the expert, however, they are an invaluable mine, an inestimable source of information for the life and mentality of *Arabism.* More distinctly than elsewhere do we see in this contemporary poetry the vices of *Arabism* steadily overlaying Islam: family spirit and tribal partisanship. The bulk of this poetry consists of satires against particular tribes—half-heathens and half-muslims. The poets—as may be expected—are far more intimate with the details and particulars of Beduin life than with the foreign cultures encompassing them. Most striking, and, from the point of view of cultural history, most significant, is the rôle of the poets in the empire of the Omayyads. The poets then filled the same position as the party press does to-day. Every party (that is to say, every tribal group) had its own special bard, who composed satires against its enemies, and penned panegyrics on its friends, and these compositions became the common property of all Arabs. To be glorified by a poet was the ambition of the individual and the tribe—to be ridiculed, was an engrossing, haunting fear. Even the richest and the most powerful heavily subsidized these guides of public opinion, to keep them on the right side. Many a poet waged a life-long war against another—many concluded alliances to combat a common foe. Praises of distinguished men; panegyrics on the heroes of the day; condemnation of the weak and the cowardly—set down in verses—flew from lip to lip to the extreme corners of the Muslim Empire. Contemporary poetry is thus the index to the storm that raged within the bosom of Arabism, and is, perhaps, the most reliable source of information regarding the strength of the various parties, at different stages of the Omayyad rule—so rich and conspicuous in warfare.[1]

The impression which this poetry conveys is the impression of a tumultuous, stormy time. Not only do sects wrangle and imperil the safety of Islam, but tribal jealousy threatens the very existence of the Empire. Precisely as, in old Arabia, branches of individual tribes, or the entire tribes themselves, fought each other, so now the two great tribal groups—the north and south Arabians—stand implacably opposed to each other, bent on mutual destruction. In Syria fought the Kais and the Kalb—in Babylonia the Tamim and the Azd.[2] The first Omayyad managed to prevent the seething hatred from breaking into bloody violence. But after his death things changed, and the tribal hatred became a decisive and destroying factor in Muslim politics. The name of the Kais or the Kalb was now associated with every ruler, and often, and often the governors of the new Caliph committed most cruel excesses against the partisans of the deceased Caliph. In reading the poetry of this age we are transported into the days of pure, unalloyed heathenism. Not a trace is visible of that fundamental idea of Islam—its supreme glory: *the brotherhood of the faithful, and the horror of shedding Muslim blood.* Only the scene of activity is widened, enlarged. 'Tis not Arabia alone but the wide, wide Muslim Empire which now becomes the theatre for the indulgence of untamed jealousy, wild passion, fratricidal warfare.

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[1] Sir Charles Lyall first called attention to the importance of Arab poetry as a source of historical information. His paper on the subject is a valuable piece of constructive work, which will, perhaps, be made a basis of extensive research by some scholar of a future day. Prof. Browne, in the fourth vol. of his Lit. History of Persia, has done for Persian what Sir Charles did for Arab Poetry. He has shown how significant is the light which Persian Poetry sheds on Persian history and civilization. And, to be sure, what a revealing light would contemporary Muslim poetry in India throw on the Muslim feeling towards British rule, if only some one had *the courage* to undertake its editing.

[2] These were most important subdivisions of the North and South Arabian tribes.

That this internal, internecine warfare wrecked the Omayyad Empire need not surprise us. But precisely at this time—when internal dissensions were disintegrating the Muslim Empire—Arabism was silently assimilating the subdued races. The high wall raised earlier by the Arabs could not endure for ever. It was bound to break down, and it did. The subject races saw but one path to salvation, and that path lay in conversion to Islam. Naught but conversion could relieve them of the burden of the Capitation-tax (Khiraj) and other equally heavy burdens imposed by the conquerors. And to conversion they resorted as the only means of escape from these impositions. Just as on the part of the Arabs fiscal reasons were more effective than religious, so also was it with the subject races in the matter of conversion. At this period, to be a 'Muslim' was tantamount to being an 'Arab.' It is sometimes so to-day.

Persians, Syrians, Copts and Berbers adopted the Arabic language, and freely placed their talents and learning at the disposal of the conquerors. Henceforward the nationality of the Muslim recedes into the background. Whether Persian or Syrian or Egyptian—he poses as an Arab. Thus, in the sequel, we understand by an 'Arab' a Muslim who wrote and spoke Arabic.[1] This is the most significant event in the history of Islamic civilization, and perhaps, the most incontestable proof of the importance of the Arab mission in that age. Persians and Byzantines and Copts had fallen into an incurable lethargy, and were wholly incapable, of their own initiative, of advancing along the path of progress. Contact with the Arabs shook off this lethargy, and awakened them to fresh intellectual life.

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[1] This suggests a striking parallel to the case of Eurasians in India.

In the vortex of bloody confusion the germ of the old culture—transplanted into a new soil—shoots forth into fresh life; and the moment the storm subsides, and the star of the Omayyads sets, and that of the Abbasids lights the horizon, an efflorescence—at once immense and splendid—greets the eye.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

ON THE NIGHT OF THE FULL MOON

If all that Moon were silver, it could not lend
A tithe more to mankind of soft delight
Or swell the music of melodious Night . . .
The lucent glory is still there to spend;
Largesse for all that no Greed may rend
And hoard deep-hidden for its miser sight,
But one pure wealth of universal right,
A coinage of pure Beauty without end.

But if that Moon were silver, who could say
What grasping hands of men might not reach out,
Possession-proud, across the sky to lay
Each one his jealous claim, with fearful doubt,
Even as the Earth is portion'd out to-day
With jackal snarl, and bitter, hostile rout?

SANKARA KRISHNA CHETTUR

TO ACCOUNT RENDERED

(*A Short Story*)

I

"Turn back to Office, Jackson, I have left an important paper on my table," Roland McIntyre, having given the order to his chauffeur, settled down into his seat with an impatient air. He was the Junior Partner in the firm of Messrs. McIntyre and Sons of Bhogliwala, which dated from the days of the Hon'ble John Company.

With the grating sound of the brakes, the engines of a luxuriant looking 4-seater dropped to a gentle purr. A toot of the horn, a turn and the car shot out again, like a hound released from its leash and was doubling back on its own scent with a speed sufficient to send the policeman on point duty into a fit.

"'Morning, Graham," greeted McIntyre, passing through his senior clerk's room into his own.

"Good Morning, Sir," replied Graham, hastily thrusting a cover into his inner coat pocket.

"Why, hasn't Peterson come to work to day?" asked McIntyre, seeing Graham standing at Peterson's table with an uneasy feeling.

"Yes, Sir, he has gone out. I was just settling his papers which had been blown off from his table."

Satisfied with Graham's explanation of his presence at Peterson's table, McIntyre entered his room only to return again with a packet of papers in his hand. When he had left, a smile of satisfaction and relief lit up Graham's face as he put his hand reassuringly to the breast pocket of his coat, which bulged with a wad of papers, which he had hastily thrust into it.

II

Under the sweltering heat of the noonday sun, with waves of liquid heat rising from the tarred pavement, a seething, sweating mass of human traffic swayed to and fro, in a congested business quarter of Bhogliwala. A newsboy with a bag slung across his back, dashed into this evermoving tide of human traffic, shouting in a shrill voice, "Paper—Paper,—Sahib." The poster hung round his neck bore the following headlines:

"STRANGE DISAPPEARANCE OF SECURITIES; TRIAL OF THE MANAGER FOR ALLEGED EMBEZZLEMENT!"

Roland McInlyre had just returned after a prolonged inspection of the up-country branches of the firm. The news of the arrest of his Manager was a shock to him. He was pacing up and down in his spacious and well-appointed office room with short quickened steps. His hands interlocked behind his back with fingers twitching in short convulsive clasps, his puckered brow displaying unmistakable signs of deep mental agitation.

Mrs. Peterson had just left him, after a long and painful interview.

The clock that had been ticking away struck ten, McIntyre stopped abruptly, looked at the clock, then reached for his hat and stick from the stand and walked out into the street. He signalled a loitering taxi and drove to the court.

The Counsel for the Prosecution had just ended his lengthy and impressive address. He had dwelt on the deliberate and criminal breach of trust by the accused and violation of the confidence of the employers at whose hands he had received nothing but kindness. Where would commerce and society be if there were no such things as mutual trust and confidence. He exhorted the court in the name of justice to award the extreme punishment to the accused so that it may be a warning and a lesson to others.

The Counsel for the Defence, who had been suddenly called out of the room by McIntyre and had had a hurried but momentous conversation with him, entered the Court. There was an air of triumph about him as he cast a condescending glance at his opponent, who had just concluded his address. He said, "Your Worship, I seek the Court's permission to call in a witness—Mr. Roland McIntyre—who is in possession of certain information which is of vital importance to my client."

On the permission of the Court being granted by the Judge, McIntyre entered the room and took up his place in the witness box after being sworn in by the Court Nazir. From the "box" he cast a hasty glance at the spectators. In the front row sat his senior clerk with his wife and daughter. Sybil Graham though not decidedly pretty, possessed a certain attractiveness, which was arresting to the masculine eye. There was fire and dream in her dark blue eyes, a well curved mouth, straight and delicately pencilled eyebrows, small, slightly retrousse nose and warm healthy colouring.

The Judge addressed Roland, drawing his attention from Sybil Graham's face. "Mr. McIntyre, the Court understands that you desire to make a statement, which has an important bearing on the case. Will you kindly tell us, as briefly as possible, what this information is which you desire to communicate to the Court?".

McIntyre then said: "I am the Junior Partner in the firm of Messrs. McIntyre and Sons. On the day of this deplorable loss of securities, I had occasion to return to my office unexpectedly and on entering office I saw Graham at Peterson's table in the act of putting a cover into his inner coat pocket. At the time I did not connect the incident with anything unusual; but in the light of the subsequent events, I think there was a certain suspicious air about Graham's action. I should like further enquiries to be made into the case. I know Peterson, I can vouch for his integrity. I am prepared to stand bail for him."

On the conclusion of his statement, the Judge congratulated McIntyre, on his public-spirited action, and directed that Peterson should be released on bail, while Graham should be remanded, pending further investigation by the police.

McIntyre felt a betrayer. A profound silence reigned in the Court at the sudden turn of events. Graham trembled in his seat, while his wife and daughter were struck speechless.

The Court then rose for the day. A stream of visitors poured out, some making their way hastily to attend to their day's business, while others loitered about the Court, discussing the unexpected turn of events.

The news of the arrest of her husband came to Mrs. Graham like a bolt from the blue. If the ground had suddenly opened and swallowed him, she would not have felt more stunned. To imagine that her husband, whom she had come to consider as the soul of honour and integrity, was guilty of such a deed was beyond her unsophisticated comprehension. Leaning heavily on her daughter's arm, she walked out of the Court, calling down divine justice upon the betrayer of her husband.

It is needless to traverse the long trail of police investigation and the eventual tracing of the crime to Graham. Suffice it to say that he was found guilty of criminal misappropriation and sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment.

III

The ever-moving stream of human traffic in the well-lit and busy street of Bhogliwala looked bleary through Sybil's tearful eyes, like phantom figures in a heavy mist. She stood on the pavement, hesitant, with her cheeks aflame and breathing quickly. A passionate curse escaped her quivering lips against her father's betrayer. Here she was an outraged girl, with no one to defend her. Why couldn't men leave her alone? The manager of the firm where she was employed, had suddenly lost his head, caught her in his arms and kissed her. In her righteous rage she had smacked him full in the face and had run out into the street to escape from his polluting touch, hatless, her hair dishevelled. The cold air outside brought calmer reflections. With her mother sick she had now lost the only means, however slender, of support. She stood in the street with a riot of emotions in her heart. A shrill toot of the horn, a nasty jolt and she was dimly conscious of a flash of stars.

When she opened her eyes again, she found herself lying upon a couch in a big office room, with her head throbbing fearfully. A pair of strong, manly hands were bathing her forehead with ice water.

" Oh, Miss Graham, I am so glad you have come round. It was a nasty accident but we have managed to catch the culprit." Roland McIntyre had now risen and was standing over her. Sybil did not know whether to thank her rescuer or to recoil from his contaminating presence. She blinked her eyes once or twice then looked up at the frank open face of Roland. Something inexplicable seemed to stir in her and she pouted in a feeble tone, "It is very kind of you, Mr. McIntyre, but I must really get home, mother will be anxious about me."

" Please don't get up, Miss Graham, you are too shaken up to move. As soon as my car comes I shall carry you down myself."—A flush suffused his face momentarily when he realised that he had not even asked her permission.

" I am afraid, you are terribly knocked up, I think you should take some rest. I'll speak to Morton about your leave."

" Thank you, Mr. McIntyre, but I have resigned my post," she replied with a sickly smile.

" Resigned! Why, Morton only told me this morning that he was thinking of increasing your salary and of putting you in charge of the Paris Models' Department."

"Yes, but I, I—er, I don't want to go there again."

The accident had unnerved her and she began to sob. Then in disjointed, pathetic sentences, she told him the tragic tale.

Since the accident four months had rolled by. Sybil was now installed as a steno-typist to the Junior Partner of Messrs. McIntyre & Sons.

Roland sat at his table with a pile of correspondence in front of him, but he did not feel like working. A fit of the "blues" had taken possession of him. "Come in," he said, in response to a tap on the door. A light, airy form tripped into the room with a note book in her hand.

"Aren't you going to the meeting to-day, Mr. McIntyre?"

"What meeting, Miss Graham?" asked the Junior Partner, looking blankly into two warm, dark blue liquid eyes, that seemed to be dancing a merry little measure of their own.

"At the Exchange," she replied with an arch smile, straightening out a crease in the carpet with the toe of her daintily shod foot and incidentally displaying her neat little ankle to the best advantage.

"Oh! Thanks awfully, what a blithering ass I am, I had almost forgotten about it." Then as a second thought, "By Jove, you possess a marvellous memory, Miss Graham!"

"It's not that, Mr. McIntyre," she said, crimsoning under the compliment, "I was looking through my note book and came across the letter you had dictated a week ago, making an appointment for to-day."

There was something maddening about her beautifully moulded neck and the burnished coppery wisps of hair flapping against her well rounded cheeks, as she looked down with a demure archness. He burst out exuberantly in his boyish phraseology, which he affected on such occasion, "I say, Miss Graham, you make a rattling good Secretary,"—then realising his *faux pas* he sought to retrieve his position with "it is only quarter after four, why not have tea at the 'Grand' with me and then I could drop you home *en route*," blushing at his boldness of suggestion.

"Oo, how splendid," replied Sybil, clasping her hands with a bewitching smile, which translated meant "Aren't you a dear?"

IV

Time in its ceaseless passage had flown. Graham was now out of prison. During the six solitary months of his imprisonment he had brooded over his imagined wrong. The deep affection and solicitude for his family which had actuated him in the commission of his crime, were now turned into a bitter hatred against his accuser. Revenge had become a fetish with him.

It was a 'band evening' at the Gardens. Sybil had succeeded in persuading her father into taking her out. The evening was good, the band better and the spirits of spectators infinitely higher. Sybil in her exuberance of spirits was chatting gaily, and breaking out now and again with a catchy little lilt from the band. They had just emerged from a colonnade of tall palms interspersed with flower-beds blushing in the fulness of their bloom, when she felt her father's arm, on which she was leaning, stiffen suddenly. Before she could intervene, he had taken out his revolver and fired at a figure seated under a tree.

The aim was erratic. Roland McIntyre, for it was none other, jumped up with a cold ticklish sensation in his arm, and then realised that a bullet had found lodgement there. Sybil wanted to cry out for help but the grim look on her father's face struck her speechless. Roland took in the situation at a glance. He was immediately by the old man's side, holding his bleeding arm.

"It's only an accident, sergeant," he said with ill disguised bravado to the uniquitous guardian of the law. "Mr. Graham was showing me his revolver when it went off accidentally."

Then turning to Graham and Sybil, "I think we had better get home and have my wound attended to." The eternal struggle of duty over the heart was now raging in Sybil's breast, fast and furious.

When the car drew up at the steps of Roland's flat he alighted holding his arm. A feeling of sullen indifference had taken possession of old Graham and he sat in the car quite unconcerned. Sybil held out her trembling hand, saying "I—I am so sorry, Mr. McIntyre that——", a lump rose in her throat. Roland took her extended hand with just the tinniest pressure and then walked in.

V

Business had revived and there was now an unprecedented boom. Roland invariably left office late. On this eventful evening, he was proceeding along the pavement homeward bound, when he recognised Graham a few yards ahead, hurrying along, casting furtive glances behind every now and again. This excited his curiosity and he decided to shadow him. They had walked for some time when Graham halted under a lamp-post and then suddenly dived into a side-street that led to the Chinese quarter. Roland was at first surprised and then anticipating trouble, he stepped up to the policeman on duty and gave him some instructions, and then followed in the wake of the fast disappearing figure of Graham. The street was narrow and ill-lit. A strong odour of joss sticks assailed him through the smoky atmosphere. A stealthy, shadowy figure of a Chinaman, who seemed to suddenly materialise like the genii from the smoke-laden atmosphere, sidled up to Graham. Roland slackened his pace. After an exchange of a few words, he led Graham a couple of hundred yards and then entered a low-roofed house. It was a small room, partitioned into three compartments. A thick cloud of smoke hung heavily in the room in which the flickering light from an oil lamp that hung in the centre of the room looked ghostly. The walls were covered with newspaper sheets and photographs of actresses in *dishabille* with foot notes in red, extolling the proprietor and welcoming the guests. It was a restaurant.

"Where is Chin Choo?" asked Graham with an uncomfortable feeling.

"At your service, Mr. Graham," answered a voice. The curtain parted in the centre and Chin Choo came out with a sinister leer on his face.

"What do you want with me now?" asked Graham.

"Remember that night in Shantung when you ran away with all my money."

"Oh, damn all that, I am absolutely broken now and I can't give you a penny," replied Graham with some warmth.

"Ye-es, but you have a pretty leettle daughter," proceeded the unctuous Chinaman, rubbing his hands in a most repulsive manner.

"You damned scoundrel! say another word and I'll——," Graham sprang at the Chinaman like a wounded tiger, but he found himself caught from behind by two strong hands. Chin Choo drew a yataghan from his waist and placed it on the counter. "Mr. Graham, you have escaped me before but this time, by my gods, you will not leave this house unless you agree to my terms."

With a crash the door flew open and Roland, who had overheard the conversation through the cracks in the panels of the door, bounded into the room, with his revolver cocked.

"You damned blackguard! Release that man at once or I'll shoot the whole lot of you like dogs."

The Chinaman, realising that the tables were turned, released Graham, but before Roland could decide as to his next move, the lamp was knocked over and in the darkness, he felt cold steel being forced into the small of his back. Mad with rage, he turned round and fired two shots in quick succession at his assailant. The report of the revolver shots brought the police, whom Roland had warned. A scuffle in the darkness ensued. Roland struggled painfully to draw out the half thrust yataghan from his back. The loss of blood had been profuse and he felt as if he was sinking down, down into a bottomless pit, with a vague sound of strange voices.

McIntyre lay in the "accidents ward" of the General Hospital. He had now recovered consciousness and from enquiries, had ascertained that he had been brought to the hospital by the police. He had very hazy, nebulous idea as to what had happened after he had been stabbed in the back.

A nurse came in noiselessly and said, "a gentleman and a lady want to see you, Mr. McIntyre. Please be calm and don't disturb yourself."

After a brief conversation in lowered voices, Graham entered with his head hung down, followed by Sybil. Roland could see from his face that the old man had suffered much and felt sorry for him.

On approaching McIntyre's bed, Graham dropped on his knees, his head resting on the edge of the bed.

"I have come to beg your forgiveness, Mr. McIntyre, I know I don't deserve it." There was a catch in the old man's voice, which filled Roland's heart with pity.

Sybil stood at the head of his bed, bending over him, with a look of devotion, affection and hero-worship in her eyes. He took her hand and drew her down to him till their lips met. Then taking Graham's hand in his, he said, "We are quits, Mr. Graham. I have also to ask your forgiveness and your blessing for robbing you of the greatest treasure of your life."

J. A. DAVID

LOVE AND LIBERTY

In health and strength this body's rich,
  The air it breathes is sweet,
The light of dawn's alive in eye,
  In tune sings heart's true beat.
Earth, sky and all that eye can see
  Seem powerless to withstand
The onslaught of my outer life,
  As Ganges' flood her sand.
"I'm free, I'm free, I'm free," I cry,
  For none I care a jot,
My action is by none controlled ;
  But what about my thought ?
Things, paltry, past, beyond recall
  And helpful now in naught,
Possess my mind—a fledgling weak
  In fowler's foul net caught.
Uncertain things of future dark
  In turn assail my mind,
With all to fear and nothing sure
  —Atremble in doubt-wind.
Oh ! fetid bubbles ev'r rise
  Upon my mind and head,
Unblest by hope,—the cripple brood
  Of wishes, born and dead.
My life's a free and noisy wave,
My mind is but a chain-bound slave.
I shout in frenzy—"Free, I'm free"
With inward sigh for liberty.

II

Let present be but past distilled,
Sweet scent of what's to come,
Let hope but sweep out all desires ;
In loving faith be dumb.
Feel shame-faced Love descend unseen
And startle life to core,
All fear is dead, all wish asleep,
And thou thyself the more.
Now whisper it below, above—
Liberty's but a name of Love.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

COMPENSATION

Dear Love, if I have given you dreams I am content ;
For, after all, it is the dream that lingers in the heart
When material things have proven valueless.
Even the exquisite gifts of Youth are forgotten ;
But dreams that are born in the soul never die.
So I have encompassed all of life in dreams,
And endowed you with gifts eternally fresh and sweet.

LILY S. ANDERSON

THE NEXT STEP IN NATIONAL EDUCATION IN BENGAL

It is now generally admitted that it is the duty of a civilised state that it shall provide suitable and adequate education to every child born in it. The story is told of an ancient Chinese emperor that he burnt all the classics of the country that he might create a darkness and reign in it without interruption. Such an obscurantist policy will not be tolerated by the modern democratic spirit. Indeed, the famous dying words of Goethe, "Light! More Light!" might well be taken as the motto of the present age. All over the world the peoples are waking up and beginning to claim their natural and civic rights. It is now realised that all civilised government must be based on the willing compliance of the subjects who themselves enjoy constitutional freedom.

It is also admitted that for these conditions to come into being it is necessary that the state should introduce a comprehensive scheme of national education, an education that will dispel ignorance and illiteracy and train every citizen to think for himself and to seek the highest good of the community. Thus, a national system of education is an indispensable condition for the evolution of a well-ordered state and for the growth of the life of a people. For, unless a well planned scheme of education has set free the minds of the citizens and provided the right training for them, no mere tinkering with the form of government will be of any help. On the other hand, if the trained mind of a united people clearly sees its goal nothing can stop the progress of that people or its attainment of the goal.

In Bengal we are in the midst of a great national awakening. A new spirit is among the people and fills their minds with a strange unrest. Out of this spirit rises the motive force for all national advancement. This new spirit is the gift of that Divine Providence that leadeth nations by the hand to their appointed destiny. Yet, every new gift of God brings with it new responsibilities, and the greater the gift the greater is the responsibility. We are now called upon to try and understand the deeper needs of our people, to set our unaccustomed hands to constructive work, to put our house in order, to remove old devastating errors and superstitions, to fill all our activities, domestic and social, with a new sense of purpose, and, patiently and prayerfully, to strive for light, more light. And for all this a well-planned, well-founded national system of education is required.

Perhaps the only province in India where education has been started on broad national lines is Bengal. But, unfortunately, it has been started at the very top and can benefit but a few. The greatness of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's work in re-creating the Post-Graduate department of Calcutta University lies mainly in the fact that he planned it on truly national lines. He laid the foundations of research work in fields where the genius and instinct of our people could work with advantage, namely, the Ancient History and Culture of the motherland. He raised the language and literature of Bengal to their deserved place of honour among University studies. Yet he did all this in no narrow parochial spirit of patriotism. He boldly set Indian culture by the side of the other great world-cultures, never doubting that its greatness would prevail. Never before was the spirit of Asiatic thought and culture more strongly felt as a guiding power and inspiration. Sir Asutosh was not swayed by the clamorous cries of the moment but kept his vision fixed on the distant future where he saw a greater India in which Bengal was destined to take its proud place.

Unfortunately, Sir Asutosh was carried off before he had time to turn his indomitable energy to the reorganisation of the lower stages of education, especially the stage of Intermediate and Secondary Education. It is lucky, however, that, as a member of the Sadler Commission, and one who signed the Report without dissent, he helped in drawing up a carefully considered scheme for remodelling Intermediate and Secondary

Education in Bengal on lines which he considered would prove helpful to the nation. The Commission also say in the Report that they consider their recommendations regarding Intermediate and Secondary Education as the pivot of the whole scheme of educational reform which they put forward.

Financial reasons, we guess, must be the real explanation of the attitude of the Calcutta University towards the proposal for separating and reorganising Intermediate and Secondary Education in Bengal. The University wants funds for keeping up its Post-graduate Department. Failing adequate Government grants, the funds now come from the surplus of the fees of the Matriculation and Intermediate examinations and the University is unwilling to part with this source of income. But let the present arrangements for conducting the Post-graduate Department be carefully examined, let necessary and possible economies and readjustments be effected in them, let other possible sources of income within the University be explored and at last let the deficit be made up from public funds and the University will have no reason for opposing the scheme.

No one knew better than Sir-Asutosh, and every educationist knows, that for the very success of the Graduate and Post-graduate Departments it is necessary to reorganise and improve Secondary and Intermediate Education. It is now well known that secondary education is in such a condition that it must vitiate all reform in the higher stage, which is necessarily based on it, unless a vigorous attempt is made at once to improve it and reorganise it on sound lines.

The position, then, with regard to education in Bengal, is this. At the top University education, particularly in its higher stages, has been already organised on broad national lines. The machinery may have to be modified, the expense may have to be economised, but the main work has been initiated by the genius of Sir Asutosh. At the bottom the vast field of primary education remains yet unexplored from the national point of view and the tremendous work that its reorganisation will involve must have to wait. Any hasty attempt to handle it will do more harm than good: it may be found that the work may best be taken up as a part of a large scheme of rural reconstruction planned on national lines. In the middle lies Intermediate and Secondary Education bearing directly on the success of the new University education on the one hand and on the other hand, on the effective training of the great middle class in Bengal in whom rests the hope of the future. Its defects, its possibilities, the most profitable lines on which it lends itself to reorganisation have been fully explored by the highest body of experts that ever minutely examined the problems of education in Bengal. This stage of education is the most important from the national point of view and it is ripe to be taken up for reconstruction. The scheme of the Sadler Commission is broad enough or may be made so. It is easy to show how the recommendations, modified in some unessential points, may be adopted in the present political and financial conditions of Bengal, which have changed since the Report was written.

There is no other scheme before the country. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has made a valuable contribution to this question. At his Bolepur School, *Shanti-niketan*, he has shown how gloriously education, as in the old Indian *Ashramas*, can be brought back into inspiring contact with Nature. It is indeed a lesson well worth teaching again in India. To have been able to revitalise the past without losing the new elements of value that have since come to the country is a most wonderful achievement; but, perhaps, alas, the glorious manner of it is only possible when a great poet is there to transfigure everything, moment by moment, by the magic touch of his imagination. The school is, indeed, Rabindranath's poetry translated into class lessons, courses of study and hostel life. But the poet has given himself up to his one school and has not attempted to solve the question for the whole province.

The political leaders of Bengal have not yet seriously taken up the question of education. In the days of the boycotts, indeed, the "Nationalists" and "Swarajists" did set up a number of "national" schools. But it was seen that education suffers by being hitched to a political revolution and the country gains nothing. So they gradually let education alone and in this they showed a wise self-restraint. For education is not a thing to be rushed, nor is it a matter of party politics. It is indeed much larger than a party question; it is a national problem.

And it is as a national problem that it will have to be taken up by parties of all shades of political opinion in the Bengal Legislative Council. On whatever lines the political constitution may come to be modified, for all national progress a basis of sound education is needed, specially at the Intermediate and Secondary stage where it affects those classes on whose efforts national advancement must chiefly depend. It is, indeed, not for gaining any immediate purpose but for forwarding the larger aims of the future. Hindus need it. Muhammadans need it even more than the Hindus. Universities need it most of all.

It is not by adding a particular subject to the course, nor by quenching its noble idealism by narrow utilitarian purposes, nor by turning it to party ends, nor by democratising its control that education can be made to serve the great purposes of national advancement.

The object of any national system of education is to develop the latent power of manhood in the citizens of the state. The faculties are there, it is necessary to train them on noble lines. It is necessary to teach the country's youth, both Hindu and Muhammadan "to follow the different lines on which life may be explored and proficiency in living may be obtained," to provide firm guidance from their rich emotional nature by implanting clear and "well-founded" ideas about religion, morals, art, science and politics, and to fill all their activities with a sense of purpose.

We do not know how the political tangle in the Council will resolve itself but we hope in matters of education all members will sink their differences and meet on common ground.

L. M. CHATTERJEE

PHILIP DE BRITO

Yes, here at Syriam it was he came,
When Razagyi was king in Arracan;
Upon our ancient rites he set a ban,
For he had rounded Africa to claim
Asia for Portugal. With fearful lips,
Before his graven Mary hundreds bowed,
Pretending acquiescence, and allowed
Pagoda gold to fill the hungry ships.

Along this very lane he found his fate;
With arms transfixed upon a tall bamboo,
Exposed to tropic sun and public view,
Aloft he swung above his own estate—
Three days before a curious countryside,
Three days in agony until he died.

WAYNE GARD

THE KARCHĀ BY GOVINDA DAS

A few Vaishnavas of the orthodox school have been, for a long time, trying to assail the authenticity of the famous Karchā or notes by Govinda Das,—a blacksmith by brith, who accompanied Chaitanya in his tour in the Deccan and faithfully recorded the incidents of the Master's journey from 1510 to 1512 A.D.

As the Karchā is free from miraculous tales, abounding in other biographical works, accepted as standard authorities on Chaitanya's life, being, as it is, a simple and unassuming record without much regard for orthodoxy or sectarian conventions, a section of the Vaishnavas have been disposed to think that it is by no means a fitting sketch of the great apostle, whom they identify with Vishnu of the Hindu triad.

In some other biographies, Chaitanya has been described to have talked with Advaitāchāryya from his mother's womb. He has sometimes been represented as manifesting six arms, to prove that He, who had been Rama and Krshna in previous incarnations, came down as Chaitanya in the Kaliyuga. The two arms of each of the three incarnations, making a total of six, are said to have been shown by him to Vāsudeva Sārvabhaum at Puri. This sign of divinity, it is alleged, more than all his arguments and devotional fervour, overthrew the great scholar and turned him into his devoted follower. It is also related in some of the other biographies that when Jagai and Madhai, the two great ruffians, had assaulted Nityānanda, Chaitanya came to the rescue and cried for the *Sudarshan*, the great disc of Vishnu, which came whirling in the air at his call and struck the villains with terror. It is also said of him that he sowed a seed of mango, and like a magician, made it in no time grow into a large tree, with ripe fruits hanging from its boughs, and that while touring in the north western provinces of India, he made a tiger recite the name of Hari,—an incident which was witnessed by no less a personage than Baladev Bhattacharyya. I do not propose to give here a full catalogue of these marvellous events, which, to use the poet's words, are " thick as autumnal leaves that strew the brooks in Vellombrosa " in those works on Chaitanya, accepted as his standard biographies. The orthodox Vaishnavas look upon the Karchā by Murari, Chaitanya Charitāmṛta by Kṛshnadās Kavirāj, Chaitanya Bhagavat by Vṛndāban Das and Chaitanya Mangal by Lochan Das almost in the same light as the Bible is regarded by the devout

Christians, and the Lalita Vistāra by the orthodox Buddhists. That all these above-named works on Vaishnavism have great value and merits, no one will gainsay. In all my treatises on the subject, I have bestowed high encominus on those authorities for the great merits of their respective works.

But Govinda Das, who was a constant companion of Chaitanya, at least for the two years that he toured in the Deccan, gives a version of the Master's career for this short period in a way, which fundamentally differs from the accounts given in some of the other biographies, his narrative containing none of the marvels, attributed to Chaitanya. In it there are many instances of reformation of great sinners, but these marvellous reformations were effected without any miraculous power, excepting the power of simple faith. He cries for no divine disc or *Sudarshan Chakra*, to overawe the ruffians, but his musical voice, ringing with praises of God, his tears and trances were the great charm with which he conquered even the most inveterate ruffians. Some of the orthodox Vaishnavas, accustomed to regard the master as God, endowed with supernatural powers, seem to think that he has been deprived of his divine attributes in the simple narrative, being merely described as a man. But those, who do not labour under age-long conventions of orthodoxy feel in these artless and vivid statements the very life-giving breath of the divine man of Nadia all the more. Orthodoxy takes away the power of all judgment so that one loses the capacity of knowing where the true greatness of a man lies. A worm, an ant or a beast has often more legs or feet than a man. A fly goes high up in the air. Taking it that a man really possesses a larger number of limbs or the capacity for flying up in the air or diving into the very depths of water, it does not, to any great extent, add to his *real* greatness. So these marvels and supernatural powers have no attraction for us.

Now let me revert to the arguments advanced by some of the orthodox Vaishnavas to demolish the Karchā by Govinda Das. They evidently seem to have taken great umbrage at my giving the book even a higher place than the recognised biographies of Chaitanya in some points. I will give here a brief account as to how the Karchā was recovered and published by Pundit Jaygopal Goswami of Santipur.

Fifty years ago, Pundit Kalidas Nath, whose original researches in the field of Vaishnava literature will always be gratefully remembered handed over to Pundit Jaygopal Goswami, the veteran Vaishnava of

Santipur and a direct descendant of Advaitāchāryya, the revered friend of Chaitanya and one of the three great Vaishnava apostles in Bengal, some old Bengali manuscripts, of which Govinda Das's Karchā was one.

Late Babu Matilal Ghose of the Amrita Bazar Patrika, wrote in 410 Gouranga Abda (1896 A.D.) that the MS. of the Karchā which he had seen was about 250 years' old at the time. The manuscript was with his illustrious brother, late Babu Sisirkumar Ghose for sometime; and as the Karchā was held in high admiration by all who saw it, it was taken by Dr. Sambhucharan Mookerjee, Editor of 'Res and Rayat' for a perusal. A few pages of the MS. was somehow lost, while in the custody of Dr. Mookerjee. Babu Sisirkumar Ghose used some materials from the Karchā in his celebrated work, "the Amiya Nimai Charit." But relying on memory, be gave a resumé of the narrative he had read in the lost pages and mentioned Govinda Das, as a Kayastha. Babu Sisirkumar Ghose, who was himself a Kayastha, was not accurate in this statement; his memory had evidently grown rusty when he wrote an account, given in those pages. The lost portion covers 50 pages of the printed edition of Govinda Das's Karchā, which runs over 227 pages.

Pandit Jāygopal Goswami, after a laborious research, discovered another MS. of the Karchā in possession of late Harinath Goswami and recovered the matter of the lost pages therefrom. Thus the whole of the Karchā, as it stands now, was published by the learned Pandit from the Sanskrit Press Depository of Calcutta in Saka 1817 or 1895 A.D.

From the autobiographical account by Govinda Das, as we find it in the printed edition, we know that Govinda Das calls himself a blacksmith and mentions Syama Das to be his father, Madhabi, his mother, and Sashimukhi, his wife. As soon as the book was published, Babu Matilal Ghose wrote an article in the Vishnu Priya Partika (Kartic, 410 Gauranga Abda, 1896 A. D.), in which he said that the first fifty pages of the book were forged by Pandit Jaygopal, that Govinda Das in the original MS. called himself a Kayastha and could, by no means, be a blacksmith. Pandit Jaygopal, a most revered scholar and then verging on fourscore, called at my place almost in a crying condition, and reputed the allegation of forgery, brought against him, referring particularly to some statements, to which he had been unwillingly led to subscribe. I do not like to say here all that he stated, as these will be unpleasant.

I shall only refer to the fact that he declared to me with tears in his eyes that no one could ever think that an old Brahmin scholar, as he was, whose occupation was to initiate his disciples into the mysteries of Vaishnava faith, could forge a document, as he was alleged to have done, especially as there was no earthly object which he might gain from such an act—a fact admitted by Mati Babu himself.

Babu Matilal Ghose, however in the article, referred to, admitted the fact that the rest of the book (177 pages), that is, barring the first fifty pages, was genuine, as many members of his house had seen the old Ms. themselves.

Curiously enough, a few years after this article was written, several MSS. of Jayananda's Chaitanya Mangal were brought to light and the book was published by the Sahitya Parishat. Some of the MSS. of Jayananda's Chaitanya Mangal, 200 to 250 years old, will be found in the Manuscript department of the Calcutta University Library. In these MSS. as also in the Jayananda's Chaitanya Māngal published by the Sahitya Parishat it is clearly mentioned that " the blacksmith Govinda " accompanied Chaitanya in the Deccan. As soon as this evidence was discovered, the arguments of those, who had chosen to call Govinda as a Kayastha and declared the fifty pages to be forged fell flat like walls of gewgaw, though, for a time, the adverse critics kept up a cry that Jayananda's Chaitanya Mangal was itself not genuine. But the old MSS. were there and a crushing reply to the assailants, published in the Sahitya Parishat Patrika, silenced all who held a contrary opinion.

In the first edition of my ' Banga Bhasha O Sahitya,' I referred to the objections and met them. Nobody challenged my arguments at that time; so in the subsequent editions of my history, I dropped that portion, thinking that there was no more contention over the matter. For a period of 28 years the assailants were silent. But my great regard and admiration for Govinda Das's Karchā, expressed in all my Chaitanya-topics, seems to have roused their activities again. They seem determined not to recognise the claims of any book as authentic beyond the pale of those few biographies, they have admitted as standard ones. I am told that a *Samiti* has been established with a view to purging the Vaishnava literature of all elements, which, according to orthodox Vaishnava opinion, may be found to be objectionable. The object of this *Samiti*, so far as I may judge, is to frustrate all historical research in the field of Vaishnava literature and keep it open for the simple and credulous people, who have evidently been made to pay for the organisation.

Last year they held meetings all over Bengal to denounce Govinda Das's Karchā as a forged work. I am not an exponent of Vaishnava orthodoxy but a historian; this they seem to have forgotten. My ancestral creed is Sākta and not Vaishnava; they cannot expect me to care much for orthodox Vaishnava conventions. They cannot hang me if I am loath to believe that Chaitanya held a theological discourse with Advaita from his mother's womb or made the divine disc of Vishnu appear in the sky or that the angels of the heaven descended at every stage to sing his praises.

While these men have been trying to prove that I am no friend of the creed of Chaitanya, Dr. Sylvain Levi, in his foreword to my " Chaitanya and his Age, " referred to " my fanatic love for Chaitanya. " The Pioneer while praising in high terms my humble services in the field of Bengali Literature, found fault with my extolling Chaitanya beyond all measure. I have also been condemned by the old historian Mr. Beveridge in his article, published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (January, 1912) for the very same reason.

It is, therefore, curious that some of my own countrymen should entertain an opinion that I have been harming the cause of Vaishnava religion by my publications. I take the liberty of quoting an extract from an article by Mr. Underwood, published in the Calcutta Review, January, 1919, when the paper was edited by Dr. Urquhart, to show that there are people who hold a contrary opinion. "In 1907 appeared the second edition of the Lord Gauranga by that fervid Vaishnava Shishirkumar Ghose. The work purported to be a biography of Chaitanya, but for historical and scientific purposes, it was almost useless, ...But the situation has greatly changed since Rai Saheb Dineshchandra Sen began to publish his patient and scholarly researches into the history of Bengali Literature. The work of his painstaking labours was immediately recognised in the West by such well-known Orientalists as Barth and Senart, Rhys Davids, Grierson, Barnett, Kern and Oldenberg. The publication of this book did much to set in a clearer light the importance of a thorough acquaintance with this Vernacular literature of India for any true appreciation of her religious life .... Though the Rai Saheb is not himself a Vaishnava, he brings to the interpetation of the Vaishnava literature of his country a fine enthusiasm and a sympathetic imagination. At the same time his imagination and sympathy are controlled by his historical sense............ Before the publication of Mr. Sen's work, the only way of getting anything like an adequate impression of the Vaishnava saint was by reading some of these prolix biographies written in old Bengali, such as the Chaitanya Charitamrita and the Chaitanya Bhagabat—a task from which most foreigners naturally shrank."

Let me now proceed to meet the arguments of my critics. Those who denounced the fifty pages of the Karchā as forged pointed out that it is mentioned in the Karchā that Chaitanya took a little food, at the house of Kashi Mitra, and hearing that the rice was called "Gopalbhāg" (offerings to god) burst into tears. The critics say that after his Sanyasa, Chaitanya lived upon a little food, drawn by his nostrils and thus kept himself alive. I do not know where such a queer statement was ever found. Even in the Charitamrita, the accepted biography of the master, frequent references are to be found about his taking solid food in the usual manner.

The opponents would not believe in the statements of Govinda Das that when the latter was once attacked with a disease, Chaitanya gently touched his body with his hands to allay his pain. It is contended that it would be undignified on the part of such a divinity as Chaitanya was to offer this kind of service to a menial.

Objections have also been raised against the statement that Chaitanya, in his trance, took a harlot in his arms and asked her to recite the name of Hari. The passage is one of the most wonderful instances of his divine frenzy and felicitous spiritual emotion. It invests him with the full glory of a great saint. Grim orthodoxy lays it down that Chaitanya would never touch a woman. It will be seen from this account to be found in the Karchā that Chaitanya so far forgot himself in his trance and was so absolutely unconscious of everything outside that he trampled the body of Tirtha Ram who had prostrated himself before him under his feet. It was in such a condition that he had touched the harlot Satya's person with God's name on his lips.

In some points, the account given in the Chaitanya Charitamrita does not agree with that of the Karchā; so they hold the Karcha to be unreliable. But I consider the Karchā to be all the more reliable for it, having been written by an eye-witness. The Charitamrita was written 93 years after the Karchā. In a country like India, one knows full well what monstrous fables grow round a great apostle within a few years of his death. The Chaitanya Charitamrita does not agree with the Chaitanya Bhagabat also, in some points. But the opponents do not assail either of these authorities on that ground. But if there are matters in which the Karcha does not agree with the standard biographies, I for myself, would, even at the risk of incurring the umbrage of a section of the orthodox Vaishnavas, give credit to the Karcha, as written by a man on the spot in preference to the later works, whatever sanctity they may carry in popular Vaishnavā opinion.

Renowned men like late Babus Shishirkumar Ghosh and Matilal Ghose had actually seen the old MS. of the Karcha and had stated their doubts about the authenticity of the first fifty pages only. But my opponents would now seek to denounce the whole book as unauthentic, by means of flimsy and puerile arguments.

Now it is quite true, and proved by various authorities that there were two manuscripts of the Karchā, the first one of which, counting from the present time, would be about 300 years old. The accounts given of the Deccan are so faithful and minute that it would be impossible for a man to give such detailed information of the various places without travelling the whole country himself. Can it be believed that at least 300 years ago a man having visited all the shrines of the Deccan, forged a story like that? The MS., it should be remembered, was 300 years old. There was no Survey map at the time to be of any help to him. A distinguished Bengalee wrote a history the other day, in which he incorporated the account of Chaitanya's travel in the Deccan from the Karchā. He was approached by my opponents with a request to expunge those passages from his book; they even agreed to bear the cost of recasting his book according to their suggestions. This, of course, the historian refused to do, stating that he would believe in the account of the Karcha. I have been receiving thundering letters, in which I am required to believe in nothing except what is stated in the Chaitanya Charitamrita. I will refer to one interesting incident in this connection. Sometime ago, a Vaishnava was writing a book on the tour of Chaitanya in the southern countries. I chanced to see two or three forms of the book when it was in the press. There he was declaiming Govinda Das over the line, "It made even the piece of burnt wood, as he was, swell in great love" (প্রেমে যেন পোড়া কাঠ ফুলিয়া উঠিল।) Govinda Das referred to a dark-coloured Sannyasi in the above line, but the writer fancied that he had thus insultingly referred to Chaitanya; so he indulged in long and atrocious vituperations against

Govinda. When I pointed out his mistake the Vaishnava zealot had then to destroy the two forms, which he had already got printed.

Such has been the fate of Govinda Das at the hands of some of his countrymen professing the Vaishnava creed. But yet no dog was ever more attached to his master than was he to Chaitanya. I believe that it is not possible for any man of the present day to write a book like that. Its words are all inspired, as he was near the inspired presence of the great personality of a divine man. His work is being read with tears by hundreds of men for there is the breath of fresh spiritual life blown over his sentences—the inspiration imbibed from the God-man of Nadia. For myself, I got the printed edition and used the materials, available in it; and I will continue to believe that amongst the great biographies of Chaitanya, it is the greatest in respect of accuracy and wealth of historical details though the book is a small one and refers to a short period of the Master's life.

I believe, also, that the Sri Govinda of Chaitanya Charitamrita, who was a constant companion of the Master in his latter life, is probably the same Govinda Das, for reasons stated in my work "Chaitanya and his Companions, (pp. 236-37).

Govinda tried to hide his name and identity from the public for the obvious reason of saving himself from being discovered and caught hold of by his kinsmen, and particularly by his wife, who was so anxious to get him back into the folds of family life once more; hence his notes were concealed (করচা করিয়া রাখি অতি সঙ্গোপনে "I jot down the notes and keep them in great privacy"). It is for this reason that the Karchā was not widely known in those days. Its discovery would frustrate the object of the writer's ascetic vow. Hence he did not give it out to the public. Krishna Das Kaviraj did not get it in his hands when he wrote a short account of Chaitanya's tour in the Deccan. Hence he has not mentioned Govinda's name. He has mentioned the name of Kala Krishna Das, whom, also, we find mentioned in the Karchā. The latter, for same reason or other, abandoned his travel, as appears to be the case from the account of the Karchā.

Govinda Karmakar, as a companion of Chaitanya is, as we have stated before, mentioned in the Chaitanya Mangal of Jayananda, who being a contemporary of Chaitanya, was the better-informed man. Govinda, as the companion and attendant of Chaitanya in his travels in Southern India, has also been mentioned by the great poet Balaram Das of undisputed authority amongst the othodox Vaishnavas (Gaura

Pada Tarangini) I would not have written this rather long discourse, had not my opponents tried to influence my esteemed friend and patron Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi, K,C.I.E., and other worthy friends of mine like Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea and Satyendra Nath Bose, M.A.

One of the allegations against the Karchā has been that some months after the Sannyas, Chaitanya is described as having worn matted locks on his head. His head was clean-shaved at the time of Sannyasa, so how could he get matted locks within five or six months from the time? The custom of wearing artificial matted locks on the eve of a long journey is prevalent amongst the Sannyasis, for the purpose of protecting their heads from exposure. The custom is of a hoary antiquity and I may refer my readers to a text from the Ramayana of Valmiki,

> "एवमस्तु गमिष्यामि वनं वस्तुमहं त्वितः ।
> जटाचीरधरो राज्ञः प्रतिज्ञामनुपालयन ॥"

(Let it be so. For the fulfilment of the king's vow, I shall depart hence wearing matted locks and bark-garments, to dwell in the forest.). But if one does not cut or comb his hair, it may become matted by itself in such a time. Besides Chaitanya's laxuriant growth of hair has been referred to by many of his biographers.

The MS. was an old one, and it was difficult to grasp the readings in some places. The veteran Pandits and *gurus*, Jaygopal Goswami and Madan Gopal Goswami deciphered the letters, where they presented any difficulty, with great care. It should be stated here that the Pandits of the old school, while editing these poems, are found here and there, to substitute simple words in places of archaic and antiquated forms, such for instance, as করিয়া for করিঞা, হইয়া for হইঞা, etc. Such small changes must have been effected by the editor. But the simplicity of the language is not always a test for judging the age of a poem. That the Karchā is replete with many old and archaic forms may be observed from such phrases as "ভোগ লাগাইল" পাড়ু, নিয়ড়ে, পেখিয়া, ফুকরায়, পাকাড়ি, ঝাকি দিতে, etc. Rabindra Nath and Madhusudan were almost contemporaries, but the language of the two shows such a vast difference that they seem to belong to widely different ages. Chandi Das's more familiar poems are much simpler in language than the Karchā, though the former is more than a hundred years older than the latter. The fact is that when a man writes without being actuated by pedantry but by a real craving for expressing an idea, he is generally found to be simple and unpretentious. The Ramayana of Valmiki, is for this reason, much simpler than the classical poems of a much later age.

Pandit Jaygopal Goswami is now dead. His eldest son, Pandit Banwari Lal Goswami is now one of the most revered names amongst the Goswamis of Santipur. He is about seventy years of age and is a renowned Bengali poet himself. His Khichuri, Polao' and other poems have won for him an abiding reputation in our literature. I requested him sometime ago to give me a history of the MS., from which the printed edition of the Karcha was taken by his scholarly father. I have the highest regard for Banwari Lal Goswami as a man. He has given me the following account, which will show the entire facts of the case and which may be accepted as a true and accurate statement.

" Fifty years ago, Babu Kalidas Nath, the writer of a biographical account of the poet Jagadananda, brought several old Manuscripts to my father. One of these Manuscripts was a Karchā by Govinda Das, another a life of Advaita and the rest were old works on Vaishnavism. My father borrowed the Karcha and the life of Advaita from Kalidas Nath for a perusal. He felt these two works to be of great spiritual merit and set about copying them. My revered father used to write a very quick hand, so that in a few days, he finished a copy of the Karcha.

" There were many errors in the Karcha and in some places the Manuscript was worm-eaten. Pandit Madan Gopal Goswami rendered considerable assistance in deciphering the reading of the text. Eight or nine years later, the Karcha appeared in print, when I showed a portion of the same and the life of Advaitacharyya to my talented friend, Babu Akshaychandra Sarkar. Babu Akshaychandra reviewed the Advaita Mangal by Haricharan in three successive issues of the 'Sadharni,' and felt much interest and was greatly delighted in going through a portion of the Karcha as well.

" Father gave a few pages of the Karcha to Sisir Babu for his perusal and Sisir Babu, again, lent them to Dr. Sambhu Ch. Mookerjee from whose custody, somehow or other, these pages were lost.

" It was at considerable pains that the lost treasure could at last be recovered. Copies of some portions of the two lost forms had been preserved; and fortunately enough a second MS. of the book was obtained from Late Hari Nath Goswami, and thus the Karcha was finally recovered...

My esteemed father was well-known all over the Vaishnava world. There may be trivial points of disparity between the Chaitanya of Charitamrita and Chaitanya as described in the Karchā. But is it not known to the controversialists that Pandit Jay Gopal and Madan Gopal, had, so to speak, churned the ocean of the Vaishnava lore? They were approached by a good number of scholars for the interpretation of the Ananda Vrindaban Champu and the elucidation of the knotty texts of the Bhagabata. Every work has its peculiar merits; the beauty of the Karcha lies in its charming simplicity. The readers of this work must, one and all, have to admit that it emanated from the pen of a truly devoted soul, resembling, as it does, in clearness and sanctity the sacred streams of the Gomukhi." [1]

We refrain from quoting Sj. Banwari Lal's letter in full. Evidently the audacious attempts on the part of the biassed section of the orthodox Vaishnavas, to cast a slur on my humble literary works, and what is worse still, on the honesty of his venerable father, the late lamented Pandit Jay Gopal Goswami, have aroused the righteous indignation of Pandit Banwari Lal, who has given free vent to his Brahmanic ire in his long letter to me. But I am not going to quote the letter in full.

The Forward, in its issue of the 25th January, 1925, published a long article which took nearly two columns of the paper. The writer sighs over the lack of all historical sense of our countrymen. Orthodox religious sentiments have always stood in the way of faithfully recording all historical narratives in India. He has clearly shown how ignorance and belief in the supernatural have been great enemies to historical research in this country. There are orthodox men in the country who will try their level best to thwart all historical purpose and pursuade their well-to-do disciples to open their purse liberally in paying for organisations started in defence of their "religious cause."

Happily, the number of those, who are denouncing this great work is very small. A large number of orthodox Vaishnavas themselves, with open mind, believe in its genuineness. I have referred to the fact that Babu Sisirkumar Ghose, with whom the old Manuscript had been lying for a time, used its materials in his 'Amiya Nimai Charit.' Babu Rakhaldas Banerjee in his history of Bengal, has drawn largely from this work in preparing his sketch of Chaitanya. Babu Achyuta Charan Tattwanidhi, the famous literateur, whom the Government of Assam has recompensed with a literary pension, wrote to me to say that he believed the Karcha to be a genuine work. His opinion was quoted by me in the first edition of my Banga Bhasha O Sahitya. Late Babu Haradhan Datta Bhaktinidhi, whose scholarship in Vaishnava literature was unique and wonderful, took a great help from the Karcha in his valuable contributions to the leading Bengali journals of his time. Pt. Jyotiprakasa Bhagabatbhusan has written a long article refuting the flimsy arguments of the enemies of the Karcha. Babu Jagot Bandhu Bhadra, a devout Vaishnava scholar used the materials of the Karcha in the Introduction to his famous " Gour Pada Tarangini."

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[1] Translated from Bengali.

One of the more important reasons, which, however, the adverse critics dare not express, for their calling in question the authencity of the Karcha, is the fact that Chaitanya is represented therein as paying his respects before all the temples, in Southern India, whether it was Saiva or Sakta. He was a divine man, who cared for God and not for any sect. It would indeed be a pity, if he had entertained narrow sectarian views. The letter of the venerable Pandit Banwari Lal Goswami is sufficient to show the full history of the case and we need hardly say anything more in defence of the Karcha.

DINESH CHANDRA SEN

"LET US TURN ASIDE TO ILISSUS"

"Let us turn aside to Ilissus,"
And sit 'neath the plane-trees' shade,
Where Socrates and young Phaedrus
Once sat and wise discourse made.
We will hear above the cicalas,
And list to the song of birds,
And dream that the Sage is still with us,
And that we drink in his words.
We'll lean where the breath of Aeolus
Is blowing the fragrant thyme,
And our thoughts will flow forth in paeans,
That the birds will weave into rhyme.

They say that the gods have all vanished,
That Pan, the Piper, is dead—
That the age of romance and chivalry
Have with them this planet fled;
But their eyes and ears are all holden,
Pan pipes, but they do not heed—
To the calf of gold they pay tribute,
While to god Moloch they feed
Their hearts, and their youth, and happiness,
And Life's great meaning defies,
Till grief or pain, or the hand of Death
Sweeps the dark veil from their eyes!

Some worship, and slay for great Allah,
Some kiss Krishna's lotus feet—
Some bow at the shrine of god Buddha,
Some find Confucian laws meet.

While some chanting prayers to Jehovah.
Give where the giving is seen—
And others proclaim that they follow,
The steps of the Nazarine.
All races and men bow to something,
Wheree'er human feet have trod,
And only "*the fool said in his heart*,"
Death ends all—"*there is no God!*"

They may prate of the mighty atom,
And quaff god Science's red brew—
Or evolve old thoughts, as old as time,
And re-christen them as new!
The Indians, in their "Great Spirit,"
Like the Pantheists of old,
Come nearer solving the mystery,
Than formulate creed can hold!
Whether Jove, Isvara or Allah
Or Pagan, Gentile or Jew,
In all beliefs is the thread of gold
That Truth's shuttle has run thr'u'.

If we shed our superfluities,
And naked and upright stand—
Freed from all "purple phylacteries,"
As fresh from our Maker's Hand—
If we wander deep in a forest,
When twilight steals o'er the earth,
And hold for one night our watch with Him,
And witness a new Day's birth—
We'll know that the gods are still with us—
The nymph, and dryad, and faun;
That god Pan still flutes his enchantments,
Ere comes the 'gold-fingered Dawn!'

When we can pray with great Socrates,
"*To be beautiful within,*"
We'll realize immortality,
And be freed from grief and sin.
We will solve Eleusian mysteries,
And become initiate!
We will master our own destiny,
And weave as we will our fate.
"Let us turn aside to Ilissus,"
Afar from all human strife,
And commune with God for an hour,
And learn the secrets of life.

TERESA STRICKLAND

RAILWAY FINANCE AND RAILWAY ORGANIZATION

I. RAILWAY FINANCE.

Let us go back a little and refer to the past history of Indian Railways so as to be able to understand Railway finance of India fully and to appreciate it thoroughly. As it is known, the first Railways in India were owned and built by British companies or by British private enterprise. The British private enterprise, which offered to build railways in India, wanted a minimum guarantee of 5 per cent. dividend on the capital outlay and a premium of 20 to 25 per cent. over and above the share value of their investments, at the time of Government purchase of the railways, and, further, Government supplied land, on which the railways were to be built, free of cost, and also land for excavating the earth for making up the railway embankments, over which the railway lines were to be laid, as well as land for providing clay for manufacturing bricks, etc., were given free of cost to railway companies. It must be remembered that in those days the knowledge of how to build railways was meagre and confined to few firms in Europe—India had no trained contractors or engineers versed in railway construction. Therefore the private enterprise which built the railways in India, had to import from Europe not only iron and steel goods but engineers, trained supervisors of the foreman and overseer type and skilled labourers and the cost of construction also was not so cheap as it otherwise might have been. But what is to be regretted is that even to-day most Engineers, Superior Officers and Foreman Mechanics are non-Indians.

The Government reserved to itself the right of purchasing the railways after a certain number of years, and this purchase money was mostly paid by the Government by annuities which were to run for several years. These annuity payments on account of railways, that have been purchased by the State, had hitherto, along with the interest payable thereon, been met out of the railway revenues of the Government of India but, in future, while the annuities in redemption of capital would be paid out of the general finances of the Government of India, from the contributions made by Railway finance to the general finance, the interest on such annuities will be a direct charge against Railway Revenue. In some cases cash payments were made in purchase of railways, and the money required for such payments was mostly paid out of loans incurred by the Governments, both in India and in England. The first railways purchased by the Government were the East India Railway in 1879, the E. B. Railway in 1883, the Sindh Punjab and Delhi Railway in 1886, and so on, and the acquisition of the present State-owned Railways was completed in 1907, but in most cases, they were given back to new companies, formed out of the old companies, for purposes of working and the new companies became lessees for working the railways and the companies were part owners at the same time although their share of investment was small. And on such investments of companies, a minimum dividend was guaranteed, but the rate of this minimum guaranteed dividend was less than 5 per cent., *viz.*, 3 to 4 per cent., but the companies were allowed a share of the surplus profits, when there were such profits available, after meeting all the liabilities and charges against railway revenue. This share of surplus profits of the companies was comparatively small and to earn it the railways had to strive a great deal to increase their revenue and to economise in their working expenses.

After the railways had been acquired by the State, all further capital was provided for by the Government or under guarantee of the Government (*viz.*, of the Secretary of State) and the sources from which money was provided for railways (State) were as follows :

(1) Out of surplus of general revenues of the Government of India.

(2) By raising capital by the Government in Rupee loans in India or by sterling loans in England.

(3) By issue of debentures in England on the guarantee of the Secretary of State for India.

(4) From Savings Bank deposits.

(5) By appropriation of Famine Insurance grants for avoidance of debt.

(6) Half profits on Rupee coinage.

To all intents and purposes railways, whether State-owned or company-owned, are treated as commercial enterprises of vast magnitude. In every part of the world, mass productions, and internal development of a country have been largely due to railways. Railways should, therefore, be always ready and should be enabled to meet the increased traffic, or in other words, the railways should be able to afford adequate transportation facilities to increasing business and productions which railways originally help to create and develop provided that in doing so the railways are not made a source of burden to tax-payers.

Congestions of traffic on railways are common to all parts of the world, but during some years past, *viz.*, for some years before, during and after the war, there was one continuous tale of the inability of railways to carry the traffic offering. These failures on the part of the railways of India was mainly due to the failure on the part of the principal owner, *viz.*, the Government, to supply funds for capital expenditure, not only for development and extensions but even for essential renewals and repairs.

The Government of India took the balance of net profits of all State-owned railways (after meeting working expenses, interest on loans and annuities, payments of annuities in redemption of capital and payment of working company's share of the surplus profits where there were such profits), and the money on account of balance of net profits credited to the Government of India formed part of the total revenues of the Imperial Government from various sources, but for many years the nett surplus profits were very small and some times "*Nil.*" The Finance Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in preparing the annual Budget showed *on the one side* the summary of actual money received from various sources, such as Land Revenue, Excise, Customs, Railways, Post Offices and on the other side the sums required for expenditure such as for the civil administration of the Government, maintenance of the army, for roads, buildings, irrigation, education, sanitation, railways, etc. This is how the Budget for each year was prepared. And all grants for the previous years on railways, if not spent during that year, lapsed and this system of lapses led to the money being spent hurriedly (therefore not always economically) towards the end of the financial year.

The Finance Member is bound to economise under all heads, and his task is no easy one, *viz.*, to provide funds for expenses on all sides, especially during years when the crops fail and there are famines or when trade depressions and bad harvests reduce the incomes from customs and duties and also from railways and from land revenue. Thus the annual allotments or grants were dependent on the sum available in the hands of the Government of India. Now, when the amount fell short of the demands, it was not so easy and possible for the Finance Member to cut down the expenses of civil administration or of the standing army, and thus the curtailments fell on railways, public works, irrigation, sanitation, education and so on. It is true that railways and irrigation being practically commercial concerns the Government was allowed to borrow money for such productive works. But the borrowings were limited as the Finance Member and the Government of India were naturally cautious. Many held the view that India could not well afford the expenditure that was being incurred on railways. Thus not only new railway extensions, double lines, more wagons, engines and carriages, which were essential for development of railway traffic, were kept in abeyance, but in many cases renewals and repairs suffered and since it was not known till the last moment what sum would be allotted to railways during the next year works that had been approved of by the Government and started out of previous year's grants, in expectation of further grants being given during subsequent years to finish them, had to be stopped, and although in many cases materials were on the spot there was no money for their construction. Thus both the railway property and the trade and industries suffered.

The McKay Committee of 1907 considered that to meet the expenditure on railway extensions, for more rolling stock, better facilities and substantial renewals, there should be a sum not less than 18¾ crores a year as the minimum sum available for expenditure steadily year after year. During the years following this recommendation 13½ to 16 crores per year were spent during 1908 to 1912-13, and 18 crores per year were only spent in 1913-14 and 1914-15, but during the war the expenditure fell down to 12 crores and eventually to 5 and 4½ crores per year. Both money and materials were scarce during the war and for some time thereafter, and the prices of materials were high. In the meanwhile, the railways not only suffered and deteriorated for want of timely repairs and renewals but the railways were worked under very heavy strain during the war which caused further depreciation in railway property with the result that large sums of money were needed, *firstly*, to bring the Railway property to safe standard, *secondly*, to bring the railway facilities up to date to meet the increasing traffic (in fact the evidence before the Acworth Railway Committee shewed that if the railway could provide adequate facilities the railway traffic would increase enormously and thus add to the prosperity of the country), and *thirdly*, money was also needed to build such urgently needed railways as would, besides developing and opening out new tracts, bring almost an immediate and a reasonable return on the capital outlay. Thus the Railway Finance Committee of the Government of India, consisting of both officials and non-officials, sanctioned that for five years to come from 1922-23, 30 crores a year should be provided and 150 crores for five years expenditure were sanctioned and it was agreed by the said Committee and the Lord Inchcape Retrenchment Committee that another 150 crores for the subsequent five years might also be spent mainly for rehabilitation of railways.

All these sums had and have to be raised by loans, and the interest that has to be paid now-a-days is higher than that paid before the war and having regard to the old outstanding liability in connection with loans and redemption of capital and to the fresh liabilities that are being incurred it is essential that the Railways should be carefully and economically administered and measures taken to see that no money is spent that would not bring in a direct and a fair return.

In this connection it may be useful to quote the following remarks from a paper read about five years ago by Major General Sir Henry Thornton, formerly in a responsible position on American Railways, subsequently General Manager of the Great Eastern Railway of England and now Chairman of the Canadian National Railways. He said as follows :—

In so far as Railways are concerned some essentials are—

(1) Such rates and fares as will permit the payment of a reasonable return on the capital outlay and a sufficient margin to permit always the borrowing of such sums as will enable the Railway to improve its services and to provide adequate facilities for increasing business.

(2) Such administrative arrangements as will ensure efficient and economical working.

Such things are all in the interests of the public but it is necessary that the Railways should realise that they would have to meet their expenses out of their own earnings and will have to pay a dividend and that they would be responsible for any loans and interest thereon and that at the same time they must be able to so economise in their expenses as to increase their revenue in order to be able to offer reasonable rates and fares and to carry traffic efficiently, the latter being the main object for which railways were built.

To be able to attain all these it is only right that Railways should know that they are to be left to their own resources and will have to regulate their own budget, but this was not possible if they were to be dependent on annual budget grants to be made out of the general finances of the Government of India. For these reasons and for the continuance of railway improvements in a businesslike manner to finish the needed works in time and economically, and for stability of railway finance and railway policy particularly in regard to rates and fares it was necessary that the railway finance should be separated from the general finance so that the Railways would know what money they would have available to complete the additions, alterations and improvements. At the same time, however, control of the representatives of the people, who are the real owners of the State Railways, should not be ineffective so that the broader interests of the country are not sacrificed in any way and that the Railway Managers do not act against such interests.

The Indian State Railway finance has now been separated and the Railway expenditure will have to be met from State railway earnings. First and foremost, the railway working expenses will have to be met, and the balance next utilised in paying up liabilities on account of interest on borrowed and unpaid capital of the railways and then in subscribing towards depreciation and sinking funds, and after this a certain amount based on a fixed percentage on the capital outlay of the railways has to be paid to the credit of the general finances of the country. And the balance is to be spent on railway account alone, *e.g.*, in new works, in increasing the Railway reserve fund, in granting more facilities or in reducing the surplus by granting lower rates and fares. The individual State Railways would be allowed to take loans from reserves.

Fresh loans for new works, for improvements to and rehabilitation of railways would have to be raised in future (as was done in the past) and this will be raised by the Government on the guarantee of the Secretary of State, in England and in India, on the general credit of India but all the liability for interest on and for repaymant of such debts will be that of the State railways.

With the separation of the Railway finance from the General finance it is, however, not yet contemplated that each State Railway's finance will be entirely separated in this sense that each railway will be allowed to utilise its surplus profits in the best way suitable to or considered necessary in the interests of that particular railway itself or to make its own independent contribution to the General finance or create new works out of its surplus revenues. The idea is that the net revenue of each railway, after meeting all charges against gross revenue, will go to the credit side of the Government of India Railway Finance, the trustees of which will be the Railway Department of the Government of India, who will use their discretion in allotting funds for expenditure on several State-owned railways according to the urgency and needs of the demands made by them. And, taking the interests of India as a whole, this is perhaps the best way of arranging things, seeing that most Railways are virtually the property of the same owner, *viz.*, the Government of India. But at the same time the Legislative Assembly should have perfect control over railway expenditure and railway policy.

II. RAILWAY ORGANIZATION.

In European countries, and in India, the management was until recently departmental in that under the General Manager (or the Agent as he is yet called in India) there were heads of departments for the engineering, locomotive, carriage and wagon, traffic, and other departments; each department had its own independent organisation throughout the line. The idea for the future is to decentralise control from Head Quarters which is now exercised through so many Heads of Departments, and to create complete divisional managements for various sections of a railway under Divisional Managers, who would control and be responsible for all the working of the operating branches of a railway on their respective divisions. Each Divisional Manager will practically be the General Manager of his Division and all work in connection with booking, loading, transport and unloading of traffic and movement of wagons, carriages, engines and trains and maintenance of permanent-way (or the railway road) and of manning, cleaning, running and coaling of the engines and their distribution and movement will be done under the authority or control of one man for the Division, *viz.*, the Divisional Manager. Perhaps the issue of stores, and the auditing of bills on operative account will also be done on the Divisions. The heads of technical Departments instead of being responsible (as they were in the past) for work in connection with both building and running the railways in their various branches, will have the work of building, overhauling, heavy repairs, and will confine their attention to technical matters of special branches. The actual operation of railways will be separated from the building of railways and of the railway property and also from the work of erecting, building and doing heavy repairs to and overhauling rolling stock and from work in railway workshops. Similarly the work of procuring traffic, fixing of rates, settlement of claims for goods lost, damaged or delayed will also be separated from the work of operating the railways.

The various branches of technical work and operation of railways will be as follows (all under the General Manager):

(1) Secretariat or Administrative, forming part of General Manager's own office.

(2) Operative or actual railway operation, and management in charge of Deputy or the General Manager for Transportation to control the Divisional Managers. The designation of this Deputy might be chief or general superintendent of transportation or operation.

(3) Civil engineering branch of this technical work, *viz.*, building of the railway and its property and the mechanical engineering branch which would build, erect, repair locomotives, carriages, wagons, plant machinery will be representatives of the Chief Building and Road Engineer who would also be under the General Manager.

(4) Commercial branch or the branch of soliciting business for the railway, and fixing of rates and fares will be under the Commercial Traffic Manager who would also settle all claims, compensation for goods lost, damaged or delayed. This branch will also be under the General Manager.

(5) Cash and Accounts and Audit under the chief auditor and accountant. This department on State-worked railways is practically under the Auditor General direct.

(6) Stores purchases under a Stores Purchase Superintendent also under the General Manager.

(7) Medical and Sanitation Department under a Chief Medical Officer.

(8) Mining Department in charge of the mines under a Chief Mining Engineer also responsible directly for his Department to the General Manager.

The operative branch under Deputy General Manager for Transportation (or General Superintendent of Transportation), is intended to be the main working branch. This branch, it is intended, will control the movement of trains, wagons, carriages and engines, the working of stations, signals, and the operative branch will also carry out petty repairs to engines, wagons and carriages that are in everyday use on lines of the railway and are employed in connection with the working of traffic. The work of receiving, forwarding and delivery of traffic as well as their carriage will be the work of the operative or Transportation branch. The Technical branch of Civil Engineering will build the roads, bridges, buildings, but will not maintain them as the Operative Section also takes over the work of maintenance as is the case on railroads in U. S. A. The Mechanical Engineering Branch will hold charge of building, erecting and repairing wagons, carriages, brakevans, engines and machinery; and the workshops (locomotive shops and the carriage and wagon shops and the electric shops and the power houses) will be under the Chief Engineer for Mechanical Department. The time may come when the Electrical Department head will be a very important person. And on some railways even now the Chief Electrical Railwaymen may not be under the Chief Mechanical Engineer. Even now he may be in charge of the Departmental Organisation directly under the General Manager. And the Commercial branch would look to the securing of and canvassing for traffic and to the fixing of rates and fares, and settlement of claims for goods lost, damaged, or pilfered.

In connection with the new organisation for Indian Railways it should be remembered that in the country from which the Divisional System has come, no one form of organisation is common to all railways (*viz.*, in America). For instance, on the Pennsylvania Railway System, which is one of the largest systems under one control in the world, the organisation is divisional while on the New York Central System, which is the second most important Railway System in U. S. A., the organisation is departmental. Not only this; even between any two railway systems in U. S. A. that are under Divisional System the organisation is not entirely alike. There are sometimes material differences and distinct traces of Departmental organisation yet remain even within the Divisional System. Whatever might have been its defects, the Departmental System had one distinct advantage; under it there were on the line and on the spot District Officers for each branch of railway work, who had specialised in their respective branches. Under departmentalism efficiency in each particular line of railway operation was assured, but with the growth of and extension to railways, and their business, both co-operation and combination became essential along with specialisation, particularly between the Transportation (traffic) and Locomotive Departments. In the past, Traffic Transportation and the Traffic Commercial branches were combined together and, similarly, the Locomotive Running and the Mechanical Engineering branches were parts of one department. The original main idea is to separate the Traffic Commercial from the Traffic Transportation branch and the Locomotive Running from the Mechanical branch and to bring about a close combination between the Transportation (Traffic) and the Locomotive (Running) Departments. But at the same time, it is essentially necessary that Locomotive engines and rolling stock (carriages and wagons) should be kept up in a thorough state of repairs and in an efficient condition of working, but this can hardly be attained unless mechanical experts are looking after them constantly. In the same way it is also essential that the bridges and important structures should be looked after under the supervision of experts for the sake of safety, if not for anything else. Therefore, it is a matter for every careful consideration how far the transportation department should take over the responsibility for the technical side of the work relating to rolling stock and the railway lines, bridges and structures. At present under the General Manager or the Agent, as he is called in India, there are Heads of Departments, such as Traffic Manager, Superintendent of Transportation, Locomotive and Carriage and Wagon Superintendent, and under them there are the District Traffic Managers, District Transportation Superintendents, District Loco and Carriage Superintendents, and District Engineers of roads, bridges and buildings working under their respective heads of departments and it is to be considered how far the work of these officers could be taken over by the Transportation or Operative Department, and by the Divisional Superintendents of this Department.

Now as to repairs to rolling stock and engines it is to be remembered that when they are taken out of traffic use for repairs they reduce the capacity of the railways to carry traffic. But supposing the transportation department was in charge of all repairs and it was entirely their business to decide when engines and rolling stock should be sent for petty repairs or for thorough repairs there might be the danger of hurrying up ordinary repairs, resulting in more and constant patchwork, and delays in sparing stock for thorough repairs and the stock may deteriorate for want of timely and proper repairs. The transportation department, whose main business will be to move more and more traffic, might not always look to the mechanical side of the work as carefully as mechanical experts would naturally do. It is recognised at least by some railways in other parts of the world that all technical work, relating to building, erecting, fitting and repairing of rolling stock, should be in the hands of the mechanical department and that in the Running Shed shops where engines are stabled in between runs and are attended to in regard to petty and ordinary repairs or in the sectional carriage and wagon repairing depots there should be a head mechanic responsible to the department of the Chief Mechanical Engineer for repairs and maintenance, and that there should also be a running foreman of the transportation department, who would control engine drivers, firemen, cleaners, as these men belong to the train service, and that the said foreman should also look after storage and issue of fuel, stores and oil for engines.

The Transportation Manager or the Chief Superintendent of Transportation or Operation whatever he might be called, would include in his Department the latter work (*i.e.*, the work supervised by the Running Foreman) and he may have a Deputy for Locomotive and carriage and wagon running in his office, *i.e.*, the office of the Transportation Manager, but it is debatable whether on the Districts the District Transportation officers, whose main work will be traffic transportation, should take charge of the work of Locomotive Running, especially of repairs. As already stated, there were and there are District Locomotive, Carriage and Wagon Superintendents, for each District. In Great Britain on some Railways there has been created a new Locomotive Running Department (separate and distinct from the Traffic Transportation Department). In India the offices of the District Transportation officers might be at the same place, as the offices of the District Loco, Carriage and Wagon Superintendents and the latter might have an Assistant Superintendent, who would look after the work of the Locomotive Foremen, and this Assistant of the District Loco Superintendent, while working under the orders of the District Loco officer, may work in close co-operation with the District Transportation officer, but the District Loco officer should have the responsibility for such work, *i.e.*, his responsibility to be joint, *viz.*, for mechanical work to the Chief Mechanical Engineer and for locomotive running to the Transportation Manager or Chief Superintendent of Transportation. The District Transportation officer would be in charge of stations, Station Masters, Signal Cabins, Signalmen, Telegraph offices, Telegraphists, Guards, Brakesmen, Ticket Collectors, Yards, Yard Staff, Porters, Pointsmen and be responsible for wagon, carriage and train movements, distribution of wagons, but in respect of selection of engine crew and supervision of their work, for supplying fuel and oil to engines one Assistant Superintendent in the office of the District Loco Superintendent might be given this work, who would be practically working for the Transportation Department, and in close consultation with the District Transportation officer, but should be subject to the control and supervision of the District Loco Superintendent who, as it is said, will have joint responsibility to the Transportation Manager and to the Chief Mechanical Engineer. The District Loco Superintendent because of his technical knowledge would know better where to look for defects and how to remedy them than the District Transportation officer. In any case as there would be a Deputy to the Transportation Manager for Locomotive Running he would be able to see that the District Loco officer's Running Assistant is not neglecting the transportation side of the work.

Lastly to come to the Commercial Department. As already stated this department would look to the development of traffic, canvass for traffic, fix rates and fares, and settle all claims for loss, damage, pilferage, or excess charges. The point is whether in addition the Commercial Department should also be responsible for the work in the goods and the booking offices. At stations, where there are no separate and independent goods sheds or city booking offices, the goods and booking clerks will be under the Station Master, who would be under the transportation department for purposes of discipline, but he should also attend to matters relating to goods and coaching work of the Commercial Department; because it is essential that there should be only one master at the station, everybody being under his control. But the city booking offices and all the goods offices and goods sheds that are separate or distinct from stations might be under the Commercial Department. There is, however, one point. It is this. Much depends on the work of loading of wagons, keeping the goods sheds clear and on arrangements for unloading of goods as to the success of operative work and this being so, the goods sheds should be under the Operative Superintendent. At the same time, the Commercial Department is the fittest Department to control the work of booking of goods, and accuracy in the matter of collection of charges. This being so, it is not unsound to think that men engaged in such work should be under the Commercial Department; but, at the same time, dual control in a goods shed, *viz.*, of the Operative Department for operative work and of the Commercial Department for commercial work, should be avoided. Under such circumstances it may be wiser to leave all work in the goods and booking offices at stations under the Divisional Superintendent, the latter being assisted by a staff officer, who has special knowledge of Commercial Department, who would, subject to the control of the District Superintendent, supervise the work of the goods, booking and parcels clerks. This officer is to be sent on loan to the District Superintendent by the Chief Traffic Manager. All transhipment work and labour may be under the Transportation Department.

Now, the CommercialDepartment should supply information to the Transportation Department in regard to traffic developments and although the distribution of wagons should be under the Transportation Department, this Department should conform to the wishes of the Commercial Department in matters where wagon supplies might be given preference or more or better supplies should be given, or supplies curtailed without creating undue preference. If it were possible, in all cases, that the District Commercial Officer should also be at the same place as the District Transportation Officer then the District Commercial Officer might look to the wagon distribution list of the Transportation Department every day and suggest changes and modifications where necessary, but whereas it is possible for the offices of the Traffic Transportation, the Loco and the Engineering Officers to be at the same station, it may be necessary that the District Commercial Office should be at a commercial centre, which may not be at the same place as the Railway Centre. Where the District transportation and the Commercial Offices are at the same place then, as already said, the commercial officer might scrutinise the station wagon distribution list every day but where this is not so, the District Commercial Officer and his inspectors would see and advise the District Superintendent beforehand at which stations the wagon demands should be met first or when there is likely to be a rush or increase of traffic, temporarily or permanently, and so on. The Commercial District Officers should assist in forming estimates of additional rolling stock required or of more facilities required for the future by furnishing estimates of traffic developments to assist in the preparation of the programme of expenses for improvements in facilities, additions to and extensions of railway facilities and rolling stock.[1]

S. C. Ghose

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[1] Readership Lecture on Railway Economics delivered at the Calcutta University.

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE[1]

The death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has deprived India of the greatest of her citizens. Among his contemporaries, others have been able to equal him in distinction, to surpass him in fame ; others have been able to serve their fatherland with as much devotion and fervour ; but none can dispute with him the glorious title to which he has the right. After brilliant studies in which he gave proof of gifts which were as much varied as exceptional, particularly in Mathematics, he took up Law as a profession, joined the Bar, quickly acquired the reputation of a consummate jurist, and was finally called to sit as a judge in the High Court of Calcutta. But his activity could not content itself by professional work only, howsoever heavy it might be. He had above all the passion for the public good. In India, always struck by the ideal and worked up since the end of the nineteenth century by the awakening of the national spirit, the love of country naturally takes a mystic turn : it is a new religion which has come to attach itself to the cults consecrated by tradition ; it speaks the same language as the rest, nourishes itself with the same dreams as they, and like them gladly awaits its victory through a miracle. With his intelligence of a lawyer accustomed to the exact sciences, Asutosh Mookerjee had discovered the power of the law and the rôle of education. Without having come to the West, without having studied elsewhere than in his own country, he had penetrated into the fundamental concepts which have built up the strength of Western societies, and he desired to serve himself with them.

The University of Calcutta existed only in name : it consisted, as in England, of a group of affiliated colleges and a body of examiners. Sir Asutosh desired to endow at least Bengal with a truly superior education, with teachers and students animated by the same inspiration, conscious of their duties in the formation of a new India, and capable of fulfilling them. Master of his own method of action, he entered the committees and commissions, and took up a preponderating part therein: he was Senator, and Syndic, and finally Vice-Chancellor. He was President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; he created the Mathematical Society over which he presided. Wherever he came, he brought in order and life. A man of action, he would never sacrifice anything to the dream of a chimeric perfection; to join the group round him he searched for the good, resigned himself to the mediocre, and left to time the task of rectifying the weaknesses of the present: he multiplied Chairs and Lectures and publications. So that while the other Universities of India vegetated, the University of Calcutta saw its Faculties flourish, its students to gather together, and teachers of Indian nationality installed in all the departments of instruction, and India herself installed in the centre of the programme of studies as their link and their justification; the language of Bengal, Bengali, introduced as a subject of study, made illustrious by a long literature and entering the life of the world with the works of Tagore, has come to dispute with English, the official language, a part as language of instruction.

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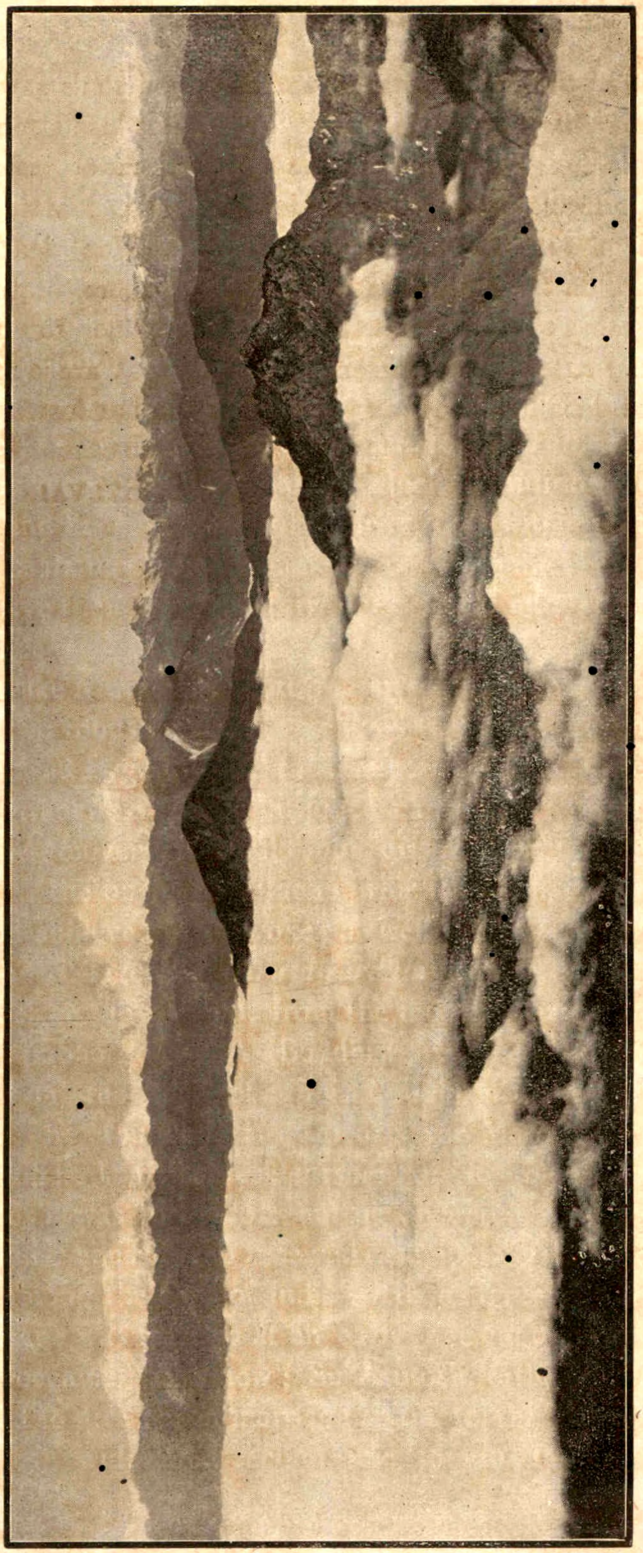
[1] Published in the *Journal Asiatique* for July-September 1924 : translated by Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji.

The government, disarmed in the judicial department in front of an adversary wisely respectful of the laws, had recourse to political measures. The project of the partition of Bengal which had to be abandoned reluctantly before the violence of public protests was taken up again, to be transported into the domain of the University: the budget of the University was reduced, and a new University created at Dacca with a Mohammedan orientation was loaded with favours. Never was Sir Asutosh greater than in this crisis: he held his own without departing for a single moment from the respect of the law; he rejected humiliating transactions, and communicated to all, even to professors of British birth, his disinterested ardour; he would go a-begging, if it were necessary; so he declared, like the sages of the past, to feed the teachers and the students. In fact, whether he occupied the highest place as Vice-Chancellor (the governor of Bengal is *ex-officio* Chancellor), or whether he temporarily vacated the office, he was and he remained up to the last day the great master of the University. He presided over the two sections of scientific research ("post-graduate study"), science and letters. Everywhere he gave of his person, without restraint; he knew everything in detail, and received all who called; he drew up reports and speeches, in which he untiringly exposed his plans and his aim: he would deliver them without fatigue, in a tone of psalmody which hammered on the phrases like ideas as if to drive them sure and drive them home into the mind of his audience.

Built like a wrestler, short, massive, his strong form was borne by two robust pillars which his Bengali breeches—the *dhoti*—showed largely; the face, imperious, had nevertheless an air of frankness which at once captivated; the brusqueness of his movement could not dissimulate the goodness of the soul; the bushy moustache which fell on the lips like brushwood achieved to evoke a well-known figure: he was called the "Tiger" (*puruṣa-śārdūla*). His courage never recoiled before any threat, from the moment that he thought of serving public good. A Buddhist enthusiast dreamed of restoring on the soil of India Buddhism that has long disappeared: he founded in Calcutta the Mahabodhi Society, and he offered the presidentship of it to Sir Asutosh. Sir Asutosh was orthodox, but he accepted it nevertheless, and it was he himself who received ceremonially the relics of the greatest among the sons of India. His daughter following the current usage was married at an early age, and while still a child she became a widow; Sir Asutosh, orthodox though he was, dared to give her in marriage again, to the scandal of the high castes; widowed a second time, she was taken away from him by a premature death; and the good souls saw in it the vengeance of the gods. But he did not lose strength, and sought his consolation only in the performance of new tasks.

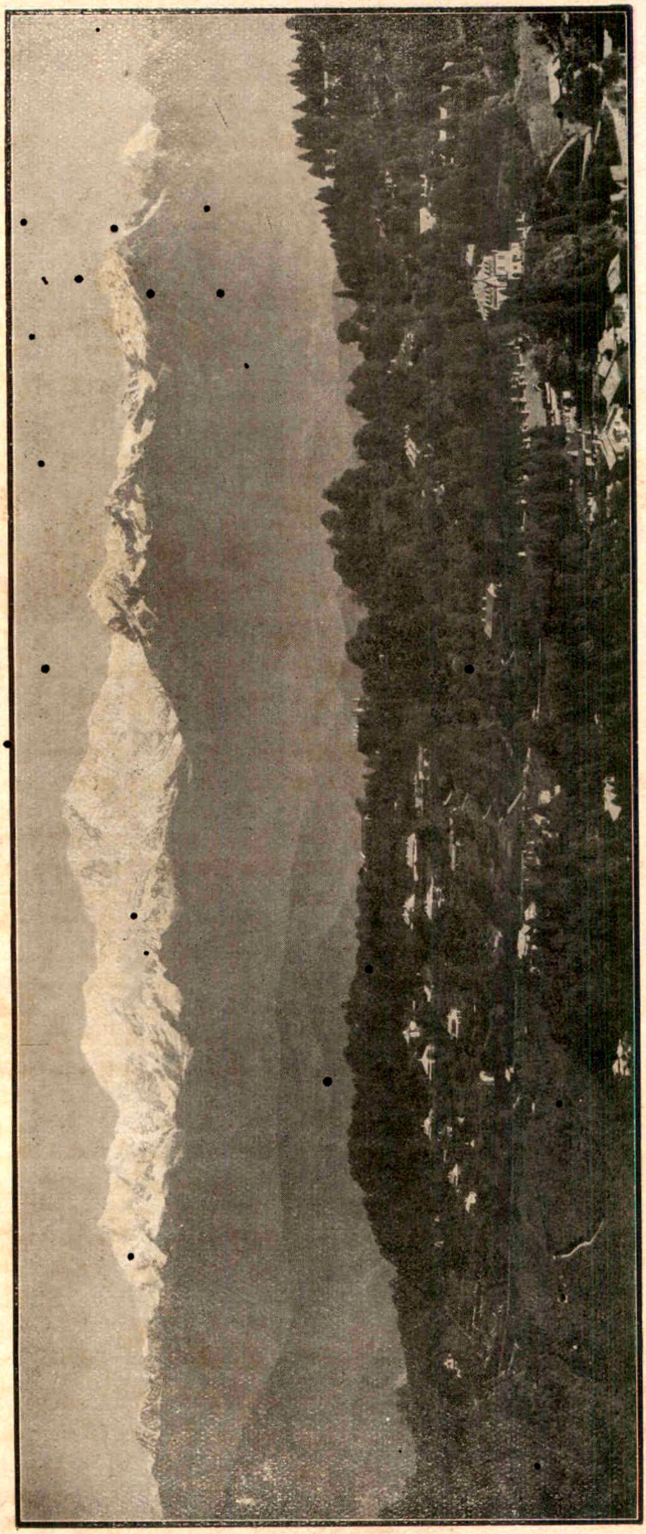
Fatigue ultimately succeeded in laying low this fighter, who seemed to be indefatigable. A sudden death struck him down, on the 25th of May at Patna, where, retiring from the judgeship to practise at the Bar, he came to plead in a celebrated case. The University, and Bengal, are in mourning: but India does not know as yet all that she has lost.

SYLVAIN LÉVI



DARJEELING

THE UNCONQUERED EVEREST



The Snow Range from Darjeeling

Reviews

A Antiga India E O Mundo Externo por Panduranga Pissurlencar da Academia das Sciencas de Lisboa, Editoria—Livraria Coecho, Nova Goa, 1922.

Prof. Pissurlencar is a member of the Academy of Sciences of Lisbon and enjoys the reputation of being a serious student of Ancient Indian History and Culture. In this volume he deals with the extremely interesting question of India's traffic with other parts of the world in ancient times and being a polyglot he has been able to strengthen his position by quoting learned men of all countries and nationalities. The first four chapters deal with non-controversial matters. No one denies to-day the great part played by India in the history of Ceylon, Java, Sumatra or even the celestial country of China. That she had commerce with Greece and Rome, Babylonia and Egypt is also undisputed. But there will be some hestitation on the part of many to accept the author's view about Indian discovery of America before Columbus set his foot on her eastern shores. But the question deserves a careful consideration and cannot be hastily dismissed. Professor Pissurlencar's array of arguments is formidable indeed, particularly when we remember that many of the old Mexican monuments and manuscripts were wantonly destroyed by the Christian zeal of the mediæval Spaniard. Albuquerque got a map of the world compiled in the fifteenth century by some Javanese and the vast country of Brazil has been correctly shown there. The frequent occurrence of *Kirtimukha* in early American temples, the discovery of a Buddhist image and the identification of a Jaina Swetambar image cannot be dismissed as mere accidents. We also find our elephant-headed Ganesha claiming the adoration of the early people of the new world. Prof. Elliot Smith is definitely of opinion that the old temples of America afford a remarkable demonstration of the blended influences of Egypt, Babylonia, India and China and those of America. It is, however, impossible to discuss or repeat all these arguments here. The book has for the present reviewer a melancholy interest. It has been dedicated to Estevas Pereira, a Portuguese savant who has recently passed away, and the present writer was asked to review this book by the late Sir Asutosh shortly before his unexpected and untimely death.

Prof. Pissurlencar's style is easy and elegant and his arguments are logical and convincing. We commend this little volume to all students of Indology.

S. N. S.

A Study in Hindu Social Polity :—By Chandra Chakravarty, pp. 294. Crown 8vo, comprises five chapters which deal with (1) Physical

Geography, (2) Ethnic-elements in Hindi Nationality, (3) Hindu Myths, (4) Hindi Languages, (5) Hindi Scripts, (6) Caste, (7) Social Organisation.

The author is well-known to many of us for his numerous writings, as well as for his past activity in the cause of Indian nationalism.

As regards the first chapter nothing remains to be said. The second chapter is of considerable interest and in it the author discusses the various ethnic elements in the Indian population. According to the author the earliest immigrants to India were an Australoid race, who came from Limuria. These were followed by other races, *e.g.*, the Dravidians, the Aryans and later on by the Sakās, and various other peoples who came in more recent times. The author's views on the origin of the Dravidians, and their connection with the culture of Sumeria is interesting, but shows very little originality, being practically an elaboration of the views of Hall and others. The time, however, has not yet come, when any scholar can hope to pronounce the final word on the race-contact of the past. The date of the earliest Aryan immigration, has been fixed by the author at cir. 2500 B.C., and in doing this, he has utilised the evidence of the Rigveda, the astronomical data in the Mahābhārata, as well as the Mitanni tablets or the Hittite inscriptions. In the present state of our knowledge, this date ought to be accepted as being approximately true.

The next chapter is a comparative study of the myths of the Aryans and other nations of antiquity, while the two succeeding chapters discuss the origin of the Hindi languages and of the Hindi scripts. In regard to caste, the author's views are original, and show a good deal of original enquiry. The hatred of the Americans for the Negro, and the continuance of lynching and other barbarities, show how the spirit of caste hatred arises out of racial differences. This chapter is sure to be an eye-opener to many, who believe rather tacitly in the professions of Western sociologists. The last chapter too is interesting on account of the fine treatment of the subject of social organisation.

Taken as a whole, the book shows a good deal of original speculation not to speak of the erudition and industry of the author, who has taken care to utilise all the materials at his disposal. In many places he displays a fine judgment and in many cases, his views, though unpalatable to many, are those which are supported by the evidences of History. For instance the author speaks of the emasculating influence of Buddhism or the intensely destructive character of the Semites (pp. 32) and these may bring on him the lashes of a hostile critic, though his views are really sound. We are sorry, however, to note that in spite of all this, the author occasionally accepts many things as true without examining them thoroughly. As instances, we may cite his views as to the mixed character of the Bengali population, or the Scythian origin of the Rajputs and the Mahrattas.

The book requires a thorough re-handling and a re-arrangement of some of its materials, and this will make it a really valuable contribution to Indian Ethnology and Sociology. The printing is not good, and many typographical errors have been allowed to remain.

N. C. B.

The Monthly Messenger: An Anglo-Bengali monthly edited by Professor Kshitischandra Chatterjee, M.A., and published by Jyotish Chandra Chatterjee, B.A., 63, Shampooker Street, Calcutta. Annual subscription Rupee one and Annas eight only.

This is a monthly magazine meant for schools and colleges and young boys. It admirably fulfils its purpose. The articles are well-chosen and well-written and contain a vast amount of varied and interesting information on all subjects likely to interest those for whom it is intended. Some of them indeed may be profitably read by the general public even. The magazine is improving with each issue and is becoming more and more useful. We must congratulate the Editor for the valuable work he is doing for the students of Bengal. The contributors are all specialists in their respective subjects and include some of the eminent educationists of Bengal. If the Editor continues to get contributions of this sort the success of the magazine is quite assured. To its many other recommendations, the magazine under review adds the not unimportant one of being remarkably cheap and handy; in fact, it is probably the cheapest magazine in Bengal. We shall be glad to see it in the hands of every student of the province.

ESKARE

The New Japan—by James H. Cousins (Ganesh : Madras).

This attractive little volume, finely got up and with quaint Japanese prints, is a very welcome addition to books on Japan, The author needs no introduction to readers in India. Poet and mystic, and an Irishman in addition, the record of his experiences in Japan is something quite different from what one gets usually in a book of travels. The book is rich in quaint humour and is withal a book of deep significance. The author's deep human sympathy has pierced the stolid outside which the Japanese usually present to the foreigner. We feel that the author's mission all through his stay has been to try to reach the human soul in Japan. And at the end of the book we seem to feel that the Japanese people are essentially like ourselves. Japan has a message yet to give to the world. To give it she should find her inmost soul first and in order to do that she looks to India for inspiration. And whatever the theme in hand, whether earthquakes or chop-sticks, whether the art of Horiyuji or Japanese phonetics, we seem to see the merry twinkling eyes of the Irishman. One who has been to Japan, or one who intends going to Japan in the future, or one who wishes to remain at home and know something of the throbbing new life of that wonderful land could do nothing better than read this delightful book.

POST-GRADUATE

Thoughts of the Great, gathered from time to time for personal guidance by G. S. Arundale. First Series (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras).

This is an excellent collection and quite "modern" in its contents. There is some attempt at classification of the quotations according to subjects. The trend of the whole is shown in the dedication "To the Young in Heart—the truly Great—of all Nations, of all Creeds of all 'Ages.'—May the World, through them, soon realise its Brotherhood." It is an inspiring collection and would serve the purpose of a Book of Daily Meditations. Possibly the compiler had some such object at the back of his mind. We will be awaiting eagerly for the "Second Series" (and others too) to follow.

I. J. S. T.

The Swallow-Book (*Das Schwalbenbuch*). By Ernst Toller. English Version by Ashley Dukes. Oxford University Press, London: 1924. Price 2*s*.-6*d*. net.

The Swallow-book is not a natural history primer, but a remarkable poem, dedicated to two swallows, the author's companions during his confinement in the fortress of Niederschonenfeld in Germany. We will not presume to criticise a poem to which criticism scarcely applies, but heartily commend it as a thought-provoking and stimulating little work. Who would dare to analyse the wanderings of a prisoner's thoughts? The reader will find in the "Swallow-Book" much philosophy, some misanthropy, and a certain disgust at European civilisation to-day:

"O Men, how poor your festivals!
Jazz-dances shrill with emptiness!"

M. H-W.

Hindi Lokokti Kosh—We offer a cordial welcome to the "Hindi Lokokti Kosh," a dictionary of Hindi proverbs, by Babu Bishambhar Nath Khattry, a local old Hindi scholar. This has removed a long-felt want in the Hindi literary field, which Dr. Fallon had attempted and had partly succeeded to some extent, some four decades ago, by compiling a Hindustani-English Dictionary containing many Hindustani proverbs. The excellence of the book does not lie only in the researches and systematic collection and lucid explanation of over ten thousand popular sayings current all over the Northern part of India from Rajputana to Bihar, but the incidental insertion of anecdotes pertaining to the creation of those proverbs and the quotations from the works of old and mediæval standard Hindi poets. It is equally useful to Europeans learning Hindustani, to Professors and teachers as well as to students who are required in their University examinations to illustrate the uses of such proverbs. The book is priced at Rs. 3-8 Board Bound volume, Rs. 4 Cloth Bound gilt, and is to be had of the author, 99, Harrison Road, Calcutta.

G. P. S.

Ourselves

THE ANNUAL CONVOCATION.

The Annual Convocation of the University was held on the 21st February, 1925, His Excellency Lord Lytton presiding. It was the first Convocation which Sir Ewart Greaves attended as Vice-Chancellor and the speech which he delivered, published elsewhere in this issue, though not very long, embodied frank acknowledgments of good work already done and sympathetic encouragements and wise counsels for future progress. The Vice-Chancellor took this opportunity of taking the public into his confidence by narrating in brief the nature of the problems that confronted the attention of the University.

The Chancellor's address, the full text of which we hope to publish in our next issue, can well be regarded as a pronouncement of considerable importance, coming, as it does, at this juncture when questions affecting the future well-being of the University are causing such deep anxiety in the minds of all interested. His Excellency in forcible language dispelled all doubts and fears and assured his audience amidst applause that his government was prepared to support the University towards the fulfilment of its legitimate aspirations. As a practical evidence of the sincerity of this "pledge"—that was the word His Excellency used—he announced that a sum of Rupees Two Lakhs had already been provided for the University in the forthcoming Budget of the Bengal Government. If these signs mean anything, we fervently trust they indicate a bright and progressive future. We hope the Report of the Post-Graduate Reorganisation Committee, which we are informed has already had forty sittings, will soon see the light of the day and will materially help the stabilisation of the Department and the gradual attainment of the ideal for which the great founder so strenuously fought.

* * *

SIR ASUTOSH AND THE SERAMPORE COLLEGE.

The Serampore College celebrated its Annual Convocation on the 14th February last. Sir Evans Cotton acted as High Priest on the occasion which was made all the more pleasant on account of the welcome return of Dr. George Howells, Principal, to the scene of his activities after a period of absence of nearly two years. Dr. Howells in submitting his report could not help referring to the loss which the educational world sustained by the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. He spoke with the fullness of his heart and the personal note which dominated his remarks was only in keeping with the warmth of genuine friendship and regard which he had for Sir Asutosh. He spoke in words which are worthy of reproduction:

"I cannot allow this opportunity to go by without fitting reference to the passing of a great soul and eminent friend of Serampore College—I mean Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. I first came in contact with him nearly a quarter of a century ago. I was then a young unknown missionary in Orissa, and had only recently begun the agitation for the reorganisation of Serampore College on the lines laid down by its founders. I called to see him at his house by the introduction of a mutual friend. He was then a busy and distinguished lawyer, and I can still picture him in his office surrounded by his books and anxious clients. He gave me nearly an hour of his valuable time, and his benignant eye and massive personality attracted me. The information and advice he was able to give me on the legal aspects of the Old Serampore Charter proved of momentous importance in the progress I was able to make, and after the reorganisation scheme took effect, we could always rely on his powerful influence and support in furthering the aims of the College in every possible way. To us he was always a tower of strength, and he never failed us in our hour of need. My personal relations with Sir Asutosh were of an intimate character. Like all great men he had his failings, but I can truly say that I revered him as an elder brother, and I think I am not mistaken when I say that he gave his confidence to me more than he did to any other European. Occasionally I had occasion to differ from him in academic matters, but at such times there was no trace of resentment on his part or undue pressure. It is now a pleasant recollection to me that I was able in most fundamental matters to give him consistent support in the Senate, on the Syndicate and in the various important University Committees on which we served together. His driving force, executive ability and extraordinary genius in grasping both principles and details, made him a king among men, by far the greatest personality it has been my privilege to come in contact with, whether in the East or the West. Sir Asutosh was a Bengali, I am a Welshman. (He was an orthodox Hindu and I am an orthodox Christian but in the realm of mind and spirit there is something that transcends nationality and inherited creed.) I can never believe that the massive mind of Sir Asutosh was destroyed at the burning *ghat*, but his soul goes marching on, and when it falls to my lot to pass into the realms of light, I live in the faith that he will be there and will come forward to greet me with the old benignant smile."

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ADDED MEMBERS OF FACULTIES.

Many of our readers are no doubt aware that under the Regulations the different Faculties in the University are entitled to elect annually a number of gentlemen to be co-opted to those bodies who are called Added Members of Faculties. This gives an opportunity to the Faculties to associate with themselves distinguished persons who are interested in some branches of knowledge, but all of whom cannot, for obvious reasons, hope to be returned to the Senate. The Faculties are bodies responsible for the framing of courses, syllabuses and text-books and this system largely helps the introduction of fresh energy into the deliberations of these bodies of the University which, as is well known, is at present so rigidly constituted as to permit eighty per cent. of its members to be nominated by one single individual. The Faculties of Arts, Law and Science have, we find, taken the fullest advantage of this method of co-option and have elected quite a large number of gentlemen, the majority of whom, at any rate, will, by common consent, be regarded as in no way less distinguished than those who are already on the Senate.

The most aristocratic Faculty, we notice with not a little measure of regret, is the Faculty of Medicine. It had before it three names duly proposed and the majority refused to elect any one of them. Among those three we find Dr. Lalit Mohon Banerjee, one of the leading Surgeons of Calcutta, a brilliant graduate of his day who won the much coveted degree of Master of Surgery and was subsequently enrolled as a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons in England. The second gentleman is Dr. Susil Kumar Mookerjee, another distinguished specialist with high academic distinctions, won from three prominent centres of scholarship, Edinburgh, Oxford and London. Both of them are connected with the Carmichael Medical College and cannot accordingly be branded as mere medical practitioners with no educational experience. With these facts before us, it is indeed difficult to maintain that while rejecting these names, the majority of the Members of the Faculty acted in a manner that was either fair or just. Another glaring instance of the sense of propriety of this Faculty was exhibited last year when the name of no less a person than Sir Nilratan Sircar was with quiet deliberation omitted from the Board of Studies in Medicine, a smaller body annually elected by the Faculty. The reason for the occurrence of such instances, though instructive in themselves, may at first sight seem apparently unfathomable. These at the same time help us in visualising to a certain extent the bitterness and severity of the conflict that has unfortunately been going on in the Medical Faculty for many years between the two chief blocks, official and non-official.

* * *

SMALL-POX EPIDEMIC.

Small-pox is raging in Calcutta in an epidemic form and it is desirable that the public should be taken into confidence as to the steps taken by the University in order to cope with it. The Health Officer of the Corporation of Calcutta wrote to the University about the desirability of postponing the examinations on the ground that there would be a large influx of students in Calcutta from the mofussil which might help to aggravate the spread of the epidemic. The Syndicate informed Dr. Craike that his information was not correct in as much as there were numerous centres in the mofussil which did not necessitate the students to flock to Calcutta for the purpose of examination. The Syndicate, however, felt that it was desirable that all facilities should be given to the students as well as examinees to vaccinate themselves without delay if they had not already done so, and for this purpose arrangements have already been made with the assistance of the officers of the Corporation. Special arrangements have also been made with the authorities of the Campbell Hospital to admit the victims among the students into the European Ward of that hospital. The daily fee proposed to be charged is seven rupees per head and that, it has been resolved, will be met by the University. A small Committee was, in this connection, appointed consisting of Sir Nilratan Sircar, Dr. B. C. Roy, Dr. M. N. Banerjee and Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerjee. Their report which has been adopted by the Syndicate is outlined below :

> "We, the members of the Committee appointed by the Syndicate to take steps to cope with the small-pox epidemic in Calcutta, beg to recommend—
>
> 1. That the Health Officer of the Corporation of Calcutta be informed that according to the reports received from the Principals of Colleges the

students residing in the University Hostels have all been vaccinated and that if he needs any medical help in the special ward in the proposed Small-pox Hospital, the volunteers of the Medical Colleges affiliated to the University may be able to help him in that direction and also in the work of vaccination at the different local centres of examinations, and that the University is taking steps to secure the help of such volunteers.

2. That the Health Officer be also informed that the Principals of affiliated Colleges have already been requested to take steps to have their students vaccinated and that a reminder will be sent to them.

3. That the Principals of the two Medical Colleges affiliated to the University be requested to send fifty senior students as volunteers from each college to help the Medical Officer of the University in vaccinating the students living in the different parts of the town and to act as nurses to the University students in the wards of the Small-pox Hospital, and also to help in the vaccination of the students at the different local centres of Examinations.

4. That the Medical Officer of the University be requested to undertake this vaccination of University students in conjunction with the Ward Health Association of the town.

5. That the Health Officer of the Calcutta Corporation be requested to supply lymph for the use of the Medical Officer of the University and to direct the Wards Health Associations to co-operate with the University Medical Officer in his work.

6. That the Secretary to the Students' Welfare Committee be requested to allow the Officer working in the Students' Welfare Scheme to co-operate with the Medical Officer of the University in his work in connection with the epidemic."

* * *

THE LATE DR. D. B. SPOONER.

The death of Dr. D. B. Spooner is a serious blow to the cause which is so worthily represented by the activities of the Archæological Department of the Government of India. Mr. Spooner graduated from California in 1889 and spent a number of years as a student of Sanskrit in the Imperial University of Tokyo. From Japan he travelled all the way to India and spent three years as a scholar in the Government Sanskrit College of Benares. His thirst for knowledge was not satisfied with the training he had hitherto received and he, therefore, went to Germany in 1904 and continued his studies under the guidance of that savant, Prof. Kielhorn of Gottingen. He thence proceeded to Harvard with a view to take full advantage of the elaborate arrangements which existed there for the systematic study of Sanskrit and Pali. Harvard was not slow to recognise his labours in the field of oriental culture and fittingly bestowed upon him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. To give, as it were, a finishing touch to the knowledge he had already acquired he again came to Germany and spent a couple of years studying Sanskrit, Pali and Archæology under renowned scholars in the University of Berlin. In 1906, he came to India and joined the Archæological Department. He enthusiastically conducted a series of excavations in different places and his activities were always crowned with success. He rose to occupy the Office of Assistant Director General of Archæology which he filled with conspicuous ability and distinction till the time of his death.

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DR. ABDULLA SUHRAWARDY.

We offer our cordial congratulations to Dr. Abdulla Suhrawardy on his election as Deputy President of Bengal Legislative Council. Dr. Suhrawardy is a distinguished scholar and has been closely associated with the activities of the University for more than fifteen years. He is one of the ablest among those few Mahomedans in Bengal who without any regard for communal bias can successfully hold their own against representatives of any other community. It has all along been a wonder to us why a man of his type has not been absorbed in the highest ranks of public service. A shrewd critic maintains that the independence of his character has been a quality which has always filled the reigning gods with doubts and distrust and Dr. Suhrawardy is where he stands. We hope, however, that the Deputy Presidentship will be a stepping stone to honours that are yet higher which will afford him opportunities for doing solid work for the good of his country.

* * *

BENGALI BALLADS.

We are glad to learn that the Government of Bengal have just sanctioned a grant of Rs. 3,070 to the University to assist Rai Bahadur Dr. Dineschandra Sen in carrying on the monumental work which he has already done in connection with the recovery and publication of the rural ballads of Bengal. In December, 1924, Mr. Oaten, the Director of Public Instruction, who had deeply interested himself in this matter, wrote to the Vice-Chancellor about the possibility of making an annual grant to the University in this connection. The Syndicate requested Dr. Dineschandra Sen and Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee to draw up a scheme and they submitted the following report which was in due course approved by the Syndicate and generally accepted by Government :

"To

THE REGISTRAR,
CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

SIR,

With reference to your letter No. 4417-18, dated 2nd December, 1924, forwarding copy of a letter from the Director of Public Instruction and requesting us to submit for the consideration of the Syndicate a scheme for taking early measures to recover and publish the rural ballads of Bengal, we have the honour to report as follows:

The first essential step will be to provide facilities for the appointment of qualified persons who can undertake the arduous task of collecting ballads from the remote and unknown corners of the province. It is clear that the nature of work to be done in this connection is such that it will not be well performed by the employment of graduates. They are, generally speaking, accustomed to the ease of town life and to studies principally conducted in libraries or at home. They are hardly capable of undergoing the hardships and privations which are involved in journeying through the rural districts and in visiting the poor peasants who dwell in mud huts, and are the custodians, so to say, of the songs and ballads of the countryside. The graduates are, again, not expected to be sufficiently intimate with the modes of living of the poor and, what is more, possessed of tactics and practical wisdom to "coax" a cautious peasant into unburdening his store of traditions and memories. The collection of ballads does not accordingly require the assistance of persons equipped with high academic qualifications.

It is thus undeniable that we must have our band of special collectors. The question is how to appoint them. We are of opinion that we should have at least three men on our staff who will be kept in charge of collecting ballads and songs. We, however, do not think that it will be desirable to appoint them on fixed salaries at the very outset. We have made enquiries and have found that there are some persons, about eight in number, who are competent to work in this field and are willing to place their services at the disposal of the University. Almost all of them have sent us specimens of their collections which, though promising, are not adequate for testing their capacity for work. We should encourage such persons to send in specimens of their collections and should appoint those three amongst them, who will satisfy us that they have the highest aptitude for work in this field.

This was exactly what was done in the case of Babu Chandrakumar De who had at first sent us a few instalments of ballads for which he was paid remuneration from the University and was subsequently appointed in the Departments of old Bengali manuscripts on a fixed monthly salary. The University now pays him at the rate of Rs. 60 per month which includes his travelling and other incidental expenses. In consideration of his special merits and high and approved qualities of his work we recommend that his salary be increased to Rs. 85 per month.

We are of opinion that it will be necessary to provide for a fixed annual grant which will enable the University to purchase ballads and songs which may be collected by independent workers, other than the three persons who will be employed by us. A sum of Rs. 250 will, we consider, be adequate for this purpose.

For the smooth working of this department it will be necessary to place at the disposal of the Fellow the services of a competent clerk who will perform such duties as correspondence and making fair copies of texts, commentaries, translations, introductions and notes.

In our opinion such an Assistant should be in receipt of a monthly salary of Rs. 60. At present the University provides for the appointment of a temporary Assistant every year for the performance of such duties as enumerated above. We strongly feel that this arrangement should be made permanent.

We also consider it desirable that definite provision should be made for a typewriter and certain contingent expenses which will include such items as paper, stamps, etc.

It will be necessary furthermore to arrange for the printing and publishing of a volume of about 500 pages embodying the work that will be done by the Fellow in the course of every year. We are of opinion that the University should undertake to arrange for the regular publication of the work.

We may at this stage usefully summarise the actual financial effect of the scheme which we have outlined above. We propose to classify the items of expenditure under two heads, one concerning those for which the University should apply to Government for help, the other dealing with those for which the University itself should be responsible.

Government.

		Rs.
1	Proposed increase of salary to Babu Chandrakumar De	300 per annum
2.	Pay of three persons to be appointed for the purpose of collecting materials, at the rate of Rs. 50 a month each and a fixed travelling allowance of Rs. 20 a month each ...	2,520 per annum
3.	Purchasing materials from different independent sources	250 per annum
	Total ...	3,070 per year

University.

		Rs.
1.	Cost of printing and publishing a volume of about 500 pages	2,000
2.	Contingencies	100
3.	A clerk on Rs. 60 per month	720
		2,820
	Non-recurring Expenditure: A Typewriter ...	350
		3,170

We have carefully considered the possibility of arranging for the association with the Fellow of a competent M.A., trained in the approved methods of systematic and scientific study of Indian Vernaculars in the University, who might be awarded one of the Scholarships at the disposal of the Director of Public Instruction. Such an arrangement will materially help the cause we are advocating, for it will ensure the continuance of an organised school of researches in this field. There are at present three Research Assistants working under the Ramtanu Fellow and we are of opinion that the nature of the work in which they are engaged is such as will not permit them to devote their energies to other directions just now. These three gentlemen are Babu Manindramohan Basu, M.A., Babu Tamonash Dasgupta, M.A., and Babu Basantakumar Chatterjee, M.A. The first has taken up for research "The Sahajia Cult of the Vaisnavas," the second is engaged in collecting materials for Social History of Bengal and the third is working in the field of philological research regarding the Birbhum dialect.

They have not only to carry on research by constantly consulting the old Bengali manuscripts in the libraries of the University and the Sahitya Parishad, but have also to devote considerable time to tracing other materials from original sources. They have to submit quarterly reports embodying the results of their work. In spare hours they have also to take up teaching work in the Post-Graduate Classes, so far as their own special subjects are concerned. It will, therefore, be not possible for any of them to work exclusively on the ballads along with the Fellow. We strongly recommend that the Director of Public Instruction should be requested to keep apart one of the scholarships at his disposal, to be awarded to a qualified graduate who will work in this field under the direction of the Fellow.

In conclusion, we recommend a Standing Committee be appointed by the Syndicate to supervise generally the work of this department. Such a committee need not and should not be large in composition. The Ramtanu Lahiri Fellow will of course be on it and we propose he should have as his colleagues two more members, one to be nominated by the Syndicate and the other by the Board of Higher Studies in Indian Vernaculars..

Yours truly,
SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE.
DINESHCHANDRA SEN."

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PROF. C. V. RAMAN.

Many of our readers are aware that Prof. Raman, F.R.S., who was awarded the Ghose Travelling Fellowship last year, has been touring in different centres of scientific scholarship in America, Canada and Europe. We are glad to reproduce here a letter which he has addressed to the Registrar, embodying the report of his activities during the last six months :

"I write to furnish you with a report of my activities during the past six months that I have held the Travelling Fellowship and shall be glad if we will put it before the Board of Management of the Rashbehari Ghosh Fund.

I sailed from Bombay on the 7th of June, 1924, by S.S. the "Kaisar-i-Hind" and duly reached London on the 22nd of June. A few days after, I attended the last meeting of the Royal Society for the season (on the 26th of June) and was formally admitted to the Fellowship of the Society and signed the historic Charter-roll of the Society. By the kindness of Sir William Bragg, I was given an opportunity to take up experimental work on the Diffraction of X-rays in liquids at the Davy Faraday Laboratory of the Royal Institution of London and continued attending the Laboratory till the date of my departure for America (25th of July, 1924). During this period, I also took part in the celebration of the Kelvin Centenary at the Royal Society and also attended meetings of the Physical Society at London and Cambridge.

I sailed for Canada from Liverpool on the 25th July by S.S. "the Montrose" and reached Quebec on the 1st of August and Montreal on the 3rd of August. Here I was received by Professor L. V. King, F.R.S., of the McGill University and conferred with him on the subject of his acoustical investigations and the theory of light-scattering; together with the rest of the British Association Party, we proceeded to Ottawa where the Prime Minister of the Dominion in welcoming the Association officially, referred to my presence as the Indian representative with evident appreciation. Throughout the subsequent progress of the Association through Canada, marked cordiality was everywhere shown to me. During the week of the Association meetings at Toronto, I took an active part in the work of section A, and was elected a member of the Sectional Committee. I was nominated as the opener of a discussion on "The Scattering of Light" and spoke before a large audience of physicists and others on this subject at considerable length. I also spoke at a special discussion on the Compton Effect organized by the Section.

I also took part in the meeting of the International Congress of Mathematicians and held office as Chairman of a Section during part of the proceedings. The meetings of the Association and of the Congress offered exceptionally fine opportunities of making the acquaintance of a great many British, American, and continental physicists and mathematicians, and I freely availed of these opportunities. At the concluding meetings of the Association and of the Congress, I was chosen as one of the valedictory speakers.

During the latter half of August, the Association and the Congress went on an extensive tour of Canada right up to Vancouver and Victoria across the Rocky Mountains and back again to Toronto. I was invited to accompany the overseas party in one of the special trains arranged for this purpose, and visited a great many Canadian Universities, cities, industrial centres, national parks and mountains, glacier, lake and forest scenery. Everywhere, the most generous hospitality was shown towards us, and the journey was the experience of a life-time never to be forgotten. At Victoria, I visited the new Dominion Astrophysical Observatory with a 70-inch reflecting telescope and was received in extreme cordiality by Dr. J. S. Plaskett, the Director of the Observatory. On route, at the different centres visited, I visited the scientific and industrial laboratories and conferred with the Professors and Staff.

Returning to Toronto early in September, I rested from the fatigues of travel for a week and on the 13th of September, left for Washington. Here I visited the Bureau of Standards Laboratory, the Carnegie Institute of Research in Terrestrial Magnetism and the Library of Congress. The 17th September found me at Philadelphia where I took part in the celebrations of the Franklin Institute Centenary and presented the greetings of our University to the Institute amidst applause. At Philadelphia, I had the privilege of meeting many celebrated physicists, notably Professor Zeeman from Holland, Professor Michelson from Chicago, Professor Fabry from France and Dr. Langmuir from New York, and of securing their friendships. I also found awaiting me an invitation from Prof. Millikan offering me the position of Research Associate of the California Institute of Technology at Pasadena for the autumn session, 29th September to 16th December, 1924. The offer was a very flattering one, as in previous years, the same position had been held by physicists of the highest eminence, such as H. A. Lorentz, P. Ehrenfest, A. Einstein, A. Sommerfeld and C. G. Darwin. I immediately accepted the offer and visited Chicago, and Iowa *en route* lectured at Iowa, and conferred with Professor Michelson at Chicago, arrived at Pasadena on the day of opening of the session. At this Institute, we have an extraordinarily interesting group of physicists, and astronomers as well owing to the existence (within a few miles of Pasadena) of the celebrated Mount Wilson Solar and Astronomical Observatory. I am taking an active part in the work of the Institute, giving lectures four times a week on Theoretical Thermo-dynamics and the Scattering of Light, and entering into the discussions at the seminars and at the Astrophysical club meetings.

I am here as the guest of the Institute till the 16th of December, 1924, on which date I finish my lecture course.

After leaving Pasadena, I shall visit some of the numerous American and Canadian centres at which I have invitations to lecture and will sail for Europe from Canada on the 30th of January. I shall make a short tour on the continent of Europe in February and March and expect to be able to return to India by the end of the cold weather.

C. V. RAMAN."

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INDIAN CHEMICAL SOCIETY.

We are glad to find that the Indian Chemical Society, which was founded only last year mainly through the enthusiastic efforts of some of our University Professors in the College of Science, has already succeeded in establishing for itself a recognised position. The Quarterly Journal of the Society, the first number of which appeared only recently, is a sufficient index of what can be achieved under the auspices of such a Society. It is in the fitness of things that its activities have already attracted widespread attention. Some of the Indian Universities have come forward to recognise its efforts in a practical manner by contributing to the funds of the Society. It has further been able within this short span of time to arrest the admiration of distinguished men of science in the West. We make no apology for quoting the following observations which appeared in the *Nature* on January 31, 1925, which indeed speak for themselves:

"The success which has attended the inauguration of the Indian Science Congress, and the great increase in the amount of new work in chemistry which has occurred in the Indian Empire during the past ten years, has led to the establishment of an Indian Chemical Society, under the presidency of Sir P. C. Ray, with offices at 92, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta; the first number of the Quarterly Journal of the Society has now appeared.

Hitherto, chemical papers emanating from India have been published either in the Journals of the Chemical Societies of London or America, or in one or other of the larger continental publications. The disadvantages attaching to this procedure became more and more obvious as the volume of new work increased, because the older Journals are becoming over-burdened, and the need for economy of space necessitated frequent correspondence between authors and editors, entailing grave loss of time in the cases of countries so far distant as India.

Apart, therefore, from the pleasure with which all British chemistry will welcome this national effort on the part of India, there will be general agreement among them that the scheme of decentralisation of publications within the British Empire which it implies is the only one which can lead to the rapid and adequate publication of new knowledge and tend ultimately to the real advancement of chemistry. Optimists may dream of the time when there will be one Chemical Society and one Chemical Journal for all the English-speaking race, but until the transportation of matter can be accomplished with a velocity approaching that of light, distance must always act as an obstacle to any such plan, however desirable it may be.

The new Journal is a welcome illustration of the development which has taken place in Indian chemistry during recent years. There are thirteen papers, and only one of these is published under English names. The remaining papers are published by Indians and come from all parts of the Indian Empire. Four of them emanate from the College of Science, Calcutta, and this is as it should be, because for many years past, this Institution has been the backbone of chemical research in India. The other communications come from Allahabad, Baroda, Dacca, Cuttack, Benares, and Madras, and constitute a series of which the organising committee and editor have every reason to be proud.

The journal is well printed, and doubtless the structural formulæ which seem, at times, to have given the printer some trouble, will improve with experience. Older chemists with impaired eyesight will probably quarrel with the colour of the cover, the printing on which is most difficult to read, but these are minor points and do not detract from the value of which is essentially a most creditable and important production."

* * *

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY.

We publish below the new Regulations which have been adopted by the University of Cambridge, governing the admission of affiliated students, which came into force from 1st January, 1925 :

" 1. Graduates of Universities, which have on the recommendation of the Council of the Senate been approved for the purpose by grace of the Senate, shall be entitled to admission to the privileges of affiliation, provided that they submit certificates showing that they have attended classes in such a University for a period of not less than three years, and that they produce either

(*a*) evidence of graduation with First Class Honours, or a record which, in the opinion of the Council of the Senate, is equivalent to First Class Honours ;[1] or,

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[1] In the case of approved Universities in the United States of America, the Council of the Senate will in general accept, as such a record evidence that a student can be regarded as having graduated in the first sixth of his class (that is, all the students of his year), and also that he showed exceptional ability in some subject.

(*b*)[1] evidence of graduation with Second Class Honours (or a record which, in the opinion of the Council of the Senate, is equivalent to Second Class Honours[2]), provided that they have passed, in one or more of the Examinations by which they have qualified for their degree, either in English, two other languages, one of which is either Latin or Greek, and Mathematics; or, if a student is a native of Asia or Africa and not of European descent, in English, one of the following languages, Arabic, Chinese, Sanskrit or Pali, and Mathematics.

2. A student admitted to the privileges of Affiliation shall be entitled to any or all of the following privileges :

(*a*) to be exempted from the previous Examination ;

(*b*) to reckon the first term kept by residence as the second, third, or fourth term of his residence, for the purposes of all provisions respecting the standing of candidates for Tripos Examinations or for Degree Examinations in Medicine, Surgery, or Music, and respecting the standing of candidates for Degrees, other than the Ordinary B.A. Degree or Degrees conferred under the Regulations for Research Students;

(*c*) on producing evidence that he has passed such examinations as may be approved by a Special Board connected with a Tripos, to be allowed to proceed to a Part or Section of that Tripos under the same conditions as though he had passed another Part or Section of a Tripos; and, if he shall obtain Honours therein, to be admitted Bachelor designate in Arts on the completion of residence for the requisite number of terms, provided that

(*i*) if the examination or examinations as to which evidence is produced are in a subject or subjects other than that with which the Tripos is concerned, the consent of the General Board of Studies shall be obtained in each case ;

(*ii*) if a student is allowed under this regulation to proceed to a Part or Section of a Tripos in respect of which the regulations make different provisions according to the Part or Section of a Tripos, which a student has already passed, the Special Board shall determine which of such provisions shall apply ;

(*iii*) application for admission to this privilege is made to the Registrary before the end of the student's first term of residence ;

(*iv*) if this examination is taken before the last of the terms which the candidate is required to keep in order to qualify for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, the candidate shall produce a certificate of "diligent study" for the residue of such term.

3 (*a*) If a student admitted to the privileges of affiliation wishes to

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[1] As amended in November, 1924.

[2] In the case of approved Universities in the United States of America, the Council of the Senate will in general accept, as such a record, evidence that a student can be regarded as having graduated in the first half of his class (that is, all the students of his year).

reckon for any purpose the first term kept by residence as the second, third, or fourth term of his residence, in accordance with the foregoing Regulation 2(*b*), application should be made to the Registrary for the registration of such allowance.

(*b*) If a student admitted to the privileges of affiliation has, in accordance with the foregoing Regulation 2(*b*), reckoned for any purpose the first term kept by residence as the second, third, or fourth term of his residence, as the case may be, he shall be required so to reckon his first term for all purposes.

4. In the case of any student claiming to be admitted to the privileges of Affiliation, a certificate of having fulfilled the prescribed conditions, signed by the Registrar or other competent authority of the student's University, shall be presented for registration to the Registrary in the student's first term of residence, and a fee of £2 shall be paid at the same time to the Registrary for the University Chest.

5. Any certificate of having fulfilled the prescribed conditions may be accepted for registration at a time later than that above specified provided that in every such case an additional fee of £1 shall be paid to the Registrary for the University Chest.

6. Students claiming to be admitted to the privileges of Affiliation shall be required (*a*) to have fulfilled all the prescribed conditions before Matriculation, (*b*) to matriculate and to pay the usual fee of £5, and (*c*) to pay the capitation tax in respect of each term allowed under Regulation 2(*b*)."

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DEANS OF FACULTIES.

Principal Herambachandra Maitra has been elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Principal Girischandra Bose of that of Science, Mr. Mahendranath Ray of that of Law, Col. F. A. F. Barnardo of that of Medicine and Mr. T. H. Richardson of that of Engineering.

* *

FRENCH UNIVERSITIES.

The Consul General of France has informed the Registrar that the Minister of Public Instruction, Paris, has decided to exempt candidates for the Degree of Doctor in Law, Science or Arts of a French University from producing the Diploma of "licencii" if they possess any of the following degrees of this University.

(1) Law B.L.—Division 1 of the University.
(2) Science—B.Sc.
(3) Arts—B.A.

* * *

JUBILEE RESEARCH PRIZE.

The Jubilee Research Prize of 1924 has been awarded to Mr. Bankimchandra Mallik, B.L., his thesis being "The Influence of Western Literature upon the Writings of Michael Madhusudan Dutt."

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BIRESWAR MITTER PRIZE.

The following subjects have been prescribed by the Syndicate for the Bireswar Mitter Prize, 1925 :

(1) Local Finance.
(2) Economic effects of health conditions in Bengal.

* * *

UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS.

The number of students at the different University Examinations is shown below :

Matriculation	19,082
Intermediate Arts	4,341
Intermediate Science	4,358
Bachelor of Arts	2,620
Bachelor of Science	967

* * *

DATES OF EXAMINATIONS, 1925.

The next I.E., B.E., D.P.H., Medical, B. Com. and Law Examinations will be held on the dates mentioned below :

I.E. and B.E. ...	6th July,	1925 and following days.
D.P.H. ...	10th August,	1925 ,, ,, ,,
Preliminary Law	13th July,	1925 ,, ,, ,,
Intermediate Law	20th July,	1925 ,, ,, ,,
Final Law ...	27th July,	1925 ,, ,, ,,
Preliminary M.B.	13th May,	1925 ,, ,, ,,
First M.B. ...	18th May,	1925 ,, ,, ,,
Final M.B. ...	4th May,	1925 ,, ,, ,,
B. Com. ...	25th May,	1925 ,, ,, ,,

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

1. CULTURE AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION

Rs. As.

Rig Vedic India, by Abinaschandra Das, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo. pp. 616 ... ... 10 8

[The work is an attempt to find out the age of the culture as depicted in the Rig Veda, examined in the light of the results of modern geological, archæological, and ethnological investigations and drawn from a comparative study of the early civilisations of the Deccan, Babylonia and Assyria, Phœnicia, Asia Minor, Egypt, and Pre-historic Europe.]

Culture and Kultur Race Origins or the Past Unveiled, by H. Bruce Hannah, Bar-at-Law. Demy 8vo. pp. 158 ... ... 3 12

[Besides other cognate matters, the book generally deals with race-origins, race-developments, and race-movements, and differentiates, not only between Barbarous Races and Culture-Races, but also between Barbarous Races that were or are civilised and those that were or are uncivilised.]

Carmichael Lectures, 1918 (Ancient Indian History, B. C. 650 to 325), by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B. Demy 8vo. pp. 230 ... ... 2 13

[The somewhat neglected, although a most important period of Indian history, which immediately preceded the rise of the Mauryan power, has been dealt with in this volume. The work throws valuable light on various aspects of the political and cultural history of the period, including a lucid *résumé* of the story of the penetration of Aryan culture into the Deccan and into South India.]

	Rs.	As.
Ancient Indian Numismatics (Carmichael Lectures, 1921), by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B. Demy 8vo. pp. 241 [A valuable contribution to the study of the question, with its bearings on Ancient Indian political and cultural History.]	4	14
The Evolution of Indian Polity, by R. Shama Sastri, B.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo. pp. 192 ... [Containing a connected history of the growth and development of political institutions in India, compiled mainly from the Hindu Sāstras. The author being the famous discoverer and translator of the *Kautilīya Arthaśāstra,* it may be no exaggeration to call him one of the authorities on Indian Polity.]	6	0
Social Organization in North-East India, in Buddha's time, by Richard Fick (translated by Sisirkumar Maitra, M.A., Ph.D.) Demy 8vo. pp. 395 ... ... [The German work of R. Fick is a masterly study of the social and cultural life of India of the Jātakas. Dr. Maitra's English translation does the fullest justice to the original, which is hereby made accessible to those who do not read German.]	7	8
Sources of Law and Society in Ancient India, by Nareschandra Sen, M.A., D.L. Demy 8vo. pp. 109 ... ... [In this book the author traces the sources of Ancient Indian Law with reference to the environments in society and deals with matters regarding legal conceptions historically, initiating a somewhat new method, mainly following the one indicated by Ihering with reference to Roman Law, in the study of problems of Hindu Law.]	1	8
Political History of Ancient India (From the Accession of Parikshit to the extinction of the Gupta Dynasty), by Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo. pp. 374 ... [Dr. Raichaudhuri's work in the domain of Indology is characterised by a rare sobriety and by a constant reference to original sources, and this makes his contributions specially valuable. We have here probably the first attempt on scientific lines to outline the political history of India of the Pre-Buddhistic period from	4	0

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about the 10th Century B. C. and the work is one of great importance to Indian history.]

Ancient Romic Chronology, by H. Bruce Hannah, Bar-at-Law. Royal 8vo. pp. 60 ... 1 8

[The book deals with the method of embodying some original researches of Mr. H. B. Hannah in the domain of chronology and computation of time in Ancient Egypt, as well as other connected matters, the process being shewn through various internal evidences.]

Pre-Historic India, by Panchanan Mitra, M.A. Demy 8vo. pp. 325 ... ... 6 0

[One of the pioneer works on Indian pre-history by a young Indian scholar, who is well-posted in the latest work in this subject.]

International Law and Customs in Ancient India, by Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., B.L. Royal 8vo. pp. 161 ... ... 4 0

[In this interesting book the author demonstrates the elaborate code of International Law and military usages which existed in Ancient India, and a cursory glance will show that the Ancient Indian usage in this matter was much more elaborate and much more humane than that followed by all nations of antiquity and even by nations of Modern Europe.]

Economic Condition of Ancient India, by J. N. Samaddar, B.A. Demy 8vo. pp. 165 ... 3 0

[A brilliant study, which embodies a reconstruction of economic data and of economic theories in Ancient India from treatises and from scattered references in early Hindu and Buddhist literature. This is the first systematic attempt to deal with this important subject. "The author in course of his six lectures lays bare to us the underlying spirit and principles of the great Hindu Civilisation. He has taught us to look not merely at the actions of the Ancient Indians and their glorious achievements in the domains of Economics and Politics but he has unfolded the environments in which they were wrought, the motives which impelled them and the ambition which inspired them." The book has been highly praised by Dr. Sylvain Levi, Dr. Jolly, Prof. Winternitz, Sir John Bucknill, Dr. A. Marshall, Prof. Hopkins, Prof. Telang, Dr. Keith and many other distinguished savants.]

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Some Contribution of South India to Indian Culture by S. Krishnaswami Aiyengar, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo. pp. 460	6	0

[The contribution of the Dravidian intellect under Aryan guidance, to general culture of Hindu India is the fascinating topic which our author, an acknowledged authority of South Indian history, brings before the student.]

2. RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

System of Buddhistic Thought, by Rev. S. Yamakami. Royal 8vo. pp. 371 ...	15	0

[The book presents in a comprehensive though short form a complete view of Buddhistic Philosophy, both of the Mahāyāna and Hinayāna Schools.]

Prolegomena to a History of Buddhistic Philosophy, by B. M. Barua, M.A., D.Lit. Royal 8vo. pp. 48	1	8

[The book embodies the results of a scientific enquiry by the author, from the historical standpoint, into successive stages in the genesis and increasing organic complexity of a system of thought in India, supposed to have evolved out of a nucleus as afforded by the discourses of Gautama, the Buddha.]

The Original and Developed Doctrines of Indian Buddhism, by Ryukan Kimura. Sup. Royal 8vo. pp. 80	3	0

[It is a comprehensive manual of charts, giving an explicit idea of the Buddhist doctrines, as promulgated in diverse ways by diverse Buddhist Philosophers.]

The History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, by B. M. Barua, M.A., D.Lit. Royal 8vo. pp. 468	10	8

[The book gives a clear exposition of the origin and growth of Indian Philosophy from the Vedas to the Buddha, and seeks to establish order out of chaos—to systematise the teachings of the various pre-Buddhistic sages and seers, scattered in Vedic literature (Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, Upanishads) and in the works of the Jainas, the Ajīvikas and the Buddhists.]

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Prakrit Dhammapada, by B. M. Barua, M.A., D.Lit., and S. N. Mitra, M.A. Demy 8vo. pp. 320 ... ... 5 0

[A new edition of the Dutreuil de Rhins Kharoṣṭhi MS. of the *Dhammapada,* of which an edition was published in the *Journal Asiatique* in 1897 by M. Sénart. The joint-editors have reconstructed whole passages from minute fragments not utilised by M. Sénart, and they have brought in the results of their vast and deep Pali studies in establishing the text. The importance of the *Dhammapada* as a world classic need not be emphasised too much. In the introductory essay, there is an able study of the question of the literary history of this work.

Studies in Vedantism (*Premchand Roychand Studentship, 1901*), by Krishnachandra Bhattacharyya, M.A. Demy 8vo. pp. 82 ... 3 12

[It is a treatise dealing on Vedantic lines intended to bring out the relations of the system to modern philosophical systems.]

The Study of Patanjali (*Griffith Memorial Prize, 1915*), by S. N. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo. pp. 209 ... ... 4 8

[Here we have an account of the Yoga system of thought, as contained in the *Yoga Sūtras* of Patañjali, according to the interpretations of Vyāsa, Vācaspati and Vijñāna Bhikṣu, with occasional references to the views of other systems by an acknowledged authority on Hindu Philosophy.]

Jivatman in the Brahma Sutras, by Abhaykumar Guha, M.A., Ph.D. Crown 8vo. pp. 285 ... 3 12

[It is a comparative treatise on the *Jīvātman* as described in the *Brahma Sūtras,* based on 15 original commentaries and on numerous other works, philosophical, religious, scientific, and literary, of the East and the West. In deducing his conclusions, the author has fully discussed the *sūtras* in the light of the commentaries of the different Schools and has treated of the Vedānta from a standpoint hitherto untouched by scholars.]

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Early History of the Vaishnava Sect, by Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo. pp. 156 ... ... 2 13

[The book contains materials for a connected history of Vaishnavism from the Vedic times to the age of the early Tamil Acāryas who laid the foundation of the Śrī Vaishnava School. The author takes into consideration only works of proved antiquity and epigraphical records. His method of treatment is strictly scientific, and he comes to a number of interesting conclusions, among which is the establishment of the historic personality of Vāsudeva-Krishna and the determination of the doctrines of the old Bhāgavata sect.]

A Short History of the Mediæval School of Indian Logic (*Griffith Memorial Prize, 1907*), by Mahamahopadhyaya Satischandra Vidyabhushan, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo. pp. 209 ... 7 8

[The two principal systems of the Mediæval School of Indian Logic, *viz.*, the Jaina Logic and the Buddhist Logic, have been thoroughly expounded here by bringing together a mass of information derived from several rare Jaina Manuscripts and Tibetan xylographs hitherto inaccessible to many. In the appendices a short and general history of the University of Nālanda and the Royal University of Vikramśīla has also been given.]

A History of Indian Logic by Mahamahopadhyaya Satischandra Vidyābhushan, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo. pp. 690 ... ... 15 0

[A monumental work. Dr. Vidyābhusana has given here a detailed account of the system of Nyāya, and has left no source of information, whether Brahmanical, or Buddhist (Indian and Tibetan), or Jaina, untapped. The history is brought down from the days of the Vedas to the 19th century, and is full of facts well disposed and lucidly set forth.

The author did not live to see the publication of a work which is sure to make his name immortal in the annals of Indology.]

Adwaitabad (Bengali), by Kokileswar Sastri Vidyaratna, M.A. Royal 8vo. pp. 233 ... 3 0

[In the present work the author has given an admirable exposition of the Vedantic theory of

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Adwaitavada in all its different aspects. The work consists of five chapters. In the first chapter, the nature of Nirgun Brahma and its relation to the world and the individual souls have been discussed and Sankara has been absolved from the charge of Pantheism. In Chapter II the nature of the individual Beings and Selves has been discussed. The fact that the Sankara school has not resolved the 'Individual' into qualities and states has been carefully examined. In Chapter III the author thoroughly discusses the doctrine of the 'Unreality of the Universe' and has attempted to prove that the Sankara school has not abolished the reality of the world. Chapter IV discusses the ethical theory, individual freedom, the Brahma-Sákhyátkára, the 'contemplation of the Beautiful' and the final salvation in the transcendental goal. Here the relation between *Karma* and *Jnana* has been well brought out and bears the impress of originality. In Chapter V, an attempt has been made to trace the máyáváda of Sankar's school to the Rig Veda as its original source.]

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[It is a translation of the laws of Manu with the commentary of Medhātithi—decidedly superior to Mandalik's edition and Gharpure's work. The present edition has been compiled with the help of several manuscripts obtained from various places, setting forth textual, explanatory, and comparative notes in quite a novel and intelligible manner.]

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Bhela Samhita. Royal 8vo. pp. 282 ... 9 0

[It contains the complete text of the *Bhela Samhitā,* one of the most ancient and valuable treatises on Indian Medicine.]

II. HISTORY

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Siva Chhatrapati by Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo. pp. 284 ... ... 4 14

[A translation of the oldest systematic biography in Marathi of the great Maratha hero, the *Sabhāsad Bakhar,* with extracts from *Chitnis* and *Śivadigvijaya* with explanatory notes.]

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[It is an exhaustive account of the polity that prevailed during the centuries of Maratha domination. Dr. Sen has closely studied the available original sources and this work is undoubtedly the most valuable contribution on Maratha administrative system that has yet appeared in English.]

Bengal in the Sixteenth Century, by J. N. Das Gupta, B.A. (Oxon.) Sup. Royal 8vo. pp. 191 ... ... 2 13

[It is a historical review of the social and economic condition of Bengal in the Sixteenth Century of the Christian era—the renaissance in Bengal—in the light of the facts set forth in contemporary Bengali literature in historical records, and writings of European travellers in Bengal.]

* *Out of stock. A revised edition is in the press.*

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India in the Seventeenth Century, by J. N. Das Gupta, B.A. (Oxon.) Demy 8vo. pp. 252 ... ... 3 8

[The condition of India in respect of its political, social, and economic aspects, in the early years of the East India Company, has been described in this volume with the help of the narratives of European travellers and foreign observers who were drawn to this land by their love of adventure, the fascination of romance, and the call of the East.]

Documents and Extracts illustrative of the British Period of Indian History. Demy 8vo. pp. 474 ... ... 5 10

[This volume puts together in a compendious form a few of the more important documents which tend to throw light on the British period of Indian History with special reference to the times of Warren Hastings, Cornwallis, and Wellesley, the three Governors General, with whose names particularly the rise and progress of British power in the East is most intimately connected. It traces at the same time chronologically through these documents the successive stages in the constitutional development of British authority in India.]

Historical Records of Baroda by Rai Bahadur B. A. Gupte, M.R.S.A., F.Z.S. (with annotations). Royal 8vo. pp. 153 ... ... 6 0

[Compiled from original Maratha documents, which throw a sidelight on the transactions of the Hon'ble East India Company's Officers, offer glimpses of the Baroda administration, describe the Poona politics during the last stages of the Maratha Empire, and record the working of the almost nominal sway of the Raja of Satara. Profusely illustrated.]

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[A Bengali version of 'England's Work in India' by Pandit Tarakumar Kaviratna and Prof. Jogindranath Samaddar.]

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* Text Book

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A History of Islamic People, by S. Khuda Bukhsh, M.A., B.C.L., Bar-at-Law. Demy 8vo: pp. 177 ... ... 5 10

[Translated from the German of Dr. Weils' *Geschichte der islamitischen Völker*—a descriptive account of Mohammad and the Qura'n, as also of the Caliphate. The conflict of ideas in early Arabdom, the narrowness of early Arabic rationalism and the evolution of Islamic culture on a broad and humanitarian basis during the time of the Abbasid Caliphs at Baghdad is described with the skill of an artist, and altogether the book forms a most fascinating introduction to the mentality and general outlook of Islam in the first few centuries of its history.]

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III. LAW.

Effect of War on Contracts (*Onauth Nauth Deb Prize, 1917*), by Prafullachandra Ghosh, M.A., B.L. Demy 8vo. pp. 152 ... 4 8

[The book describes at length the changes brought about by the last European War in the commercial and financial relations of nations and individuals.]

Trading with the Enemy (*Onauth Nauth Deb Prize, 1918*), by A. C. Gupta, M.A., B.L. Demy 8vo. pp. 149 ... ... 4 8

[The volume deals with the general principles of the law (according to the English Common Law) of Trading with the Enemy to which the last European War lent interest and prominence.]

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* *Out of stock.*

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Legal Aspects of Strikes (*Onauth Nauth Deb Prize, 1919*), by Prabodhchandra Ghosh, M.A., B.L. Demy 8vo. pp. 61 ... 2 4

[In the opinion of the author, concerted movements of labour analogous to strikes are as old as history itself. In dealing with the history of strikes he, therefore, traces their origin and course, not only from a legal point of view but also from a historical standpoint and discusses the remedial measures in the light of the condition of labour in other countries.]

Occupancy Right—Its History and Incidents (*Onauth Nauth Deb Prize*), by Radharaman Mookerjee, B.L. Vakil (Calcutta High Court), Author of the *Law of Benami*. Demy 8vo. pp. 436 ... ... 6 0

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Position of Woman in Hindu Law, by Dwarka Nath Mitra, M.A., D.L. Demy 8vo. pp. 758 12 0

[The book traces historically the various stages in the development of the position of women in Hindu Law.]

The Theory of Sovereignty, by Sasankajiban Ray, M.A., M.L., D.L. Printed at an outside Press. Demy 8vo. pp. 360 ... ... 10 0

[The work is the thesis by the author for the degree of Doctor of Law. The author has sought to formulate a correct theory of Law by critically analysing the conception of Sovereignty and investigating the entire history of the theory of Sovereignty. The work has been divided into three books. Book I deals with the 'Origin of Law and the State,' Book II treats of the 'Manifestation of Sovereign Power in the Different Systems of Polity' and Book III presents 'A Critical Exposition of Sovereignty.']

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